

THE
HELLENISTIC
SETTLEMENTS

IN
EUROPE,
THE
ISLANDS,
AND
ASIA MINOR



GETZEL M. COHEN

HELLENISTIC CULTURE AND SOCIETY

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The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor

Getzel M. Cohen

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley Los Angeles Oxford

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
Oxford, England

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cohen, Getzel M.
The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands, and Asia Minor
/ Getzel M. Cohen
p. cm. — (Hellenistic culture and society 17)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-520-08329-6 (alk. paper)
1. Greece—Colonies—History. 2. Greeks—Colonization—History.
3. Greece—History—Macedonian Hegemony, 323-281 B.C. 4. Greece—
-History—281-146 B.C.. I. Tide. II. Series.
DF85.C44 1995
930'.00971238-dc20 93-44342



Printed in the United States of America
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Uxori Carissimae

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Preface

The object of the present work is to identify the Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor and to gather information about their early history. A second volume will deal with Asia and North Africa. The basic organization of the book is by geographic areas—Thrace, the Islands, Mysia, etc. Within each area the colonies are ordered alphabetically. The entry for each foundation has two basic sections: narrative and annotation. In the narrative I attempt to identify the settlements, their founders, and location. I also try to present information about each settlement's early history and organization. The extended annotation is keyed to the narrative and provides detailed references, citations, and discussions for the material covered there. At the end of the work I have included a series of appendices that attempt to distill some of the information in the collected entries.

When Victor Tscherikower wrote *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen* he limited his study, as its title indicates, to city foundations. In my own enumeration I have tried to account for both the city foundations and the smaller, rural settlements. The evidence for the latter is limited primarily to western Asia Minor: settlements of the Macedonians, Jews, and Kardakians, among others, at various sites.

I faced a problem when dealing with the numerous epigraphic references to *katoikiai*, *katoikoi*, etc. These inscriptions are all found in western Asia Minor. And practically all of them date from the Imperial period. Did these *katoikiai* originate as Hellenistic military colonies? B. Bar-Kochva, in his book *The Seleucid Army* (24ff.), claimed that the fact that the *katoikiai* are confined to western Asia Minor shows they did begin as Hellenistic military colonies. I do not think this is correct. Certainly we would like to know why—if these *katoikiai* began as Hellenistic colonies—it took over three hundred years before

inscriptional evidence for over fifty of them suddenly began appearing in the first century A.D. and later. On this problem, I believe Louis Robert (*Études anatoliennes*, 191-94) has correctly defined the situation. The term *katoikos* does designate a military colonist of the second century B.C. in Ptolemaic Egypt. In western Asia Minor, however, the *katoikiai* show no evidence of either a military organization or a Hellenistic origin. Inscriptions from the Hellenistic period that do record the existence of military colonies—that is, inscriptions mentioning Macedonians or *stratiotai*—do not normally use the term *katoikia*. In the Roman period the term is employed so loosely and vaguely, most often as the equivalent of *kome*, that one can conclude very little from the use of the term by itself. For this reason I usually do not include villages whose existence as *katoikiai* is attested solely by late inscriptional evidence.

A comment about my treatment of some of the older, Greek cities that were simply renamed, often for a very short time. Since these cities were established and often were flourishing centers long before the advent of Alexander, I do not devote extensive attention to their organization and history in the Hellenistic period other than as regards changes or innovations related to the refounding.

In its early stages I was privileged to discuss this work with my late advisor and friend, John V. A. Fine.

While writing this book I have benefited from the advice and criticism of many friends. I am particularly grateful to Christian Habicht, Erich Gruen, Roger Bagnall, and Stanley Burstein, for their careful and judicious reading of my manuscript. In addition, Richard Billows, Eugene Borza, Thomas Drew-Bear, Clive Foss, Peter Herrmann, Arthur Houghton, Christopher Jones, Fred Kleiner, Stephen Mitchell, and the anonymous reader at the University of California Press made many helpful comments and criticisms. Of course I alone am responsible for any errors.

I am grateful to Bill Nelson for his preparation of the maps. Mary Lamprech and Marian Rodgers have been a great help to me in converting manuscript to finished product.

Randall Saunders helped with the preparation of the bibliography, Mischa Hooker and Philip Kennedy with the checking of footnotes and references. I am grateful to them, as I am to Jennifer Kingma for typing an early draft of this work.

The transliteration of Greek personal and place-names is a perennial problem. Generally I have used the Greek spelling for the personal names of historical personages and town names but have relied on Latin usage for regional names and ancient authors. Depending upon the language in which he wrote, Elias Bickerman also spelled his surname Bickermann or Bikerman. In this volume I use the spelling Bickerman throughout.

It is a particular pleasure to acknowledge the support provided by the Classics Fund of the University of Cincinnati that Louise Taft Semple established in memory of her father, Charles Phelps Taft. The Fund and its trustees help immeasurably "to make vital and constructive in the civilization of our country the spiritual, intellectual and esthetic inheritance we have received from the Greek and Roman civilizations."

Much of this book was written in the Classics Library of the University of Cincinnati, at the library of the Institute for Classical Studies in London, and at the library of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. I am very grateful to the staff of each of the libraries for their continuing and gracious assistance.

My greatest debt, however, is to Sheila.

TANNERSVILLE, NEW YORK
AUGUST 6, 1993

The Scholarship and the Sources

Recent Scholarship

In 1927 Victor Tscherikower published *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen*. Drawing on earlier investigations of J. G. Droysen (*Histoire de l'hellénisme*), G. Radet (*De Coloniis a Macedonibus in Asiam Cis Taurum Deductis*), and K. F. Hermann and H. Swoboda (*Griechische Staatsaltertümer*⁶), Tscherikower compiled a definitive list of the colonies of the Hellenistic world. This became and has remained the standard work for anyone interested in Hellenistic colonies. It is now over sixty years since the publication of Tscherikower's work. Much new information has come to light that renders Tscherikower's enumeration badly in need of revision. When he wrote his work in 1926, Tscherikower had 97 entries for Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor. The present study has over 180. The expansion of our knowledge of colonization can be seen both in the greater number of settlements and in the additional information that has surfaced for already attested foundations. For practically every entry in the present work some new piece of evidence has been discovered or some new interpretation has been suggested.

For example, in 1968 Georges Le Rider demonstrated by a comparison of coin types that Rhithymna on Crete had been renamed ARSINOE. The presence of a Ptolemaic colony named PHILOTERA in Lycia was first discovered in 1979 with the publication of a fragmentary inscription from Telmessos that recorded a town of this name. The existence of EUKARPEIA in Phrygia has long been known from Strabo (12.8.13). But it was only in 1956 that two inscriptions—both from the early third century A.D.—provided the first evidence that there probably had been a military colony at Eukarpeia. These inscriptions (*SEG* XV.810, 812) mentioned offices and titles, including

klerouchos, *stratiotes*, *bouleutes*, and *eirenarches*. The first term, *klerouchos*, undoubtedly originated in a Hellenistic military colony and may be taken, I believe, as evidence that there had been a Hellenistic foundation at Eukarpeia.

In other cases new information has subsequently—and dramatically—increased our knowledge about a particular site. Two examples from recent archaeological excavations illustrate the point. In discussing King Lysimachos' refounding of Ephesos as an ARSINOE, Strabo comments that the inhabitants were reluctant to move from the old city to the new site, but does not indicate why (14.1.21). In 1978 archaeologists digging at Ephesos found the remains of archaic graves in the agora of the new Hellenistic city. Undoubtedly the presence of graves at the new site was the reason the Ephesians did not want to move. At HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia inscriptions were found on the edges of seats in the theater and published in 1974. The inscriptions were from the Imperial period and recorded the names of the following tribes: Seleukis, Antiochis, Laodikis, Eumenis, Attalis, Stratonikis, and the *prote phyle* of Apollonias. Prior to the discovery of these inscriptions there had been extensive discussion as to whether Hierapolis was a Seleucid or an Attalid foundation. The publication of these inscriptions firmly resolves the question in favor of the Seleucids.

Newly discovered evidence can also allow us to remove a town from the ranks of Hellenistic settlements. This was the case for KADOI in Lydia. Prior to 1975 it had been claimed that Kadoi was a Macedonian colony. The evidence cited was Pliny *NH* 5.111: *Sardiana nunc appellatur ea iurisdictio, conveniuntque in eam extra praedictos Macedones Cadieni, Philadelphini etc.* In 1975 Christian Habicht published a Flavian *conventus* list from Ephesos that recorded a list of communities in the province of Asia. It mentioned the *Καδωνεῖς* (1.6) as separate entities. Hence, Habicht correctly suggested that in Pliny's list there has to be a comma after *Macedones* in order to mark the separation from the following *Cadieni* and thus that Kadoi was not a Macedonian colony. Similarly, EUMENEIA in Caria was cited by Tscherikower as being among the Hellenistic foundations of that region. In 1935, however, Louis Robert demonstrated that a passage in Pliny (*NH* 5.108) that served as one of the main buttresses for claiming Eumeneia as a Hellenistic colony was problematic, because at this point in his text Pliny had mistakenly inserted a group of Phrygian toponyms in his list of Carian cities. Hence we should remove Eumeneia from the Hellenistic foundations of Caria.

ARSINOE in Cilicia had long been known from Strabo (14.5.3) and other later sources. But, other than its approximate location and the fact that Strabo says it had a landing place, not much was known about it. Then in 1989 E. Kirsten and I. Opelt published an inscription recording a letter from the *strategos* of Cilicia, Thraseas, to Arsinoe and a decree of Nagidos regarding

its relations with Arsinoe. The inscription provides detailed information about the founding and later embellishment of Arsinoe. This inscription is very important, both for the light it sheds on the political history of the Ptolemies overseas and for the information it provides about Ptolemaic colonization. It is in fact the first document to provide something more than a fragmentary picture of the organization of a Ptolemaic overseas settlement.

These and other new discoveries and interpretations will be found in the scholarship on Hellenistic colonies of the last sixty years. In the present work I have taken account of these developments so as to identify those cities and towns that were Hellenistic foundations and refoundations and to gather information about their early history and organization.

In the years since Tscherikower published his work, the study of the settlements has usually been undertaken as part of a larger investigation, either of a particular king or dynasty, region or topic. The Seleucid colonization program, not surprisingly, has received the most attention from scholars. E. Bickerman (*Institutions des Séleucides*, 1938), M. I. Rostovtzeff (*The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 1941), W. W. Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*², 1951), D. Musti ("Lo stato dei Seleucidi," *SCO* 15 [1966] 61ff.), B. Bar-Kochva (*The Seleucid Army*, 1976), and G. M. Cohen (*The Seleucid Colonies*, 1978) all have devoted considerable attention to the Seleucid settlements. P. Briant ("Colonisation hellénistique et populations indigènes," *Klio* 60 [1978] 57ff.) and A. H. M. Jones (*The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, 1940) have had much to say about both the Seleucid and the other Hellenistic foundations.

The colonizing activity of the various kings has been discussed by J. D. Grainger (*Seleukos Nikator*, 1990; *The Cities of Seleukid Syria*, 1990), W. Orth (*Königlicher Machtanspruch und städtische Freiheit*, 1977), H. H. Schmitt (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit*, 1964), and O. Mørkholm (*Antiochus IV of Syria*, 1966). R. A. Billows (*Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*, 1990), C. Wehrli (*Antigone et Démétrios*, 1968), and W. W. Tarn (*Antigonos Gonatas*, 1913) investigated the Antigonid settlements. The Attalid colonies have been studied by E. V. Hansen (*The Attalids of Pergamon*², 1971), R. E. Allen (*The Attalid Kingdom*, 1983), and J. Hopp (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden*, 1977). R. S. Bagnall (*The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt*, 1976), G. Longega (*Arsinoe II*, 1968), and W. Huss (*Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios IV*, 1976) have investigated the Ptolemaic settlements.

Regional studies often involve discussions of colonies. For example, N. G. L. Hammond, G. T. Griffith, and F. W. Walbank (*A History of Macedonia*, vols. 1-3, 1972-88), as well as F. Papazoglou (*Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, 1988), should be consulted for settlements in Macedonia. M. Zahrt (*Olynth und die Chalkidier*, 1971) is especially useful for Hellenistic settlements on the Chalcidic peninsula. For Asia Minor, D. Magie's *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*

(1950) is particularly important. The discussions in volume I and the extended footnotes in volume 2 provide an excellent introduction to Hellenistic studies in that area. Louis Robert has written extensively and with great acumen on Asia Minor. His monographs and studies are resources of the utmost importance. For the Troad, for example, Robert's *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966) is especially useful, as is the survey of J. M. Cook (*The Troad*, 1973). For Caria, Louis and Jeanne Robert (*La Carie*, vol. 2, 1954; *nota bene*: vol. 1 was never published), A. Mastrocinque (*La Caria e la Ionia meridionale in epoca ellenistica*, 1979), and A. Laumonier (*Cultes indigènes en Carie*, 1958) provide an excellent introduction to the region and the settlements in it. D. R. Wilson (*The Historical Geography of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus in the Greek and Roman Periods*, 1960) and E. Olshausen and J. Biller (*Historisch-geographische Aspekte der Geschichte des pontischen und armenischen Reiches*, vol. 1, 1984) are important resources for northern Asia Minor, as are Robert (*À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 1980) and G. Vitucci (*Il regno di Bitinia*, 1953).

In addition to regional studies, topical studies have also discussed settlements. Habicht, in his important *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*² (1970), investigated civic cults in the early Hellenistic period and called attention to their appearance in Hellenistic colonies. W. Leschhorn (*Gründer der Stadt*, 1984) dealt with Hellenistic founders and the honors they received, while L. Boffo (*I re ellenistici e i centri religiosi dell' Asia Minore*, 1985) considered, among other things, the many sanctuaries in and near the Hellenistic settlements. Finally, a partial list of settlements can be found in many of the books I have already mentioned and in Jones's *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² (1971).

The Sources

Literary Evidence

A problem facing the historian of Hellenistic Europe and Asia Minor is the fragmentary nature of the evidence.¹ The only continuous narrative of the period, that of Diodorus, stops abruptly just before the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. For the period following, the only continuous account is provided by Justin in his uneven epitome of Pompeius Trogus. Polybius brought his forty-book work down to 146 B.C. Unfortunately, just the first five books have survived intact; the first two survey the period 264-220 B.C., the next three deal with the events of 220-216. For the remaining years we have excerpts and fragments of the other books and the information supplied by Livy, who

¹ See also E. W. Walbank's useful discussion of the sources in *CAH*² VII 1: 1-22 and *The Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1982) 13-28

relied heavily on Polybius for the parts of his history that deal with affairs in Greece. In short, for the eastern Mediterranean in the third and second centuries B.C. there is no extant continuous history. To compensate for this lacuna we must turn to other ancient authors and other sources of information. I have noted examples of archaeology adding to our knowledge of colonization; the epigraphic and numismatic sources also supply vital information. Before turning to these sources, however, I will discuss the literary evidence.

Literary evidence for the Hellenistic settlements comes from both Greek and Roman as well as Byzantine sources. The geographic surveys of Strabo and Pliny and the *Geography* of Ptolemy are primary resources.

Strabo (64/3 B.C.-21 A.D.), who was from Amaseia in Pontus, wrote a *Geography* in seventeen books. Books 8-10 deal with Greece (largely antiquarian), 11 with the Euxine-Caspian region, and 12-14 with Asia Minor. Although he did travel (2.5.11), Strabo relied on the works of others for much of his information. Among these were Artemidorus of Ephesos (fl. 104 B.C.) and, for the Troad, Demetrius of Skepsis (early second century B.C.). The latter wrote a learned geographical description of the Troad (in thirty books!) as a commentary on the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*. Strabo's primary strength and significance is as a historical rather than a physical geographer. His work is essentially an encyclopedia of historical geography. His account of a particular city will often give information about its location and the topography of the surrounding region, a brief historical outline, and descriptions of major monuments and religious sanctuaries as well as famous natives. In short, for an account of cities and towns, particularly in Asia Minor, Strabo is an important and authoritative source.

Pliny the Elder (23/4-79 A.D.) wrote a number of works of which only the *Natural History* survives. In thirty-seven books, it is an encyclopedia of scientific fields as diverse as botany and zoology, minerals and their use in medicine, art and architecture. Geography and ethnography are treated in books 3-6. If Strabo's *Geography* can be described as a historical geography, then these books of Pliny's *Natural History* can be described as an annotated list of cities and regions. Pliny normally follows a geographic order in enumerating cities and localities, often appending brief comments regarding their physical features. Although generally reliable, he occasionally gives erroneous information. I have already pointed out, for example, that at *NH* 5.108 he mistakenly inserted a group of Phrygian place-names in a list of Carian cities.

Ptolemy's *Geography* is a bare list of places. Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus, fl. c. 140 A.D.) was a geographer, mathematician, and astronomer. His *Geography* is a treatise in eight books whose purpose is to locate places by latitude and longitude on a map. Very rarely did Ptolemy add a historical or ethnographic note. Despite its great authority in antiquity and the Middle Ages, the *Geography*

has serious faults. For example, Ptolemy preferred Posidonius' estimate of 180,000 stades for the earth's circumference instead of the more nearly correct 250,000 stades posited by Eratosthenes. This, of course, skewed the distance between any two points of longitude. In a few cases he plotted the same town in two different places: thus he apparently gives Olba twice, in Cilicia and Cappadocia. Nevertheless, Ptolemy's *Geography* was and is an important geographical reference work and can be used for the relative location of sites in antiquity.

In addition to the three geographers, a number of ancient historians and Plutarch appear with less frequency as sources of information. Polybius, Livy, Diodorus, and Pausanias all provide important details about colonization in Europe as well as Asia Minor. Both Appian (in his *Mithridatika*) and Memnon provide evidence for Mithridates Eupator's activities. And last, Plutarch's lives of Alexander, Demetrios, Pyrrhos, and Lucullus contain important evidence.

Because classical toponyms frequently appear in Byzantine literature, it is useful to consult the later geographers and the various episcopal city lists. As these authors and sources are possibly less well known than the classical authors, I provide brief notes about the more frequently cited sources.

The best-known Byzantine antiquarian is, of course, Stephanos of Byzantion (fl. c. 528-535 A.D.). His *Ethnika*, which survives in abridged form, is a list of geographic names to which are appended items of historical or mythological interest. Stephanos' sources included Strabo and Pausanias. Despite the relative wealth of information he preserved, Stephanos must be consulted with caution: he frequently is confused or mistaken (see, for example, ANTIOCH on the Maeander and STRATONIKEIA in Lydia). Nevertheless, he often preserves information not found elsewhere and for this reason is an important, if erratic, source.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century map based on a fifth-century copy that may ultimately have been derived from a map prepared by Marcus Agrippa. It is twenty-one feet long and one foot wide, depicting the known world from the tip of England to India and Ceylon. The segment comprising the British Isles and the Iberian peninsula is lost. The map is well illustrated with pictures of cities, baths, temples, and harbors, among other things. It also indicates the roads and stations that were used by the Roman postal service.² Distances between stations are given, but these are

² See, for example, A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria Picta* (Rome, 1967) 97; cf. O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London, 1985) 115, who is sceptical and writes there is "no definite proof" of this. For a facsimile edition of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* see E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz, 1976); see also the annotated edition of K. Miller.

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not always correct. W. K. Pritchett was critical, for example, of the section from Pella to Larisa in Europe. W. M. Ramsay concluded that the map was untrustworthy for central and eastern Asia Minor but was "much freer from error in the western and especially the southwestern part of the country."³

Hierokles is the (presumed) author of a list of cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, the *Synekdemos*.⁴ It is dated before 535 A.D. Normally it is arranged by provinces, with the cities in each province given in geographic order. Lydian cities, however, are listed in hierarchic order. The title suggests that the work was probably intended to be some kind of guidebook. Despite errors and omissions it is an important source for Byzantine geography. Undoubtedly it owes its preservation to the fact that it and the *Description* of George of Cyprus were mistaken for episcopal *notitiae*.

The Geographer of Ravenna is an anonymous author of the early eighth century A.D. His *Cosmography* gives over five thousand toponyms along with lists of rivers and islands. It is possible that the Ravenna Geographer copied his place-names from the same source as the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. His knowledge of prior geographers is weak. His list of place-names is random, with no discernible order; furthermore he sometimes mistakenly lists a river as a place-name. Despite this and despite corruption in the text, O. A. W. Dilke suggests that the *Cosmography* is "a source of valuable information which can supplement that from earlier sources."⁵

The *Notitiae Episcopatum* are lists of ecclesiastical dioceses. The earliest extant *notitia* from Constantinople dates from the early seventh century A.D., the latest from the Turkish period. The purpose of the *Notitiae* was primarily to indicate the rank and honor of the various church officials and their sees. In the *Notitiae* metropolitan sees are given first, followed by autonomous archbishoprics and, lastly, bishoprics. A group of bishoprics made up a metropolis. The basis of the arrangement of the bishoprics was hierarchic rather than geographic. But what the principle of order was is not clear. According to Ramsay, "there are difficulties in the supposition that the *Notitiae* arrange the

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Itineraria Romana (Stuttgart, 1916), and A. Kazhdan, *ODB* s v "Tabula Peutingeriana," 2004-5

³ Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vol. 3 (Berkeley, 1980) 202 and n. 20; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 67. See also C. Edson, *CPh* (1955) 179, who claims that on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* the road from Dion to Thessalonike is a conflation of two routes; contra, Hammond, *Macedonia*, 1: 131f.

⁴ For Hierokles see Jones's discussion in *CERP*², 514-21, and the edition of E. Honigsmann, *Le Synekdesmos d'Hierokles* (Brussels, 1939). See also T. E. Gregory and A. Kazhdan, *ODB* s v "Hierokles," 930.

⁵ *Greek and Roman Maps*, 176.

Bishoprics in order of dignity and precedence.... Importance, wealth, historical prestige, locality might exercise some influence: local proximity formed in some cases a cause of enumerating several Bishops together, placing first that which was most important either for wealth and for historical reasons."⁶ At the very least, however, the presence of a bishopric in a particular province does provide some indication of general location. Finally, I would mention the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, a particularly thorough modern compendium of information on Byzantine geography.

As useful as the literary sources are, they do have certain limitations. For locating cities the various Byzantine lists are helpful only to the degree that they follow a geographic rather than a hierarchic or random order. The ancient historians generally give information about colonies only in passing. They are usually interested in other events and mention a particular city or town only because something happened there. Occasionally, however, they do give substantive information. Thus Plutarch in his life of Demetrios provides important information about the refounding and enhancement of Sikyon as a Demetrias. Appian and Livy both supply useful information about Antiochos III's refounding of Lysimacheia in Thrace. And Appian in his *Syriaka* (57) gives a biographical sketch of Seleukos I in the course of which he lists the king's settlements. But these are exceptions. If the historians were, understandably, not primarily interested in cities and settlements, Strabo—a geographer—was. I have already discussed briefly Strabo's importance for the information about settlements that he does give us. But it is also necessary to bear in mind what he and the other geographers and historians do *not* give us: information about the political, constitutional, and certain of the religious institutions of the various cities. Either because he was not interested or, more probably, because he assumed his readers either knew or were themselves not interested, Strabo says little about these matters. For information on these institutions we must turn to the inscriptions.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions have the great advantage of usually being contemporary with the event they commemorate and of being official records. Of course as official documents they may also be propaganda vehicles. Furthermore inscriptions are often incomplete and fragmentary, are frequently difficult to date precisely,

⁶ *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 6-8; see also J. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986) 311-12; Jones, *CERP*², 517-18; and A. Kazhdan, *ODB* s v "Notitiae Episcopatum," 1496. For an edition of the *Notitiae* see J. Darrouzè, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981).

and may not have been found *in situ*. In addition we may often owe to chance the survival and discovery of an inscription. Nevertheless inscriptions are sources of evidence of the highest importance and, in the case of the Hellenistic settlements, provide us with vital information not available elsewhere.

Inscriptions, for example, often record decrees of cities, and these decrees frequently supply important information about the constitutional apparatus: the magistracies, the council and assembly, the dating formula, tribal and month names, institutions such as the gymnasium and the *ephebeia* and the various officials connected with each. Inscriptions provide evidence for citizens of a particular city being invited to settle lawsuits in other cities and acting as judges in international disputes as well as being appointed *proxenoi* and winning races in international competitions. Inscriptions also record treaties and communications between cities, such as exchanges of *isopoliteia* (grants of potential citizenship to citizens of another city) and recognition of *asylia* (freedom from reprisal and the right of receiving suppliants), as well as royal letters to cities.

Epigraphic evidence is our primary source of information for both honorific decrees and civic and dynastic cults. In addition, decrees and other inscribed materials with toponyms or ethnics can, if found *in situ*, help fix the location of cities. Thus the location of ANTIGONEIA in Epirus, long a matter of dispute, was settled with the recent discovery at a place overlooking the Drin River of bronze discs with the inscription ANTI ONE N.

The epigraphic evidence is obviously very valuable. Where it can be firmly dated and ascribed to a particular city it can provide us with contemporary and official documentation on the activities, the organization, and the administration of that city. All our literary sources with the exception of Polybius lived long after the Hellenistic period and were generally not interested in the organization and administration of cities and settlements. Even Strabo, who focuses on regions and cities, is not primarily interested in constitutional questions. In short, if it were not for the inscriptional evidence, we would have very little information regarding the way the settlements governed and managed themselves and the way they related to other cities and to the kings. APOLLONIA Salbake may serve as a good example of how informative the epigraphic evidence can be. The existence of Apollonia was always known from Pliny (*NH* 5.109) and citations in Ptolemy and Hierokles. This was, however, essentially all that was known about Apollonia until the appearance of various inscriptions, all published within the last sixty years. A fragmentary inscription dated to the nineteenth year of the Seleucid era in the month of Panemos (June 243 B.C.) mentions "King Seleukos" and records the opening of a decree of the assembly. Another inscription, probably from the time of Antiochos III, mentions a council and assembly that granted, among other

things, citizenship rights, *ateleia*, and *proedria* to the Seleucid hipparch stationed there. Obviously there was a Seleucid garrison at Apollonia at this time. The inhabitants also celebrated a gymnastic *agon* in honor of "King Seleukos." This is probably Seleukos I, and we are undoubtedly dealing with a city-founder cult. We also learn that in the vicinity of Apollonia there were "sacred villages" and a population, the Saleioi of the mountain and of the plain, who belonged to the sanctuary.


Since 1927 the study of Hellenistic inscriptions has been greatly facilitated by the appearance of a number of publications and publication series. The continuing fascicles of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* as well as volumes of the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, the *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, and G. Dagron and D. Feissel's *Inscriptions de Cilicie* are all vital resources for Asia Minor, as are the results of the epigraphic journeys of, among others, P. Herrmann, G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, and T. Drew-Bear. For THESSALONIKE the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, X.2, fasc. 1, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et Vicinae*, is of great importance. The publication of many new inscriptions since the appearance of Welles's *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* renders it in need of revision. Nevertheless it remains an important and useful collection. Another important collection is H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III. Both the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* and the "Bulletin épigraphique" published regularly in the *Revue des études grecques* by Jeanne and Louis Robert for so many years, and now continued by a group of scholars, are essential tools for keeping abreast of progress in epigraphy. The latter frequently contains incisive comments on numismatics as well.

Coins

It is possible to distinguish at least five categories for coins of the Hellenistic period: (a) royal coins issued by the kings at their own mints, (b) coins minted for the kings by cities under their control, (c) cistophoric coinage issued under royal Attalid supervision in the name of certain cities of western Asia Minor, (d) civic or autonomous coins issued by the cities for their own use, and (e) hybrid coins found especially in the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes minted by cities with the name of the issuing city on the reverse and a portrait of the king on the obverse.

The civic coins were normally minted in bronze, though some silver issues were also produced, and were intended for local circulation. Thus when Antiochos VII gave Simon the high priest in Jerusalem the right to coin money he specified that it was to be used locally (1 Macc. 15.6). In a study of the Hellenistic foundations we are primarily concerned with the civic rather than the royal coins. And in dealing with these coins one should bear in mind their

limitations—and potential—as evidence for the various settlements. In the first place the dating of these coins is extremely difficult. With the exception of the occasional appearance of a magistrate's name, the civic coinage normally does not carry any explicit indication of date. Hence the dating often is based on factors such as hoard evidence, die linkage, or historical context. These factors, however useful, cannot be substituted for historical evidence unless they are, in turn, anchored in a firmly datable event or personage. It is important to emphasize this because numismatists and historians frequently tend to assume that numismatic "events"—for example, the appearance of a new weight system, new coin types, etc.—are tied to historical events. In many cases this may be true, but it is not a certainty; in short, it is an axiom, not a proven theorem.

In the second place the attribution of coins can change. A change in attribution can result from the study of such factors as monograms, coin types, or magistrates' names. Thus in 1979 Mørkholm suggested that cistophori with the monogram  belonged not with APAMEIA Kelainai but with either Parion in the Hellespont or Apollonia on the Rhyndakos. More recently, however, R. Bauslaugh and Le Rider have argued convincingly that the original attribution to Apameia is to be preferred. And while coins of an Antioch with a Maeander River symbol can confidently be assigned to ANTIOCH on the Maeander, other Antioch coins have been attributed and reattributed to ANTIOCH Alabanda, Kebren, in Mysia, and near Pisidia. Furthermore coins of Arsinoe have been reassigned to and from ARSINOE Lyktou, Rhithymna, and Methana, while reattributions have occurred for the various APOLLONIAS (Salbake, on the Maeander, in Phrygia, and on the Rhyndakos) as well as for PTOLEMAIS Larisa, Lebedos, in Caria, and in Pamphylia.

If the attribution and reattribution of coins to cities is sometimes frustrating, at other times it has resulted in the identification and location of a number of Hellenistic settlements. I have already mentioned that the refounding of Rhithymna as an ARSINOE is known only from the numismatic evidence. The same is also true for, among other cities, EURYDIKEIA (Smyrna), ANTIOCH on the Saros (Adana), and SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos (Mopsuestia). In these cases the identification was initially made by comparing the coin types of issues bearing the name of the Hellenistic foundations with those of the native city. In other instances the combined evidence of epigraphic and numismatic sources has also yielded identifications. For example, we learn from inscriptions and coins that Lebedos was refounded as a PTOLEMAIS, that APOLLONIA was an earlier name of Tripolis in Lydia, and that PHILADELPHEIA in Lydia, itself a Hellenistic settlement, was later refounded as Neocaesarea.

As with epigraphy, the study of numismatics as it relates to the Hellenistic settlements has made great strides in the last sixty years. Of particular interest are two great collections of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (SNG)—that of the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, and that of Hans von Aulock. In addition the collection in R. Ziegler's *Münzen Kilikiens aus kleineren deutschen Sammlungen* (1988) and the Tübingen and Switzerland SNG volumes, to name just a few, are quite useful. E. T. Newell's *Western Seleucid Mints* and A. Houghton's *Coins of the Seleucid Empire* are concerned with the issues of royal mints. They and Le Rider, among others, have made major contributions to Hellenistic numismatics. In addition, von Aulock has concentrated on the cities of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia in three volumes. Louis Robert has focused on numismatics in a number of studies, and Mørkholm, in numerous articles, longer investigations, and, most recently, in his posthumous *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, has made major contributions to Hellenistic numismatics. The regional reviews of numismatic literature begun in the *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* in 1955 and continued in *Chiron* in 1972 are particularly helpful, as is *Numismatic Literature*, which, since 1949, has provided a useful listing with brief summaries of published work.

Archaeology

It hardly needs to be said that the study of Hellenistic foundations has been immeasurably helped by archaeology. Our knowledge of Hellenistic city planning, for example, has been expanded tremendously by the results of excavations. One thinks immediately of PRIENE; another particularly fruitful excavation has been that at DEMETRIAS in Thessaly.

Excavations have occasionally provided solutions to previously unanswerable historical questions. I have already mentioned the reluctance of the Ephesians to move to the new site of ARSINOE chosen by Lysimachos and the solution to this problem that was offered by archaeology. I would also recall that the question whether HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia was a Seleucid or an Attalid settlement was finally settled by the discovery of inscribed theater seats that first came to light in the course of excavation. The mention of the inscribed theater seats at Hierapolis brings us back to the epigraphic and numismatic evidence, for it is frequently archaeological excavations that have yielded the inscriptions and coins that play such an important role in allowing us to reconstruct the history of a particular town.

To keep abreast of progress in archaeology one may turn to a number of sources. The *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, published in 1976, is a useful compendium of information on the major towns and cities. The *Archäologische Bibliographie*, published annually by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, is a

particularly valuable resource. For Greece one may also consult the "Archaeological Reports" in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, as well as the "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce" in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. For Asia Minor one should consult the "Newsletter" from Asia Minor published for many years by Machteld Mellink in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and "Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey" in *Anatolian Studies*. For Cyprus the "Chronique des fouilles ... à Chypre," also in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, is very useful, as is the *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*.

Introduction

The Background

Alexander the Great changed the face of the Middle East. He came to the throne in 336 B.C., invaded the Persian Empire two years later, and by the time he died in 323 had completely overrun the kingdom of Darius III. In so doing he brought under his control most of the Middle East as well as parts of central Asia and northern India, thus opening up a new world to the Macedonians and Greeks. Clearly it was necessary to establish a presence as visible and strong as possible. One means of exerting control was to settle retired Macedonian and Greek soldiers at various strategic points. Practically all of Alexander's colonies were in the East, in areas beyond the purview of this volume. Nevertheless, because of Alexander's influence on the Hellenistic world in general and Hellenistic colonization in particular, it is useful to discuss briefly his role as a colonizer and the background to his colonizing activities.

The antecedents to Alexander's settlement program are complex. They can be found in both Europe and the Middle East. In the *Philip* (120), written in 346 B.C., Isocrates had addressed the problem of the unemployed in Greece and had suggested to Philip II that he conquer Asia Minor, found new cities along the border areas, and settle in them those unemployed at the time in Greece. They would serve, in Isocrates' words, as a "buffer" vis-à-vis the Persians. At the same time, Philip would solve a major social problem facing fourth-century Greece.¹ As precedents for this great colonization scheme Isocrates

¹ For Philip as a colonizer see J. R. Ellis, *Makedonika* 9 (1969) 9-17; id., *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London, 1976) 68-69, 167; G. Cawkwell, *Philip* (London, 1978)

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could consider the Greek colonies sent out earlier in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and the cleruchies and colonies established by the Athenians in their fifth-century empire. There were also precedents in the East: the population transfers practiced by the Persians and earlier by the Babylonians and Assyrians.² When the Persians conquered Asia Minor they dealt with security problems by transferring dissidents to remote parts of their empire. The Eretrians and the Milesians, for example, were deported to Susiana and the Red Sea coast, respectively.³

Philip used population transfer and colonization as part of his program to pacify and control areas under his rule. Justin provides the clearest statement of this policy: "Returning to his kingdom, as shepherds move their flocks now to winter, now to summer pastures, so he [Philip] transported people and cities, according to his whim, as places appeared to him to need to be restored or abandoned.... Some people he installed on the frontiers against his enemies, others he placed in the most remote parts of his kingdom; some whom he had taken prisoner he distributed to supplement the populations of the cities. And thus from many tribes and nations he established one kingdom and people" (8.5.7-6.2).

Beginning with the refounding of Krenides in Thrace as Philippi in 356 B.C., Philip followed a policy of "founding strong cities at important places" in order to gain control of the Thracians (Diod. 16.71.1-2).⁴ Some

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39-45; Demand, *Urban Relocation*, 151-55; and G. M. Cohen, in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*, ed. E. Van 't Dack et al. (Leuven, 1983) 63-74

² For the deportation of the Israelites by the Assyrians and their replacement by other population groups, as well as the exile of the Judaeans by the Babylonians see 2 Kings 15 29; 17 23-24; 18 11, 32; 25 1-21; Jer 39 1-10; 52 1-27; 2 Chron 36 11-21; Dan 1 2. See also B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979); A. Malamat, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* s.v. "Exile, Assyrian," 1034-36; and B. Porten, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* s.v. "Exile, Babylonian," 1036-41. On the use of punitive deportations by the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Egyptians see G. Posener, *Syria* 34 (1957) 145-63; W. Helek, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1971) 77ff.

³ For the Eretrians and Milesians see Hdt. 6 20, 119, and 3 93; see also 5 12 (the Paeonians), 4 204 (the Barcaeans).

⁴ For Philip's refounding of Krenides as Philippi see Diod. 16 3 7, 8 6; App. *BCiv.* 4 105-6; also *IG II²* 127 45; and the references cited in note 1 above. An inscription found at Philippi (SEG XXXIV 664 [see also SEG XXXVII 573]), which was first published by C. Vatin, *Acta of the Eighth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Athens 1982* [Athens, 1984] 259-70, and republished with fuller commentary by L. Missitzis, *AncW* 12 [1985] 3-14; see further discussion by E. Badian, *ZPE* 79 [1989] 164-68; N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* 38 [1988] 382-91 and *ZPE* 82 [1990] 167-75 records a decision by Alexander the Great,

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of Philip's colonies involved the movement of (unwilling) Macedonians to new centers. Other transfers were overtly punitive. Thus, after bringing the Sarmisii under his control, Philip "led them off to Macedonia, ten thousand of them" (Polyaenus 4.2.12). We may note, too, the case of Philippopolis in Thrace. According to Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F110) Philip established this city, nicknamed "Poneropolis," by populating it with criminals, sycophants, and false witnesses. Allowing for hyperbole, Theopompus' remarks suggest that the establishment of the city was intended to deal with social problems elsewhere. Of course this was precisely the kind of program Isocrates was recommending for ridding Greece of *its* social ills.

In his colonization program, as in so much else, Alexander was influenced by Philip.⁵ But the situation facing Alexander was quite different from that which had confronted Philip. Not surprisingly Alexander's response differed in significant ways from his father's. Alexander's conquests took him thousands of miles from Macedonia. This distance from his homeland undoubtedly influenced both the policy he adopted toward the native populations he conquered and his colonization program. Given the vastness of his empire and the distance from Macedonia it made eminently good sense to avoid antagonizing his new subjects. As a matter of policy Alexander tried to cultivate the acquiescence and loyalty of the people he conquered. The difficulties in pacifying the eastern regions of his new empire made clear the need to foster such loyalty. The many anecdotes relating to Alexander's beneficent interest in the new *ethne* he met and conquered attest not only to his tremendous curiosity but also to his skill as diplomat, politician, and strategist. Unlike his predecessors in the Middle East and Macedonia, he apparently avoided where possible the use of punitive deportations.⁶

Just as distance from Europe affected the way Alexander treated the Asiatics, so it influenced his colonization program. It was one thing to move Macedonians from the interior to the border regions of Macedonia; it was quite another matter to move them from Macedonia to areas east of Mesopotamia. Although Alexander could bring over recruits for his army when he needed

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probably dating to the winter of 335-334 B.C., regarding the use of land given to Philippoi. Presumably the gift was originally made at the time of the founding of Philippoi.

⁵ For Alexander's colonization program see, for example, H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, 1: 291-301; Tschirikower, 138-54; Tarn, *Alexander*, 2: 232-59; J. Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse* (Darmstadt, 1972) 179-83.

⁶ There were occasions, of course, when Alexander did deal punitively with a resisting populace. This happened, for example, to the population of Cyropolis (according to Curtius Rufus 7.6.16ff.) and to the population of three cities founded by Cyrus (according to Justin 12.5.12); see the discussion of P. Briant, *Klio* 60 (1978) 75-76.

them, he could not simply move Macedonian civilians to new colonies as his father had done. It made better sense, logistically, to use retired soldiers as colonists. They were, after all, in the area, and they were of proven loyalty. It was, however, more than distance that prevented Alexander from bringing over Macedonian civilians for his new settlements: in his short life Alexander was constantly preoccupied with the conquest and pacification of his new empire. Diodorus claims that among the *hypomnemata* found after Alexander's death, one item indicated that he had planned "to found cities and to transfer populations from Asia to Europe and in the opposite direction from Europe to Asia in order to bring the largest continents to community and to the friendship of kinsmen by intermarriage and friendly ties" (18.4.4).⁷ Irrespective of whether this controversial document is authentic or not, it is conceivable that under peaceful conditions Alexander would have wanted to undertake such a program. But the distances involved would have made the enterprise daunting even under the best of circumstances. We know from at least one other source that it was quite difficult to transplant settlers. When Antiochos III moved the two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia he specifically alluded to the fact that the move would be difficult (κατεπερ ἐργώδους ὄντος τούτους μεταγαγεῖν (Joseph. *AJ* 12.150)). Presumably, the king was referring to logistical problems or the reluctance of the Jews to go. Alexander would have faced the same difficulties bringing civilian settlers from Europe to regions east of the Tigris. It will not be surprising therefore if Alexander, preoccupied as he was by military operations and security concerns, did not undertake any population transfer of this type. In fact he did not have to do this because he had already effected a population transfer of far greater proportions by virtue of the Greek and Macedonian soldiers who had followed him and whom he continued to bring to Asia. These were the ones he settled in his colonies. Alexander's colonizing activity corresponded to the advice Isocrates gave Philip, but not in the region the orator had suggested. The latter, of course, was thinking of Asia Minor. By the time Alexander implemented his own colonization program he had moved well beyond Asia Minor. I have already mentioned that nearly all of Alexander's colonies were east of the Tigris. W. W. Tarn believes that "the reason is obvious." As he explains it, "between the Aegean and the Tigris he had plenty of existing cities, Greek, Phoenician, Syrian, Babylonian; between the Tigris and India hardly a couple."⁸ Tarn is quite correct about the relative scarcity of

⁷ On the *hypomnemata* see J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* (Oxford, 1981) 89-97; A. B. Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander* (Oxford, 1988) 185-211

⁸ *Alexander*, 2: 233

cities east of the Tigris. But geographic determinism is hardly the whole explanation. After all, the Seleucids later ruled vast stretches of territory in both Asia and Asia Minor and found occasion to establish settlements throughout their empire, both west and east of the Tigris.

It was after his second great victory over the Persians, at Issos in 333 B.C., that Alexander began founding settlements. The battle of Issos represents a major turning point in Alexander's march of conquest. Up to this time he could claim recognition as King of Macedonia and Hegemon of the League of Corinth. In his initial correspondence with King Darius after Issos Alexander rehearsed Darius' "crimes" and ordered that in future he was to be addressed as "King of Asia" (Arr. *Anab.* 2.14.9). Of course Alexander had not yet conquered all of Asia. But the vigorous self-confidence in the claim to the title translated itself into action. It was now, as claimant to the rule of Asia, that Alexander began building settlements. And just as his father had founded eponymous cities, so he founded Alexandria in Egypt, the first of many settlements with that name.⁹ What began after Issos when Alexander called himself de facto "King of Asia" continued after Gaugamela and the death of Darius when de jure he became "King of Asia." Alexander's treatment of Ilion may serve as one example of the new situation created by the conquest of the Persian Empire. According to Strabo (13.1.26), immediately after the battle of the Granikos River in 334 Alexander made various benefactions to Ilion (on which see below). But it was only after the "overthrow of the Persians" that Alexander wrote to Ilion and promised to make it a "great city." Not surprisingly, it was also after the "overthrow of the Persians," when Alexander was transformed from conqueror to ruler, that he began in earnest to found settlements throughout his newly won kingdom.

Every colony served some specific purpose—be it to pacify an area, guard a road, or garrison a frontier region. And practically every colony had the same official name, Alexandria. The use of this toponym was a master stroke of propaganda. It served as a constant reminder to the inhabitants of the particular region of the royal presence, and it bound the colonists more closely to the king. Of course, it also served as a reminder of the greatness and extent of Alexander's power. Not surprisingly, Alexander's successors made extensive use of family eponyms when founding their settlements.

Alexander's influence on the age that followed his reign cannot be overstated. He not only brought the whole Persian Empire under Greco-

⁹ It is highly unlikely that Alexander founded any settlements in Asia Minor; see further Appendix II. The same is true for Alexandria by Issos (so Tscherikower, 58-59; and Grainger, *Cities of Seleukid Syria*, 36-37; cf., however, Tarn, *Alexander*, 2: 237-38).

Macedonian rule and bequeathed it to his successors; he also established the model for Hellenistic kingship. And one of the activities a Hellenistic king undertook was the establishment of new settlements. While the Successors were emulating Alexander they were incidentally competing with each other. And just as Alexander founded settlements throughout his empire, so his successors did likewise in the kingdoms they inherited. In the generation after Alexander's death there was a very strong tendency for all the Successors to act in unison. What one did, all did; what one avoided, all avoided. In 306, for example, after the battle of Salamis, Antigonos and Demetrios assumed the title "king." Not to be outdone, the other Diadochoi "out of jealousy" (ζηλοτυψῶντες, Diod. 20 53.4) similarly took the title at this time. A consideration of the marriages contracted by the various Diadochoi reveals the same tendency. In the years before the battle of Ipsos they avoided marriages with each other. Immediately after, with the changed international situation brought about by the death of Antigonos and the disintegration of his empire, the Diadochoi ventured into a veritable frenzy of marriages. Seleukos married Demetrios' daughter Stratonike; Ptolemy gave one daughter, Arsinoe, to Lysimachos, another daughter, Theoxena, to Agathokles of Syracuse, a third, Ptolemais, to Demetrios, and a fourth, Lysandra, to Kassandros' son Alexander. Meanwhile another son of Kassandros, Antipater, married Lysimachos' daughter, Eurydike, and Pyrrhos married Antigone, Berenike's daughter by Philippos.¹⁰

It comes as no surprise then that all the Diadochoi founded settlements. The earliest, incidentally, were established even before the Successors took the title of "king." Kassandros was apparently the first, building KASSANDREIA and probably THESSALONIKE as well, in 316 B.C. The latter toponym is interesting. Kassandros named the settlement, of course, in honor of his wife, who was a daughter of Philip II. As a claimant to the Macedonian throne he was surely aware of the propaganda value of following the lead of Philip and Alexander in founding cities and then advertising his tie to them by the name of one of his cities.¹¹ In 316 Kassandros also rebuilt Boeotian THEBES, which had been destroyed by Alexander the Great, and shortly after encouraged Akarnanians to move from their unfortified villages to larger, protected cities (Diod. 19.67.4). Lysimachos founded LYSIMACHEIA in 309, and Antigonos in the years before his death at Ipsos had an active career as a colonizer.

¹⁰ On the assumption of the title by the various Diadochoi see E. Gruen, in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian*, ed. J. W. Eadie and J. Ober (Lanham, Md., 1985) 253-71. On the marriages see G. M. Cohen, *Athenaeum* (1974) 177-79; Seibert, *Verbindungen*.

¹¹ E. Carney, *AHB* 2 (1988) 138.

The royal tradition of settlement founding and refounding continued with succeeding generations. However, it was more than just tradition that impelled Hellenistic monarchs and dynasts to found colonies.¹² Colonization programs answered military and security, as well as economic and political, needs (see below, "The Purpose of the Settlements"). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the successors of the Diadochoi also founded large numbers of settlements.

Discussions of colonization by Alexander's successors tend to concentrate on the Seleucid achievements.¹³ This is understandable. The Seleucid empire was vast, by far the largest of the successor states. And the Seleucids, especially Seleukos I as well as Antiochos I and II, were vigorous colonizers. But they were not the only Hellenistic rulers to found colonies. As I have already mentioned, Antigonos I Monophthalmos was also an energetic builder. It is well to recall for example that at least three major Hellenistic foundations—ALEXANDREIA Troas, NIKAIA, and Antioch on the Orontes—had originally been founded as Antigoneias. And in fact a number of scholars have argued that Antigonos effectively anticipated much of the great colonizing work of Seleukos.¹⁴ Antigonos' successors, especially Demetrios Poliorketes and Philip V, continued the pattern he set. More or less contemporary with Antigonos Monophthalmos were Kassandros and Lysimachos, both of whom took an active role in founding settlements. I have already referred to Kassandros' foundations. Lysimachos' settlements included LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, ALEXANDREIA Troas, NIKAIA, ARSINOE Ephesos, and EURYDIKEIA Smyrna. The Attalids, of course, established colonies in the area they ruled.¹⁵ Their foundations included STRATONIKEIA (possibly) and PHILADELPHIA in Lydia, DIONYSOPOLIS and EUMENEIA in Phrygia, and ATTALEIA in Pamphylia. Reflecting their strength as a naval power, the Ptolemies established numerous colonies in harbors and port cities throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.¹⁶ It was not, however, just the successor kings to Alexander who were colonizers. Lesser known dynasts, such as Pleistarchos and the Lysias/Philomelos family established colonies, as did the Bithynian, Pontic, and other semi-Hellenized kings. In short, settlement

¹² For a list of founders and their colonies see Appendix I

¹³ See, for example, Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique*, 403f

¹⁴ See Billows, *Antigonos*, 292-305; and, earlier, Tscherikower, 154-55; Griffith, *Mercenaries*, 149-50; P. Goukowsky, in *La géographie administrative et politique d' Alexandre à Mahomet: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 14-16 Juin 1979*, ed. T. Fahd (Leiden, n.d.) 15 n. 27

¹⁵ See, for example, Hansen, *Attalids*², 174ff

¹⁶ See, for example, L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 146-56; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, passim; H. Hauben, *RDAC* 0987) 214-16

founding was actively and widely pursued by all the Hellenistic kings and dynasts.

It is interesting to note that the earliest datable settlements of the Successors were in Europe, not Asia Minor or Asia, and they did not involve population transfer. Rather, both KASSANDREIA and THESSALONIKE as well as LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace resulted from synoecism, a traditional Greek method for founding poleis and one that was subsequently widely used in Asia Minor by other monarchs. Frequently ancient authors will specify that a particular place had resulted from a synoecism. Similarly inscriptions will occasionally make reference to a *synoikismos*. It is well to recall, therefore, that the term could be used to describe a number of different processes. For example, it could refer to the political unification of various towns with or without the inhabitants actually moving. In other cases it could be used to describe the repopulation of a city with former inhabitants who had scattered or fled.¹⁷

These early settlements were founded, as I have said, in the late fourth century B.C. The time frame for Hellenistic colony foundings runs from this point to the beginning of the first century B.C. Within that period each of the dynasties was active at particular times. Antigonid colonizing began at the end of the fourth century with Antigonos Monophthalmos and continued at a slower pace under his successors down to Philip V. The great age of Seleucid colonization also began at the end of the fourth century and extended to the middle of the third century B.C.—the period coterminous with the greatest vigor and stability of the family. Certainly Seleucid kings founded settlements after this time, but the number of new colonies declined and the nature of the undertaking changed. For example, we can ascribe definitely or tentatively—at least thirteen settlements in Asia Minor to Antiochos I. The available evidence indicates that many of these were settled by Macedonians or Greeks. In contrast, we can credit Antiochos III with only five. At LYSIMACHEIA he did undertake a major program to rebuild a city that had been destroyed and abandoned. On the other hand, at SARDIS and AMYZON his work was limited to urban rehabilitation. Finally, for two, the JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia and Phrygia and the KARDAKIAN KOME in Lycia (possibly a colony of his), Antiochos III used Asiatics. Antiochos IV probably founded fewer colonies than has generally been believed. And those foundations that may be ascribed to him were in all likelihood little more than formal renamings.¹⁸ The bulk of Ptolemaic colonizing activity took place in the first half of the

¹⁷ See Appendix V

¹⁸ See Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 116-18

third century B.C., especially during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285-246). Not surprisingly, the lesser Hellenistic dynasties that first appeared on the international stage in the generations after the Diadochoi were active somewhat later. Thus we find the Attalids as well as the Bithynian and Cappadocian royal houses undertaking energetic settlement founding programs in the latter part of the third and the first half of the second century B.C. Last of all, the Pontic dynasty, particularly Mithridates VI Eupator, was responsible for a number of foundations.

The Settlements and the Kings

In the Hellenistic period the center of gravity of the Greek world shifted from Greece to the Middle East. By the end of the fourth century B.C. Sparta was already in decline, Thebes had had its brief moment in the sun, and Athens after the Lamian War moved swiftly off the center stage. In the generation that followed, Athens became what it would remain until the end of antiquity: a respected university town, visited by persons of culture and decorated by sentimental Hellenistic monarchs and autocrats. But it was no longer a world power. That status had passed to the Hellenistic monarchies, as had much of the wealth of the new age.

A great constitutional difficulty for the Hellenistic world was the relationship of the new monarchies to the poleis, both the old and the recently established ones. Except in vestigial form monarchy did not exist in most of classical Greece. As a result there was no civic tradition in Greece that took into account the relationship of the polis to the monarch.¹⁹ In Greek political tradition a hallmark of the polis was that it was—theoretically—*καὶ αὐτόνομος*, free and independent. Greek concern on this point can be seen quite vividly in the invitation the Athenians extended in 377 B.C. to cities to join the Second Athenian League. The Athenians, sensitive after their abuse of the allies in the fifth century, specified in the invitation that each allied city was to be "free and autonomous, using whatever form of government it wants, receiving neither a garrison nor an [Athenian] governor

¹⁹ On Hellenistic kingship see Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique*, 181-294; L. Mooren, in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*, ed. E. Van 't Dack et al. (Leuven, 1983) 205-40; and E. W. Walbank, in *CAH*² VII.1: 62-100. On the kings and the settlements see, for example, P. Zancan, *Il monarcato ellenistico nei suoi elementi federativi* (Padua, 1934); Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher*; E. Bickerman, *RPh* (1939) 335-49 (review of Heuss); A. H. M. Jones, *Greek City* 1-50, 95-112; Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 1343-44; Préaux, "Villes hellénistiques," 69-133; and Orth, *König.. Macht*, esp. 1-15, 173ff.

nor paying tribute."²⁰ Ideally these were the conditions under which a completely free city could exist; these conditions were obviously incompatible with the centralized control of a Hellenistic kingdom. In fact, one of the great polarities of the Hellenistic monarchies was the tension between the Greek tradition of the independent polis and the central control that could be exerted by the king. This tension can be seen clearly, for example, in the actions of Antigonos Monophthalmos who publicly assured cities under his rule of their "freedom and autonomy" and then proceeded to impose his dictates when necessary.²¹

Thus in 311 B.C. Antigonos proclaimed his readiness to preserve the freedom and autonomy of the Greeks. This intention is preserved in a letter Antigonos sent to the city of Skepsis in the Troad announcing the peace that had just been concluded with Kassandros, Lysimachos, and Ptolemy (*RC* 1.2, 55, 61). In fact, the subsequent experience of Skepsis may serve as an example of the problem facing king and city. In the same year Skepsis voted to set up a cult image and to establish divine honors for Antigonos. The inscription recording this decree also mentions an earlier festival for Antigonos, presumably also involving divine honors (*OGIS* 6.10-35). The honors voted in 311 B.C. were in gratitude for the recent peace and guarantee of autonomy and freedom. It is instructive—and sobering—to follow the next step in the history of Skepsis. A few years later Antigonos forced its population to join his foundation of Antigoneia Troas (Strabo 13.1.33); SO much for "freedom and autonomy." This short excursus on Skepsis' history brings into focus a number of points: the desire by the king to appear as a champion of the freedom of the Greeks, the desire of the city to reciprocate this benefaction, and, finally, the king's ability to override this freedom when he chose. Let us consider these points briefly as they relate to the new poleis.

Antigonos and his son, Demetrios, were masters of public relations. Unlike Antipater and his son, Kassandros, Antigonos followed Alexander in professing concern for the freedom of the Greek cities. I will not enter here into a discussion of the sincerity of this concern. Rather I would point out that the public relations campaign was one aspect of a larger effort by all the kings to lavish benefactions—in the form of both civic grants and material gifts—on both the old and the new cities in their respective empires and beyond. Such

²⁰ M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1948) 2: no. 123, 19-23; J. Cargill, *The Second Athenian League* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981) 14-47.

²¹ For Antigonos' policy toward the Greek cities see A. Heuss, *Hermes* 73 (1938) 133-94; R. H. Simpson, *Hist.* 8 (1959) 385-409; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 103-29; and Billows, *Antigonos*, 197-236.

efforts advertised to the Hellenistic world the kings' philhellenism and made visible to the Greco-Macedonian settlers the royal concern for their welfare and loyalty. As in so many other areas, here too Alexander set the standard. Immediately after his victory at the battle of the Granikos River Alexander visited ILION. According to Strabo (13.1.26) he decorated the temple with offerings, bestowed on the city the title "polis," gave orders to improve the city with buildings, and determined it would be free and exempt from tribute. After the "overthrow of the Persians" he sent a letter to Ilion promising to make it a "great polis," to build a notable sanctuary, and to proclaim sacred games.

Alexander did not live to carry out all these plans. Nevertheless, Strabo's lists may serve as a useful illustration of the types of benefits a city could expect. The example set by Alexander was in fact followed by his successors and in this way developed the tradition of Hellenistic kings and queens as benefactors and patrons.²² A good indication of the importance attached to public benefaction by the Hellenistic kings can be seen in the fact that after an earthquake devastated Rhodes in 228/7, it received contributions from Hieron and Gelon, Ptolemy III, Antigonos Doson, Seleukos III, Prousius I, and Mithridates II, as well as Lysanias, Olympichos, and Limnaios (Polyb. 5.88-90.4).²³ The attention paid to Rhodes calls to mind the numerous urban rehabilitation projects undertaken by the various monarchs. These could, for example, involve cities that had been destroyed or rendered uninhabitable by war or natural causes. I have already mentioned Kassandros' rebuilding of THEBE. Prousius I did the same for Kios and renamed it for himself. Antiochos III rebuilt the abandoned

²² Examples of Hellenistic rulers as benefactors abound. Antiochos I restored temples in Babylon (J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*³ [Princeton, 1969] 317), Antiochos III made a number of donations to the Jews in Judaea (Josephus *AJ* 12.138-44), and Antiochos IV was prodigal in his gifts to cities and temples throughout the Greek world (Livy 41.20). Attalos I was a great benefactor of Athens (Polyb. 16.25-26); Eumenes II was particularly well known for his benefactions to PERGAMON (Strabo 13.4.2); Attalos II was very generous to Delphi (*Syll.*³ 672); Theocritus (17.73-130) praised Ptolemy II for his generosity. For royal gifts see, for example, Bickerman, *JS*, 123-25; L. Robert, *EEP*, 136-50 (gifts of Eastern kings); id., *Ét. anat.*, 84-87; C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939) 41-43; id., "Villes hellénistiques," 119-20; Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 1694 (index); P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque* (Paris, 1976) 228ff.; Gauthier, *Les cités grecques*, 39-53; W. Ameling, *Quaderni Catanesi* 17 (1987) 11-40.

²³ On the earthquake at Rhodes and the outpouring of assistance see Berthold, *Rhodes*, 92-93.

LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace and was responsible for restoring sections of SARDIS and AMYZON.

Royal benefactions were also showered on the new settlements, often at the time of their founding. This happened, for example, at THEBES, LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, APOLLONIS, SARDIS, EUPATORIA Amisos, and the JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia and Phrygia. It was undoubtedly in connection with the founding of DEMETRIAS Sikyon that Demetrios Poliorketes' mistress, Lamia, gave a painted stoa to the city. According to Strabo, "the kings" (unidentified) "adorned Stratonikeia [i.e., in Caria] with expensive buildings" (14.2.25), and another unidentified king wrote to NYSA in the second century B.C. that he would give it "all the other benefactions (*philanthropa*) and honors (*teimia*) which the kings before us granted" (RC 64.13). Eumenes II and other Attalid kings lavished much attention on Pergamon (Strabo 13.4.1-2). The libraries at PERGAMON and Alexandria are excellent examples of Hellenistic royal patronage.²⁴ But if a king could give, he could take away. I have already mentioned that Antiochos IV was generous in giving gifts to cities. He was also generous in giving cities as gifts. According to the author of 2 Maccabees (4.30-31) Antiochos gave ANTIOCH on the Kydnos and Mallos as a gift to his mistress. In both cities this gift caused riots that could be quelled only by the king's presence! Finally, we may expect that gifts were often given with strings—overtly or covertly—attached. Polybius, for example, describes (22.7-8) how King Eumenes wanted to give the Achaeans 125 talents. The interest from this was to be used to pay the Achaean council. We are told that Apollonides of Sikyon, among others, vigorously opposed Eumenes' gift on the grounds that it would allow the Attalid king to interfere in the affairs of the League. Ultimately the Achaeans decided not to accept the gift, though Polybius adds that its magnitude made it "hard to resist"!

In addition to material gifts, kings made numerous grants of civic benefits to cities. For example, Demetrios Poliorketes reestablished *eleutheria*, (freedom) for DEMETRIAS Sikyon, and King Antiochos promised to guard LYSIMACHEIA's [autonomy], democracy, to keep it ungarrisoned and [*aphorologeros*]. In Asia Minor fragmentary inscriptions indicate SELEUKEIA Tralleis was receiving privileges, including some kind of relief, probably from Antiochos III. Seleukos I and Antiochos I granted NYSA the right to be *asylos*, while another king whose name is lost confirmed it in *hikesia* (the right to receive suppliants), *asylia*, and *ateleia* (tax exemption), rights that "[had been previously granted

²⁴ On the library at Pergamon see, for example, Hansen, *Attalids*², 272-74, 355-56; for Ptolemaic patronage see P M Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972) 305-35; for the library see pp 320ff

by] earlier kings" (RC 9.12, 64. 11-13) Farther east, coinage and inscriptions of the second and first centuries B.C. indicate that Aigeai and Seleukeia on the Pyramos were *Hiera* and autonomous, while Hierapolis Castabala was *Hiera* and *Asylos*.²⁵

The cities reciprocated this beneficent attention with demonstrations of goodwill. These demonstrations could take a number of forms, depending on the benefactors and the magnitude of the gift. Cities could vote, among other things, a decree of praise, free meals, *proedria* at games, citizenship, or *ateleia*. Such honors were liberally given to prominent and generous individuals. For example, APOLLONIA Salbake granted citizen rights, *ateleia*, and *proedria* to the Seleucid hipparch stationed there. But the greatest honor a Hellenistic city could give—normally reserved for a ruler and, occasionally, his wife—was the establishment of a cult. While civic cults first appeared at the end of the Peloponnesian War when Samos established one for Lysander, the phenomenon proliferated under Alexander and during the Hellenistic period.²⁶ The spread of civic cults in fact coincides with the decline of the independence of the polis in the age of monarchy. At the same time the cults reflect the historical importance and centrality of religion in the classical polis. Cults and the public festivals of civic deities, such as Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus at Athens, were as commonly found in Greece as were hero cults and founder cults.²⁷ In discussing the creation of new political subdivisions in his Cretan city, Plato specifies that each section was to be assigned a god or daimon, or at least a hero (*Leg.* 738D).²⁸ The new political reality for poleis created by the establishment of the Hellenistic monarchies likewise necessitated the creation of new cults. These cults allowed the cities to

²⁵ Examples of royal grants of civic benefits to the older cities are also known. Thus Antiochos II confirmed Erythrai in its status as autonomous and *aphorologetos* (tribute-free; RC 15 26-27). Seleukos II recognized Smyrna as *hiera* (holy) and *asylos* (inviolable; OGIS 229 12), and Antiochos III granted to Teos its status as *hiera*, *asylos*, and *aphorologetos* (P. Hermann, *Anadolu* 9 [1965] P. 34, l. 18). On the grants of *asylia*, etc., see, for example, Préaux, "Villes hellénistiques," 113-18.

²⁶ On civic cults see especially Habicht, *Gott* 2; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge, 1984) 25-430.

²⁷ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What Is Polis Religion?" in *The Greek Polis*, ed. O. Murray and S. Price (Oxford, 1990) 307ff.; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, 1985) 333-37. An inscription of the first century A.D. from Aigeai honors a priest of Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias (*I. Cilicie* 74 3-4). The cult was undoubtedly established, as Dagron and Feissel suggest, by the Macedonian founders (*I. Cilicie*, p. 119). For the same cult at Mallos see L. Robert and A. Dupont-Sommer, *Hierapolis Castabala*, 98 n. 2.

²⁸ See G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* (Princeton, 1960) 458-59.

relate in a meaningful way to their new reality. It also allowed the cities to curry favor with the king.

Many of the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, among them ILION and PRIENE, established cults in honor of Alexander the Great.²⁹ The practice continued after his death and spread.³⁰ Cults for the various rulers, frequently as founders, were set up in many of the Hellenistic settlements. We find such evidence at KASSANDREIA, DEMETRIAS in Thessaly, DEMETRIAS Sikyon, ILION, PERGAMON, KOLOPHON, ARSINOE Ephesos, SARDIS, NYSA, ANTIOCH on the Maeander, APOLLONIA Salbake, APAMEIA Kelainai, HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia, LAODIKEIA on the Lykos, EUMENEIA, APOLLONIA in Phrygia, ARSINOE in Cilicia, and PROUSIAS on the Hypios. There is abundant evidence from the early Hellenistic period indicating that such cults were frequently established in gratitude for royal favor. This was the case, for example, at ILION, the Ionian League, Smyrna, and Teos.³¹ The inscriptions from Smyrna and Teos give a rather full explanation of the circumstances underlying the establishment of the cult. The preamble of the Smyrna decree regarding Seleukos II begins: "Resolved by the people, the proposal of the generals. Since previously at the time when King Seleukos (II) crossed over to Seleukis and many great dangers surrounded our city and territory, the people maintained its goodwill and friendship toward him, neither being frightened by the attack of the enemy nor caring about the destruction of its property, but considering everything to be secondary to continuing in its policy and to keeping a share in (the King's) interests to the best of its ability just as it promised at first; and wherefore King Seleukos, showing piety toward the gods and affection toward his parents, being generous and knowing how to return favors to his benefactors, honored our city because of the goodwill of the people and the ambitions it displayed for his interests and because of the establishment of the cult of his father Antiochos Theos and his father's mother Stratonike Thea in our city in which they are given remarkable honors publicly by the people and privately by each of the citizens and he guaranteed

²⁹ ILION: *CIG* 3615; PRIENE: *I Priene* 108 75. Additional evidence for such cults: the Ionian League (*OGIS* 222 24); Ephesos (Strabo 14-1 22; *SEG* IV 521); Erythrai (*Syll* ³ 1014 111); Bargylia (*OGIS* 3); Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Mag* 16). In general see the collected evidence and discussion in Habicht, *Gott* ², 17-27.

³⁰ There were cults, for example, of Antigonos Monophthalmos at Skepsis (*OGIS* 6 20-33; Habicht *Gott* ², 42-44), of Antigonos and Demetrios as *Soteres* at Athens (Plut. *Demetr* 10 3-4; Habicht, 44-55), and of Ptolemy I at Rhodes (Diod. 20 100 3-4; Paus. 1 8 6; Habicht, 109-10). All of these were established before the end of the fourth century B.C.

³¹ Ilion: *OGIS* 219 (= *I. Ilion* 32); Ionian League: *OGIS* 222 15 (= *I. Erythrai u. Klazomenai* 504); on Smyrna and Teos see below.

to the people its autonomy and democracy and he wrote to the kings and dynasts, the cities and the peoples (*ethne*), asking that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis be acknowledged to be inviolate and our city holy and inviolate ..." (OGIS 229.1-12). The preamble of the Teos decree likewise presents a picture of a reciprocally beneficial relationship: "[Proposal of the] *timouchoi* [and generals: since King] Antiochos (III) ... favorable policy [and preserving ... the] goodwill he shows and which he inherited from his [ancestors], and ... intends to ... manifold, and intends to be the common [benefactor] of the other Greek [cities and] of our own city. Previously, when staying in the region beyond the Tauros, he was the cause of many benefits to us; when he came to our region he settled affairs in an advantageous way, and when he stayed in our city he saw that we were exhausted both in our public and our private affairs because of the continuous wars and the great burden of contributions we were bearing. Wishing to display piety towards the gods to whom he consecrated our city and territory, and wanting to do a favour to the people and the association of Dionysiac artists, he came forward in person in the assembly and granted to our city and territory (to be) holy (*hiera*), inviolate (*asylos*) and free from tribute (*aphorologetos*) and undertook to free us himself from the other contributions we pay to King Attalos (I) so that by bringing about an improvement in the city's fortunes he would receive the title not only of benefactor of the people, but of its saviour. He stayed in the city with his friends and the military forces which accompanied him, and gave ample evidence of the good faith he already shows towards all men, and after this has constantly been responsible for many favours to us, thereby giving an example to all the Greeks of how he treats those who are his benefactors and who are well disposed towards him; some of the blessings which resulted in prosperity for our city he is now bringing about, while others he will bring about in future. He wrote a letter to the people in which he suggested the sending of an embassy [to him] to discuss the matters he said he was convinced would [benefit] the people as well, and when the people sent as ambassadors Dionysios son of Apollo ... Hermagoras son of Epimenes, Theodoros son of Zopyros, he declared to them [that] he had freed the city for all time as he had promised of the tributes which we paid to King Attalos. Concerning these matters he sent a letter in which he said he had instructed the ambassadors to report to us, and the ambassadors reported these matters [to the people]. In the same way his sister and queen Laodice constantly shares the same view as the king in [all circumstances] ... and in good deeds towards the city she shows [herself] eager and zealous to perform benefactions, and the people has received the greatest [blessings] from both of them. Therefore, so that we may be seen in every [circumstance] to be returning adequate thanks to the king and to the queen and to be surpassing ourselves in the honours paid to

them in proportion to the benefactions received, and so that all may see that the [people] is fully disposed to repay gratitude ..."³² The extent to which both monarch and city went to publicize their appreciation of each other is an interesting phenomenon of the Hellenistic age. It was in fact a common occurrence for cities to point out in decrees that they knew how to repay benefactors. For example, the preamble of the Athenian decree for Kallias of Sphettos includes the statement "therefore so that all who wish to show zeal towards the city may know that the people always remember those who have benefited it and repay thanks to everyone of them..."³³ It was obviously important for cities to demonstrate their appreciation of royal benefactions, just as it was important for the monarchs to show their appreciation of civic goodwill. This mutual need smoothed over the potentially difficult situation created by the exercise of centralized authority over the poleis. After all, the Hellenistic kingdoms outside of Macedonia were personal rather than national monarchies, held as spear-won territories. As Diodorus writes (19.105.4), these kingdoms consisted of *ethne* and poleis. The kings ruled empires planted in foreign lands that had large components of *ethne*. The *ethne* were the native substratum in which the new Greco-Macedonian poleis existed. Above all else the kings needed the loyalty and the support of the Greco-Macedonians if they were to maintain their hold on the throne. The Teos decree makes this quite clear. Having elucidated the benefactions Antiochos III had bestowed on it, the decree of Teos explains that this gives "an example to *all the Greeks* of how he treats those who are his benefactors and who are well disposed towards him" (emphasis mine).³⁴ The ruler cult provided a concrete means whereby the poleis could publicly acknowledge their benefactors. And their benefactors were always happy to be recognized. But all the benefactions and diplomatic courtesies could not hide the hard fact that power ultimately lay with the ruler, not the polis. Ruler cult was a partial solution at best for the problems the cities faced.

A Geographic Overview

We may expect that the Hellenistic settlements were normally not randomly built but were founded and located with specific purposes in mind. A consideration of the larger geographic context of the colonies would be helpful in un-

³² Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) PP 34-36, 11 1-44; trans : M Austin, *The Hellenistic World, from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981) 253

³³ T L Shear, *Hesperia* Suppl 17 (Princeton, 1978) p 4, 11 83-86

³⁴ Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) P 34, 1 26

derstanding the policies and the concerns underlying the settlement programs of the various Hellenistic monarchs. With that in mind, therefore, I should like to examine briefly the various regions that were colonized by the kings.

Europe

When Plutarch (*De Alex. fort.* I.328E), Ammianus Marcellinus (14.8.6), and Libanius (*Or.* 11.101) discussed the achievement of Alexander and the Seleucids in founding settlements they were clearly thinking primarily of Asia. Certainly one would have to grant that the most dramatic results of their work were in that part of the world. In this region extended contacts between the native population and Greeks and Macedonians first occurred as a result of Alexander's conquests. The contrast in the demographic picture before and after the advent of the Macedonian was overwhelming. According to Plutarch, "by founding more than seventy cities among the barbarian tribes and by spreading Greek magistracies over Asia, Alexander overcame its wild and uncivilized way of life." Plutarch's encomium for Alexander later found an echo in Libanius' praise for Seleukos I Nikator as a colonizer of Asia. Nevertheless we should not forget that there were Hellenistic settlements established in Europe as well and, as far as we know, that some of the earliest foundations of the Diadochoi were built there. I have already mentioned that some of these settlements resulted from synoecisms. Other settlements were refounded older towns. Not surprisingly, there is no firm evidence in Macedonia or Greece for military colonies of the type found in central Anatolia. They would hardly have been needed in Macedonia or tolerated in Greece.

Epirus, Illyria, and Thrace. Epirus, Illyria, and Thrace were on the periphery of the Greek and Macedonian world. The Macedonian expansion toward these regions in the latter part of the fourth century resulted in the building of a number of foundations. Many of the Hellenistic settlements there as well as in Macedonia and Thessaly were located on north-south routes running from the Danube region to central and southern Greece.

While not a direct possession of Alexander, Epirus came under Kassandros' rule around 314 B.C. Subsequently it passed to Pyrrhos. The former founded ANTIPATREIA in southern Illyria, and the latter established ANTIGONEIA in Epirus. Both settlements were strategically located. Livy (31.27.1) described Antipatreia as a fortified city in a narrow pass. Antigoneia overlooked the gorge of the Drin River, which was the main route from north into central Epirus.

I have already mentioned the pacification program of Thrace that was undertaken by Philip II and his use of population transfers and colony foundings

for this purpose. In 340 B.C. his son built ALEXANDROPOLIS after subduing a rebellion of the tribe of the Maidoi. The most important Hellenistic settlement in Thrace was LYSIMACHEIA. According to Appian (*Syr.* 1) it was built in 309 B.C. as a bulwark against the Thracians. Subsequently it was destroyed by the Thracians. Nevertheless the importance of its location was such that Antiochos III decided to rebuild it in 196 B.C. as a residence for his son.

According to the Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54) Ptolemy III Euergetes I included Thrace and the Hellespont among his conquests. Polybius (5.34.7-8) mentions that at the accession of Ptolemy IV Philopator the Egyptians held the main points of the Asia Minor coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, including places around LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, Ainos, and Maroneia. Polybius notes that this gave the Ptolemies strong influence over the affairs of Thrace and Macedonia.³⁵ Despite this there is no evidence that the Ptolemies established any colonies in Thrace.

After the defeat of Antiochos III at the battle of Magnesia Eumenes II received Antiochos' European possessions. These included Lysimacheia and the Thracian Chersonese as well as points on the north shore of the Propontis (Polyb. 21.45.9), among which was PANION.³⁶ Evidence for an Attalid colony at Panion can be seen in five honorific inscriptions for Attalid kings that have been discovered there.

Macedonia. After the death of Alexander, Antipater remained in control of Macedon. Following his death in 319 B.C. his son, Kassandros, ultimately succeeded him. Married to Alexander's half sister, Thessalonike, Kassandros emulated him by founding new settlements with dynastic names. Kassandros, in fact, was the first of Alexander's successors to do this. In 316 B.C. he founded by synoecism the city of KASSANDREIA and began the rebuilding of THEBES in Boeotia. Probably around the same time he built, also by synoecism, THESSALONIKE. HIS example was soon followed by the other Diadochoi.

The Antigonid rulers were also active founding colonies in Macedonia and in Thessaly. In Macedonia, for example, we encounter ANTIGONEIAS in Chalcidice and in Paeonia, DEMETRIAS, PERSEIS, PHILA, and STRATONIKEIA. While the exact location of many of these settlements cannot be specified, it is quite probable that many of them were located at strategically important sites. For instance, ANTIGONEIA in Paeonia was on the Axios River on the road from Stobi to Thessalonike (Pliny *NH* 4.34 and *Tab. Peut.* VIII.5).

³⁵ For the Ptolemies in Thrace see Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 159-61

³⁶ For the territorial acquisitions of Eumenes II in Thrace after the defeat of Antiochos III see Hansen, *Attalids*², 94 and n. 62

The so-called Iron Gate of the middle valley of the Axios was a gorge that provided the easiest access from the lands of the Danube into Macedonia. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that ANTIGONEIA was located in this general area.³⁷ Similarly, PHILA occupied an important site at the northern entrance to the Vale of Tempe. Finally, I might mention Aristotle's native town, Stageira, which was destroyed along with Olynthos by Philip II in 348 B.C. It was subsequently restored, probably by Philip himself. Tradition also recorded that he did this at the urging of his son and out of respect for the latter's teacher, Aristotle.³⁸

Thessaly and Aetolia. The most important Hellenistic settlement in Thessaly was DEMETRIAS. Like KASSANDREIA and THESSALONIKE, it was established by synoecism. The founder was Demetrios Poliorketes. Its location should be noted. Not only did it dominate the southern access to the Vale of Tempe, it was a coastal city with a harbor: despite his conquest of Macedonia Demetrios was still very concerned about supporting the Antigonid navy in the Aegean. Furthermore, together with Chalkis and Korinth it was considered to be one of the "fetters of Greece" (Strabo 9.4. 15; Livy 32.37.3; Polyb. 18.11.4-7). Control of these cities, along with Piraeus when possible, gave the Antigonids control over central and southern Greece. It also helped prevent the Ptolemies from establishing themselves there. Other Antigonid settlements in Thessaly included OLYMPIAS, the refounded fortress-village of Gonnokondylon, PHILIPPOLIS Gomphoi, which guarded two of the passes from Epirus into Thessaly, and Phthiotic Thebes, the Aetolian stronghold that had been threatening Philip V's communication with the south. Philip captured the latter place in 217 B.C. and refounded it as a PHILIPPOLIS.

In Aetolia there were four cities that should be noted—ARSINOE Konope, LYSIMACHEIA, PTOLEMAIS, and ATTALEIA. The first will have been named for Arsinoe (the wife of Lysimachos and, later, of Ptolemy II Philadelphos), the

³⁷ Hammond, *Macedonia*, 1: 78, 172-74; Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia*, 3:384

³⁸ The circumstances of the rebuilding of Stageira are variously reported in the sources. According to Plutarch (*Alex* 7.2) Philip himself restored the city. Elsewhere, however, Plutarch says Aristotle refounded the city (*Mor* 1097B and 1126F). In fact Aristotle's name is frequently found in connection with the rebuilding of Stageira. Other sources, for example, mention Aristotle's role in interceding with Philip or asking Alexander to do this (D.L. 5.4). Dio Chrysostom remarks (47.9) that it was said of Aristotle that he alone had the good fortune to be the founder of his own fatherland. The *Vita Aristotelis Marciana* (83-87, ed. O. Gigon) adds that in gratitude the Stageirites established a festival, the Aristoteleia, and named one of their months after the philosopher. See further Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 313; Zahrt, *Olynth*, 243; and A. H. Chroust, *Aristotle* (Notre Dame, 1973) 46.

second for Lysimachos, the third for Ptolemy III Euergetes I, and the fourth for Attalos I. The founders are not definitely known. However, since the settlements were in Aetolian territory, I do not think they were built by Arsinoe, Lysimachos, Ptolemy, or Attalos. Hellenistic rulers did not normally establish settlements in regions they did not rule. Furthermore it is hardly likely the host state would have allowed it. Rather I believe these settlements were named by the Aetolians to honor allied monarchs. This, too, was somewhat unusual but not completely out of character for the diplomatically adroit Aetolians.³⁹

The Peloponnese. Settlement building south of Thessaly was limited. Those sections of central and southern Greece that were under Macedonian hegemony were usually controlled by garrisons rather than settlements.⁴⁰ In fact the only Macedonian foundation south of Thessaly was DEMETRIAS, Poliorketes' refoundation of Sikyon. The capture of Mantinea in 223 B.C. by the Achaeans with the help of Antigonos Doson was followed by the enslavement of its population and the distribution of its wealth to the conquerors. Subsequently the Achaeans refounded it as ANTIGONEIA. Finally, Methana was refounded as ARSINOE, most probably by Arsinoe II Philadelphos. The latter represents our only known example of a Ptolemaic foundation on the mainland of Greece. The important docking facilities make clear that its primary function was to service the Egyptian fleet in the Aegean.⁴¹

The Islands

I group together all the settlements that were located on the various islands in the Propontis, the Aegean, and the Mediterranean. This is, of course, arbitrary. An island in the Propontis has little in common with Crete and less in common with Cyprus other than that all are islands. Furthermore it may well be argued that geopolitically Cyprus should be grouped with Cilicia or northern Syria.⁴² Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience I put all the islands in one section. That having been said, one is immediately struck by the fact

³⁹ For a decree of KASSANDREIA while under the hegemony of Lysimachos in honor of Androbolos, an Aetolian from Naupaktos see *Syll* ³ 380

⁴⁰ For Macedonian garrisons, for example, at Korinth, Piraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sounion see Paus 2 8 4, 6; 7 8 3; Plut *Arat* 16 2; Bengtson, *Strategic*, 2: 330-65

⁴¹ On Ptolemaic naval bases in Greece see C. Habicht, *Cl. Ant* (1992) 88-90

⁴² Cyprus was, for example, part of the Ptolemaic "monetary zone" that included Syria, Cyrene, and Egypt. In this area there were royal mints and a general absence of local, autonomous mints. This contrasts with Ptolemaic Asia Minor, the Aegean, and Greece, where the reverse was generally true; see further Bagnail, *Ptol. Poss*, 176-212

that of the eight settlements in this section six are named ARSINOE: an accurate reflection of the strength of the Ptolemaic thalassocracy and the influence of Queen Arsinoe II, after whom most if not all the towns were named.

The Ptolemies first gained control of Cyprus in 311/10 B.C., lost it to Demetrios Poliorketes in 306, and retook it permanently in 294.⁴³ Cyprus is strategically located in the eastern Mediterranean, facing both the south coast of Asia Minor and the north coast of Syria. As such it commanded the shipping lanes between Egypt, these areas, and the Aegean. Control of it was obviously vital if the Ptolemies were to extend their empire beyond Egypt. Cyprus also played a major role in Ptolemaic strategic planning. It was a major source for timber and a key center for Ptolemaic shipbuilding.⁴⁴ In addition, it is well to recall that the Arsinoe settlements on Cyprus (and elsewhere) were harbors. In fact Cyprus was known in antiquity for its numerous harbors.⁴⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus (14.8.14), for example, referred to it as an *insula portuosa*. In short both the location and the resources of Cyprus contributed to its importance for the Ptolemies.

In the first half of the third century B.C. the Egyptians controlled much of the Aegean, in particular the Cycladic islands. The instrument of control was the League of the Islanders, which the Ptolemies took over from Demetrios Poliorketes after 287 B.C. and which they held for the next generation. The Ptolemaic presence in the area is reflected in Arsinoes on Crete, on Keos, and on the Greek mainland at Methana in the Argolid.⁴⁶ As was the case elsewhere, these Arsinoes were ports serving the needs of the Ptolemaic fleet and travelers. The utilitarian function of the Arsinoes is seen quite clearly in the case of ARSINOE Methana, where an agreement between it and Troizen makes extensive reference to the docking facilities (*IG* IV²76). Another ARSINOE, this

⁴³ For Ptolemaic Cyprus consult Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 38-79 and 187-94; for Cyprus and the Ptolemaic navy see the important article by Hauben, *RDAC* (1987) 213-26

⁴⁴ For Cypriot forests see Hauben, *RDAC* (1987) 217-22; R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982) 133-37, 145-46. It is also reasonable to expect that Cypriot sailors were regularly used in the Ptolemaic navy; however, as Hauben has noted (pp. 224-26), explicit evidence on this point is lacking. On the other hand, there is evidence for Cilicians in Ptolemaic garrisons in Cyprus; see below, p. 56

⁴⁵ L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 155f

⁴⁶ On the League of the Islanders see I. L. Merker, *Hist.* 19 (1970) 141-60; for Ptolemaic Crete see Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 117-23; for the Ptolemies in the Aegean see Bagnall, 123-58. On the Ptolemaic thalassocracy especially under Ptolemy II and Arsinoe see H. Hauben, in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*, ed. E. Van't Dak et al. (Leuven, 1983) 111ff.; and Will, *Hist.* 2, 1: 153-208. On trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean see M. Zimmermann, *ZPE* 92 (1992) 205-17

one the refounded Patara on the Lycian coast, was a way station for travelers. A Zenon papyrus describes how two travelers, Ariston and his sister Doris, had been forced by a storm to put in at Patara and had then hired a boat to continue their travels (*P. Mich. Zen.* 1.10). Interestingly, their destination was another Arsinoe. What was true for Arsinoe Methana and Patara was also true for the other Arsinoes and other Egyptian settlements in the Aegean, on Cyprus, and on the southern coast of Asia Minor.

Asia Minor

Asia Minor was ruled by Antigonos Monophthalmos until his death in 301 B.C. at the battle of Ipsos (Diod. 19.105. 1). After his death most of central and western Asia Minor fell to Lysimachos. The southern coast passed first to Kassandros' brother, Pleistarchos, then to Demetrios Poliorketes. In c. 295 Demetrios lost control of this area to Seleukos I Nikator and Ptolemy I Soter. As a result the former took hold of most, if not all, of Cilicia, and the latter probably gained Pamphylia and Lycia.⁴⁷ Lysimachos was defeated by Seleukos I and killed at the battle of Korupedion in 281. Seleukos now took control of most of Asia Minor. The Seleucid hold on Asia Minor was, however, far from complete; large parts of the subcontinent never actually came under their rule. Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia were effectively beyond their control, as was the area that became Galatia, Cappadocia, and much of the interior region of Pisidia. Furthermore, in the course of the third century Pergamon under Philetairos and his successors managed to slip out from under Seleucid rule. Finally, substantial sections of both the west and the south coast were, at various times, under Ptolemaic rule. Thus, in the third century a significant portion of Asia Minor was not under Seleucid control. What, then, was ruled by the Seleucids in the first half of the third century? The Troad, Aeolis and Mysia (with the exception of the slowly emerging Pergamon), parts of Ionia and Kara, Lydia and Phrygia, as well as Lycaonia and the border areas of Pisidia and some regions of the south coast, especially Cilicia. Seleucid control of Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains extended only through the reigns of Antiochos I and II, that is, until 246 B.C. This was also the period of greatest colonizing activity.

Antiochos II died in 246 B.C. He was succeeded by Seleukos II, during whose reign both the eastern and western extremities of the Seleucid empire disintegrated. In c. 239 B.C. Seleukos II's brother, Antiochos Hierax, revolted. This rebellion ushered in a period of prolonged instability in Asia Minor. It

⁴⁷ Beloch, *GC*², 4 1: 333-39; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 34-35, 43-48; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.* 105-13

was not until 213 that some degree of Seleucid control could be reasserted in the region. In that year Antiochos III finally overcame and executed another Seleucid usurper, Achaïos, and thus brought the region under Seleucid hegemony. He also reconquered various coastal areas of Asia Minor in 197, but this was, likewise, to be temporary. His defeat at the hands of the Romans in 190 resulted in the permanent expulsion of the Seleucids from all of Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains. M. Cary has referred to the "Balkanization" of Asia Minor.⁴⁸ Certainly this is an accurate characterization of the region after 246. In such an environment we should hardly expect to find the kings founding many colonies, if any at all. This was apparently the situation. At any rate our sources, spotty as they are, make no mention of it under Seleukos II or III. Under Antiochos III there was renewed colonizing activity, albeit on a far more modest scale than that seen under the first Seleucids.

The Troad. The Troad was strategically important because it controlled not only the Hellespont but also the land route to Europe. In the generation of the Diadochoi both Antigonos Monophthalmos and Lysimachos gave particular attention to the cities of the Troad. Antigonos founded ANTIGONEIA Troas through a synoecism involving numerous surrounding towns. After the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. Lysimachos refounded the city as an ALEXANDREIA. The commercial importance of Alexandreia is clear: it had the only good harbor on the west coast of the Troad. It was also important strategically to both Antigonos and Lysimachos because it assured a link between Macedonia and Asia Minor.⁴⁹ ILION, as might be expected, was the object of universal attention. By the time Alexander reached it in 334 B.C. it was no longer a major urban center. Alexander had great plans for rebuilding it. What he actually did is not clear. In any event Antigonos may have founded the Federation of the Troad with its center at the temple of Athena in Ilion. It is also possible that he began the building of the temple.⁵⁰ Lysimachos also took an active interest in Ilion. According to Strabo (13.1.26) Lysimachos actually built the temple of Athena. In addition he built a circuit wall and transferred the population of towns and villages in the vicinity to Ilion. Seleukos Nikator gained control of the Troad as a result of his victory at Korupedion in 281 B.C. The region remained firmly in Seleucid hands until at least the middle of the century. There were Seleucid mints at ALEXANDREIA Troas, ILION, Lampsakos, Abydos, Skepsis,

⁴⁸ *Hist. Gk. World*, 114

⁴⁹ On the importance of the location of Antigoneia/Alexandreia Troas see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 233-35; Demand, *Urban Relocation*, 159

⁵⁰ Billows, *Antigonos*, 217-20

and Parion.⁵¹ Further evidence for the Seleucids in the Troad can be seen in the famous series of inscriptions recording Antiochos I's gift of land to Aristodikides (*RC* 10-13) and Antiochos II's sale of land to Laodike (*RC* 18-20). Despite this evidence the only settlement in the Troad that can be attributed to the Seleucids with any degree of probability is ANTIOCH, the refounded Kebren. With the rise of Antiochos Hietax (c. 239 B.C.) the Troad passed from central Seleucid authority to the control of the usurper.

Apparently at some point in the second half of the third century all or some of the Troad came under temporary Ptolemaic domination. According to the Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54.14-15) Ptolemy III Euergetes I claimed the Hellespont and Thrace as one of his conquests in the Third Syrian War (246-241 B.C.). Louis Robert has suggested that during the Ptolemaic presence in the Troad Larisa was refounded as a PTOLEMAIS.

In the latter part of the third century B.C. Attalos I maintained good relations with a number of cities in the Troad, among which were Lampsakos, ILION, and ALEXANDREIA Troas (Polyb. 5.78.6).⁵² We know of at least one Attalid settlement in the Troad, the *katoikia* of the AIGOSAOES.

Mysia and Aeolis. According to Stephanos (s.v. "Antigoneia") there was an ANTIGONEIA that was a "fortress" of the Kyzikene and was fifty stades from the "Western Sea." While the location is not precisely known, it is likely that it was in Mysia. R. A. Billows has suggested that Antigonos Monophthalmos founded this colony and three other ANTIGONEIAS (the later Alexandreia Troas, near Daskyleion, and Nikaia) in order to control the region after the rebellion of Phoinix in 310 B.C. and, possibly, to counter Lysimachos' new settlement of LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace.⁵³ It is probable that Lysimachos also founded a LYSIMACHEIA on the coast of Aeolis. However, other than Pliny's reference to it (*NH* 5.122) we know nothing else about the settlement.

After the battle of Korupedion the Seleucids took control of Mysia and Aeolis. Evidence for their presence in Aeolis can be seen in the purchase by the town of Pitane of some land on the Gulf of Adramyttion from Antiochos I (*OGIS* 335. 135f. = *SEG* IV.68o). The purchase price was apparently quite high; in any event Pitane could not afford to make the transaction alone. As a result Philetairos, who according to Strabo (13.4.1) always paid court to those who were powerful or living nearby, gave the city at least thirty talents in

⁵¹ For the Seleucid mints see, for example, Newell, *WSM*, 319-47; Houghton, *CSE*, 58-61

⁵² See Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 57-61

⁵³ *Antigonos*, 304-5

order to help with the purchase.⁵⁴ In addition we have evidence for Seleucid mints at Aigai, Kyme, Myrina, and PERGAMON.⁵⁵ Before 188 B.C. the area under Pergamene rule undulated considerably. In this period continuous and permanent Attalid hegemony over Mysian territory was apparently limited to Pergamon and its surroundings.⁵⁶ Pergamon was, of course, the most important city of Mysia. I include it among the list of Hellenistic settlements because Philetairos, the founder of the Attalid dynasty, undertook major urban development programs in the city and, as a result, was honored as a "founder" by the Pergamenes. There were also Macedonians settled in the city (*OGIS* 338.14) and a military colony, name unknown, nearby.⁵⁷ Another Attalid foundation in Mysia was PHILETAIREIA by Ida. M. I. Rostovtzeff has emphasized the importance of the area around Mount Ida, noting that its forests were the primary source of timber for the Attalid navy (Strabo 13.1.51), it was an important horse-breeding region (Plut. *Eum.* 8.3), and it contained the only major copper and silver mines in the area (Strabo 13.1.51, 56).⁵⁸ To the east, the valley of the Kaikos River had to be protected from the Bithynians and Galatians. This undoubtedly explains the Pergamene decision to establish a settlement at GERGITHA (Strabo 13.1.70).

The Attalids were only one—and certainly the best known—of a number of local dynasties that grew up in Asia Minor in the wake of the weakness

⁵⁴ Two other examples of Philetairos' generosity to towns in northwest Asia Minor may be mentioned: in the period 280-275 B.C. he gave the city of Kyzikos various gifts, including money and grain, and allowed them to buy cattle in areas he governed without paying export duties (*OGIS* 748; on the dating of this inscription see Dittenberger's comment; M. Launey, *REA* 46 [1944] 217f; see also Rostovtzeff, in *Studies Ramsay*, 363, 389). He also made a dedication to the temple of Apollo Chresteros, which was located in Aeolis between Kyme and Myrina (*OGIS* 312); for his gifts elsewhere in the Greek world see Hansen, *Attalids*², 19; Magie, *RRAM*, 729-30.

⁵⁵ For Seleucid mints at Aigai, Kyme, Myrina, and PERGAMON see, for example, Newell, *WSM*, 306-18; Houghton, *CSE*, 56-58.

⁵⁶ Polyb. 23.11.7; 32.8.3; Strabo 13.4.2. See also Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 94-107; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 25-27, 41-43, 86, and references cited there. For additional evidence for a Seleucid presence in Mysia at the end of the third century see a recently published inscription (H. Malay, *EA* 10 [1988] 7-15 = *SEG* XXXVIII 1010) found at Pamukçu near Balıkesir in Mysia. It records a letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis, dated to 209 B.C., regarding the appointment of Nikanor as high priest of all the sanctuaries west of the Tauros Mountains. Presumably he is the same person as the high priest Nikanor mentioned in a decree of Xanthos dating to 196 B.C. (J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 154, no. 15B); see further, *AMYZON*.

⁵⁷ For the Attalid military colony near PERGAMON see the discussion there and *RC* 51.

⁵⁸ *Studies Ramsay*, 565-67.

of the central Seleucid authority. Another, apparently short-lived, dynastic family was one whose chief members were Lysias and Philomelos. This dynasty founded at least two settlements in southeastern Phrygia, LYSIAS and PHILOMELION. It is not clear whether other settlements, such as DOKIMEION and THEMISONION, also in Phrygia, were founded by dynasts or by generals acting on behalf of a particular king.⁵⁹

In Mysia, too, we encounter an APOLLONIA (Strabo 13-4.4). It has been suggested that this city and APOLLONIA on the Maeander in Lydia were Attalid colonies, named for Queen Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I and the revered mother of both Eumenes II and Attalos H.⁶⁰ However, it is not likely that either was a Pergamene foundation. In the *Anabasis* (7.8.15) Xenophon mentions an Apollonia; this may be the same as the Mysian city recorded by Strabo. Furthermore Jeanne and Louis Robert have pointed out that if these settlements had been named for Apollonios, they would have been called that rather than Apollonia.⁶¹

Ionia. Ionia is, of course, a region whose Greek cities long predated the advent of the Hellenistic monarchs. Despite this there was, in the last decade of the fourth and the first decade of the third century B.C., a major effort by both Antigonos Monophthalmos and Lysimachos to revitalize a number of cities there. As was the case on the Greek mainland, this was done primarily through the process of synoecism.

At the end of the fourth century KOLOPHON decided to build a wall that would enclose an enlarged urban area. A long and interesting inscription survives that gives important details about its construction.⁶² It is quite likely that Antigonos Monophthalmos played some role in this project. If we do not know specifically what Antigonos did in connection with the building of the new wall at Kolophon, we do know about his plans for Teos and Lebedos. According to a long inscription recording two letters sent by Antigonos to Teos (RC 3/4) the king planned to unite Lebedos and Teos by transferring the inhabitants of the former city to the latter. The plan was not implemented.

⁵⁹ On the dynasts of Asia Minor see R. A. Billows, *Cl. Ant.* 8 (1989) 173-74 and bibliography cited there.

⁶⁰ For the suggestion that APOLLONIA in Mysia and Lydia were named for Queen Apollonis see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 126; id., *CBP*, 192-93; and Tscherikower, 20.

⁶¹ *La Carie*, 2: 239 n. 2.

⁶² For the decree ordering the construction of the wall at KOLOPHON see B. D. Meritt, *AJP* 56 (1935) 358-82, no. 1 (= Maier, *Gr. Mauer*, 1: no. 69).

However, it is well to recall, as I have mentioned, that subsequently Lysimachos did move Lebedians to the new ARSINOE.

Lysimachos was also active in Ionia. He refounded Smyrna as EURYDIKEIA and Ephesos as ARSINOE. Ancient Smyrna had apparently remained in an abject state since its destruction by Alyattes in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Strabo's description (14.1.37) indicates that the new city was a synoecism: first Antigonos Monophthalmos and then Lysimachos reassembled the village communities to form the new city. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that in addition to Smyrna Lysimachos refounded at least two other settlements of Monophthalmos: ANTIGONEIA Troas as ALEXANDREIA and ANTIGONEIA in Bithynia as NIKAIÁ. Lysimachos' refounding of Ephesos was also a major project. It involved moving the Ephesian population to a new site closer to the sea, bringing in additional people from Kolophon and Lebedos, and building a wall for the new city. The new city was important enough for Queen Arsinoe to use as her residence in 281. Furthermore there was a royal mint there.

After the battle of Korupedion in 281 B.C. Ionia came under Seleucid rule. Evidence for a Seleucid presence in Ionia can be seen in the royal mints at Magnesia on the Maeander, Ephesos, Smyrna, and Phokaia as well as Bargylia in northern Caria.⁶³ We also know of numerous other Ionian cities that were under Seleucid hegemony or influence.⁶⁴ This hegemony was, however, neither complete nor permanent. The Ptolemies were also active in the region. According to the Adoulis inscription (OGIS 54) Ptolemy III Euergetes claimed Ionia as one of his conquests. Theocritus (17.86-90) does not mention it as belonging to Ptolemy II Philadelphos, but, as R. S. Bagnall notes, he also does not mention Cyprus, which certainly belonged to Philadelphos. According to Bagnall there is evidence for seven Ionian cities under the control of either Ptolemy II or III: Lebedos, Ephesos, Kolophon,

⁶³ For Seleucid mints in Ionia and northern Caria see, for example, Newell, *WSM*, 281-305; Houghton, *CSE*, 53-55

⁶⁴ Ionian cities under Seleucid hegemony or influence included Smyrna (OGIS 229 8-10, 100 = *I. Mag. Sipylos* 1; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, pp. 90-91, 1 10; W. Kubitschek, *DAWW* 57 [1915] 93-94 and STRATONIKEIA in Lydia, note 5); Ephesos; Klazomenai; Lebedos; the Ionian League (*I. Erythrai u. Klazomenai* 504 = OGIS 222); Erythrai (Michel, *Recueil* 502 3-4, 503 31, 506 13, 507 13); Teos (*CIG* 3075; P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 [1965] 34-36); KOLOPHON (B. D. Meritt, *AJP* 56 [1935] 380-81, no. VI; J. and L. Robert, *Claros*, "Décret pour Ménippos," col. III, 1 21; P. Frisch, *ZPE* 13 [1974] 12-16 and 15 [1974] 97); Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Mag.* 5 3); PRIENE (*I. Priene* 18 2-3 = OGIS 215); and Bargylia in northern Caria (*Syll.*³ 426 22-23). In general, see Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 73-93; Habicht, *Gott*², 85-105

Magnesia, Priene, Miletos, and possibly Teos.⁶⁵ Despite the extensive evidence for a Seleucid and a Ptolemaic presence in Ionia the only settlement there that we can ascribe to either royal house is PTOLEMAIS, the refounded Lebedos, possibly the work of Ptolemy III. There is no other extant evidence to indicate either dynasty founded additional colonies or refounded cities in the region. This gap is striking. In the first place it contrasts sharply with the information we have for the earlier activity of Antigonos and Lysimachos in the same region. And, second, it also contrasts with the plentiful evidence for Hellenistic—and, in particular, Macedonian—colonization in neighboring Lydia and Caria. The reason for the apparent lack of colonizing in Ionia is unclear. A. H. M. Jones suggested that "the Seleucids were more interested in the interior."⁶⁶ Alternatively we may note the continuing struggle between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids in the region. This, however, would hardly have prevented colonization; a similar state of affairs on the south coast of Asia Minor had no such effect. Finally, we should recall that in population and history Ionia had more in common with the Greek mainland than with the rest of Asia Minor. I have already noted the absence of evidence for military colonies in Greece and the fact that in Greece south of Thessaly we know of only one Antigonid settlement—DEMETRIAS Sikyon. This was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes at the end of the fourth century B.C. There is no evidence for any subsequent Antigonid colonizing in the region. Apparently the Antigonids preferred to maintain their control by means of garrisons rather than colonies. We may wonder, therefore, whether Ionian Greek sensitivity about Macedonian colonization prompted the Seleucids to use garrisons—as they did, for example, at Ephesos (Ath. 593b-d)—rather than settlements to control the region.

Lydia and Phrygia. Both Lydia and Phrygia were areas of heavy colonization in the Hellenistic period. Many of the settlements were founded on or near the trade routes that connected the Aegean littoral with the East, both to protect these routes and to take advantage of the commercial opportunities they offered. Although not intensively Hellenized at the time of Alexander's arrival, Lydia and Phrygia were far more civilized than, for example, Galatia and Cappadocia. The Lydian kingdom under the Mermnad dynasty (c. 700 - 550 B.C.) was the dominant power in western Asia Minor until it was conquered by the Persians. And the Phrygians claimed descent from the European

⁶⁵ *Ptol. Poss*, 169-75

⁶⁶ *CERP*², 42

Phryges, who, according to tradition, had come over to Asia Minor around the end of the second millennium B.C.⁶⁷

The evidence for Antigonos Monophthalmos' settlements in Asia Minor is limited to the west and northwest coastal region. We have no definite information about any active colonizing by him in the interior, that is, in Lydia and Phrygia. In Phrygia DOKIMEION was probably founded by Dokimos, Antigonos' general. But did he found Dokimeion as Antigonos' general or as an independent dynast? The same question may also be asked about SYNNAIDA. Whatever Dokimos' status we should note in passing that he was active around the end of the fourth century B.C. This would place Dokimeion and Synnada among the earliest Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor. As for Kelainai, we know that it was the capital of the Persian satrapy of Phrygia (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.7-9; Art. *Anab.* 1.29.1), that Antigonos was frequently to be found there (Diod. 18.52.1; 19.69.2 and 93.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 6.3), and that Eumenes wintered there in 321 B.C. (Plut. *Eum.* 8.4).⁶⁸ What we do not know is whether Antigonos actually refounded the city (as Antiochos I later did) or whether he brought colonists to it. Finally, KRETROPOLIS in Pisidia: it is possible that it was a Hellenistic foundation. Unfortunately the circumstances of its founding—assuming it was a Hellenistic colony—are completely unknown. Discussion about Antigonos' possible role in founding it is speculative and should not be pressed.

In discussing Antigonos Monophthalmos' achievements Billows has argued convincingly that his role as a colonizer has tended to be overshadowed by the Seleucid program.⁶⁹ He points out that we know of three cases—ANTIGONEIA Troas, in Bithynia, and on the Orontes—where Antigonos' settlement was later refounded. He suggests—quite reasonably—that colonies of Antigonos may have been behind many of the Seleucid settlements. There is merit in Billows's objection in favor of Antigonos as a major colonizer. We should, after all, expect that he would have built colonies in Asia Minor as well as in Asia. The difficulty is, as he points out, the lack of evidence. In Asia Minor we know Antigonos was especially active on the west coast. Thus we find ANTIGONEIA Troas, the reestablishment of Smyrna as EURYDIKEIA, the enlargement of KOLOPHON, and Antigonos' plans for the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos. Turning to the interior regions of Asia Minor, where incidentally his rule

⁶⁷ Both Herodotus (7 73) and Strabo (10 3 16), for example, mention the migration of the Phryges

⁶⁸ U Köhler, *SPAW* (1898) 824-43; Billows, *Antigonos*, 241; Bosworth, *Comment*, 173

⁶⁹ See note 14 above

was remembered with great nostalgia (Plut. *Phocion* 29.1), we are faced with a lack of unequivocal evidence for any kind of colony founding activity by him. This contrasts sharply with the extensive evidence for Seleucid activity in the region (see below). How many of these Seleucid settlements originated as foundations of Antigonos (or of Lysimachos) is unknown. There is also evidence for colonies of Macedonians in Lydia and Phrygia. In practically all these cases, as, for example, at NAKRASON, the founder is not known. In any event it is unlikely that Monophthalmos, who never ruled Macedonia and who was hostile to Kassandros, would have been able to recruit actively there. He could, of course, recruit Greek soldiers from Asia Minor and the regions in Greece under his control. But the only Macedonians he could recruit were those already in Asia Minor and Asia. On the other hand, Antiochos I and II, by virtue of their friendliness with Antigonos Gonatas, would have had far easier access to Macedonia. In short the available evidence makes clear that the Seleucids were very active founding settlements in the interior of Asia Minor. It says nothing about a similar Antigonid effort.

There were, of course, other means available to control an area. According to Plutarch (*Eum.* 3-7), when Eumenes was appointed satrap over Cappadocia he distributed cities to his friends, left behind judges (*dikastai*) and administrators (*dioiketai*), and appointed garrison commanders. Undoubtedly Antigonos followed a similar path in ruling Asia Minor. I have referred elsewhere to the evidence for the presence of Antigonid garrisons on the south coast of Asia Minor. We might note in passing that there is also evidence for garrisons throughout Phoenicia (Diod. 19.59.2, 61.5, 86.1), at Ephesos (20.111.3) and Korinth (20.103.3), and at other cities and fortresses (19.85.5), and, finally, that Stephanos (s.v. "Antigoneia") refers to the Kyzikene ANTIGONEIA as a "fortress." And Ptolemy was quite willing to accuse Antigonos of having occupied some Greek cities with garrisons (Diod. 20.19.3). In the interior of Asia Minor the epigraphic evidence for garrisons is very slight: one attestation in Caria and one on the Pisidian/Lycian frontier.⁷⁰ We may well expect that there were other Antigonid garrisons elsewhere in the interior. Aside from garrisons the Antigonids could also maintain a presence by granting land to individuals. Thus the well-known Mnesimachos inscription records the granting of a large estate in the plain of Sardis by Antigonos (presumably this is the king) to Mnesimachos.⁷¹ It also mentions *kleroi*, or land lots, on it, and

⁷⁰ Caria: C. Habicht, *AM* 72 (1957) 188-90; the Pisidian/Lycian frontier: M. Segre, *Tituli Calymni* (*Annuario* 6-7 [1944-45] 48, no. 8); Billows, *Antigonos*, 300

⁷¹ Billows, *Antigonos*, 300; Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 496

the names of two holders of part of the estate, Pytheos and Adrastos.⁷² And earlier, in 316 B.C., Antigonos had used the promise of gifts of land as an inducement to soldiers of Eumenes to desert (Diod. 19.25-3). The granting of land for settlement to individual soldiers is found elsewhere in Asia Minor. For example, Eupolemos may have given land to individual colonists who then settled around PENTACIHOA in Caria.

Following Antigonos' defeat at Ipsos in 301 Lysimachos gained control of central and western Asia Minor. Then in 296/5 he was able to seize the west coast of Asia Minor from Demetrios Poliorketes. The extant evidence for Lysimachos' colonizing activity in Asia Minor is strikingly similar to what I have already noted for Antigonos: while we know of Lysimachos' colonizing activity along the coast—for example, ALEXANDREIA Troas, ILION, ARSINOE Ephesos, EURYDIKEIA Smyrna—we have no evidence that he built any foundations in Lydia or Phrygia.

A problem for the Seleucids was how to maintain access to their western possessions. The sea was not a real possibility. The Seleucid navy was weak and no match for the Ptolemaic fleet. Furthermore, the Ptolemies controlled much of the Aegean until the middle of the third century B.C. Finally, as I have noted, the west coast ports were not always in Seleucid hands. The only means of keeping contact with western Asia Minor, therefore, was by land.

In antiquity there were a number of major highways linking the Aegean coast of Asia Minor with the East. The first, the famous "Royal Road" of the Persian Empire, began in the Hermos River valley. Another, farther south, ran through the Maeander River valley. This is the road Strabo, citing Artemidorus (fl. 104 B.C.), refers to as the "Common Road" used by all who traveled from Ephesos to the East (14.2.29). It was the main trade route across Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period. Strabo says the road passed through Magnesia on the Maeander, (SELEUKEIA) Tralleis, NYSA, ANTIOCH on the Maeander, LAODIKEIA on the Lykos, APAMEIA Kelainai, METROPOLIS, Holmoi, PHILOMELION, LAODIKEIA Katakekaumene, Mazaka (EUSEBEIA near Argaios) in Cappadocia, and on toward Mesopotamia. The southern trunk line of the road branched off beyond Laodikeia to Ikonion and Kybistra and then passed through the Cilician Gates into Cilicia. This is also the road, incidentally, that Cicero took in 51 B.C. when he traveled from Ephesos to Tarsos. Cicero provides an itinerary of the trip in the course of some of his letters to Atticus. He departed from Ephesos in late July and stopped at, among other places, Tralleis, Laodikeia, Apameia, Synnada, Philomelion, Ikonion,

⁷² Sardis VII 1, 1 (= R. Bogaert, *Epigraphica* [Leiden, 1976] 3: 53, no. 36); Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 492ff.; K. M. T. Atkinson, *Hist* 21 [1972] 45-74; Billows, *Antigonos*, 300

and Kybistra before arriving at Tarsos in early October.⁷³ The presence of so many colonies along this east-west axis makes clear their primary purpose: to guard and take advantage of the trade route from Mesopotamia and Syria to the western coast of Asia Minor. It also explains Seleukos I Nikator's concern for building a stable presence in Cilicia: the Cilician Gates provided the major access to the Common Road.

By 274 B.C. there definitely was a colony at THYATEIRA. A dedication dated to the thirty-seventh year of the Seleucid era has been found there. Furthermore another inscription records a dedication by the Macedonian officers and soldiers to King Seleukos (*OGIS* 211), who was undoubtedly the founder, as Stephanos says (s.v. "Thyateira"). However, other inscriptions from Thyateira, which, incidentally, also record the presence of Macedonians, have been dated palaeographically to the end of the fourth century. If this dating is correct, we might have evidence for colonists in Lydia that could be connected with Antigonos, or, drawing it down a bit, with Lysimachos. But this line of investigation is hypothetical and, in any event, provides our only possible indication of pre-Seleucid colonizing activity in Lydia. Furthermore at HYRKANIS there was a Macedonian colony where the descendants of the colonists worshipped Zeus Seleukeios. There is, in fact, a great deal of evidence attesting the existence of colonies of Macedonians in Lydia. In addition to the two colonies I have already noted I would mention AGATHEIRA, APOLLONIS, DOIDYE, -ESPOURA, KOBEDYLE, and PHILADELPHEIA as well as AKRASOS, MAKEDONES, MYSOMAKEDONES, and NAKRASON. None of these are attested in the period of Seleucid rule. The first six are known in the Attalid period, the last four under Roman rule. For two, Apollonis and Philadelpheia, we have specific testimony that they were founded by the Attalids. For the others there is no indication of the founder. However, it is a reasonable working hypothesis that they were originally established by the Seleucids or their predecessors rather than the Pergamenes.⁷⁴ It is interesting that the two settlements whose founders we know were cities. The others were smaller colonies. Presumably, like Thyateira, many were originally organized on military lines. Later on, some of them, like KOBEDYLE, apparently became part of existing cities.

⁷³ Cic. *Att* 5 13-20; see also L. W. Hunter, *JRS* 3 (1913) 73-97 (on p. 74 Hunter gives a sketch map of Cicero's journey). On the Common Road see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 27-51, who refers to it as the "Eastern Highway"; Magie, *RRAM*, 786-93, who calls it the "Southern Highway"; and Broughton, "Roman Asia," 861-64.

⁷⁴ See the discussion in NAKRASON.

The smaller, mainly rural colonies are attested primarily in western Asia Minor: in Lydia and, to a lesser degree, in the neighboring regions. In contrast, settlements with dynastic names are surprisingly rare in Lydia. I count only three: the two Attalid cities mentioned earlier and STRATONIKEIA. The latter is the only settlement in Lydia with a dynastic name that may possibly be ascribed to the Seleucids. If, as is reasonable to assume, a dynastic name is one of the indications of polis status for a colony, then we are faced with the possibility that the Seleucids founded, at the most, only one settlement in Lydia that became a city. This contrasts sharply with their activity in the neighboring areas of Caria and Phrygia. In the former we encounter two ANTIOCHS (Alabanda and on the Maeander), NYSA, SELEUKEIA Tralleis, STRATONIKEIA, and APOLLONIA Salbake. In the latter we find ANTIOCH near Pisidia, APAMEIA Kelainai, and LAODIKEIA on the Lykos. Farther away, in Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia we also find settlements with dynastic names.

The direct evidence for Seleucid settlements in Lydia is rather sparse. PALAIMAGNESIA and the JEWISH COLONIES dispatched by Antiochos III are the only colonies in Lydia we can unequivocally ascribe to the Seleucids. There is a strong probability that THYATEIRA, HYRKANIS, and MAGNESIA near Sipylos were Seleucid; in addition, STRATONIKEIA was possibly also founded by the Seleucids. Finally, we should recall that after destroying part of SARDIS for its support of Achaïos, Antiochos III rebuilt it. Sardis is, incidentally, the only Lydian city that had a Seleucid mint.⁷⁵

As for the Attalids we may note, in addition to the colonies mentioned above, the PANTHEOTAI and LASNEDDA, as well as ATTALEIA and MERNOUNPHYTA. The latter two are, along with PHILADELPHIA and APOLLONIS, the only settlements in Lydia that can be definitely attributed to them. The difficulty for us is determining how many of the settlements first attested under the Attalids were founded by them, rather than inherited from the Seleucids or their predecessors in the area. As I have mentioned, probability favors their having been inherited. But this is only probability.

In Phrygia we know of at least four Seleucid foundations: LAODIKEIA on the Lykos, HIERAPOLIS, APAMEIA Kelainai, and ANTIOCH near Pisidia. The importance of Apameia—and, hence, of Phrygia—to the Seleucids is clear from the fact that they maintained a palace there. In addition there were numerous settlements that have yielded evidence for the presence of Macedonians: for example, BLAUNDOS, DOKIMEION, DORYLAION, HIERAPOLIS,

⁷⁵ For the Seleucid mint at Sardis see Newell, *WSM*, 242-71; Houghton, *CSE*, 51-53. There is no unequivocal evidence for royal mints at MAGNESIA near Sipylos and at THYATEIRA.

LAODIKEIA on the Lykos, METROPOLIS, and PELTAI. The problem is that all the attestations date from the Imperial period, long after the age of Hellenistic colonization. In fact there is no extant Hellenistic evidence for Macedonians in Phrygia.⁷⁶ Undoubtedly some of these Macedonians were descended from Seleucid colonists. Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence available to confirm this.

It is interesting—and potentially useful—to plot the locations of the settlements on a map. I have already noted the numerous colonies founded along the great trade route that ran from Ephesos to Cilicia and Mesopotamia. In Lydia there were a number of north-south roads.⁷⁷ The importance of one such road is clearly seen from the major settlements along its path: the road, which began in the Hellespont at Kyzikos, ran past STRATONIKEIA, close to ATTALEIA, then to THYATEIRA, SARDIS, PHILADEL-PHEIA, and HIERAPOLIS before joining the Common Road at LAODIKEIA on the Lykos.

The proximity of many colonies to each other has prompted some scholars to suggest that certain Attalid settlements were built with an eye to particular Seleucid colonies. For example, W. M. Ramsay long ago suggested that the Pergamene settlements were often sited over against Seleucid foundations; thus he claimed that APOLLONIA in Mysia "answered to" NAKRASA (*sic*), ATTALEIA to THYATEIRA, DIONYSOPOLIS to BLAUNDOS, EUMENEIA to PELTAI, APOLLONIA in Phrygia to SELEUKEIA in Pisidia, and that APOLLONIS was on the site of DOIDYE.⁷⁸ This reconstruction is rather neat. Unfortunately it does not always stand up under scrutiny. Thus Apollonia in Mysia was probably not a Hellenistic colony. There are also serious questions regarding the founders of Nakrason and Akrasos, Blaundos, Pelta, and Apollonia in Phrygia. Furthermore, after 188 B.C. the Attalid empire encompassed most of western Asia Minor. As a result, the settlements built by Eumenes II and Attalos II did not have to answer the same strategic concerns as many of the earlier Seleucid colonies. In addition, Louis Robert has demonstrated that whereas the Seleucid colonies were founded for strategic reasons, the Pergamene settlements, such as ATTALEIA, were in areas of great fertility but of little strategic value.⁷⁹ According to Robert, they were not fortresses guarding a particular region or road. Rather they were rural centers founded simply in order to give fertile land to settlers (Polyb. 5.78.5).

⁷⁶ See G. M. Cohen, *Ant. Soc.* 22 (1991) 41-50.

⁷⁷ For the north-south roads in Lydia see Magie, *RRAM*, 793-800, 901.

⁷⁸ Ramsay, *HGAM*, 44.

⁷⁹ L. Robert, *RA* (1934) 89-91.

Despite this criticism of Ramsay one must grant that, in theory, he was not completely wrong. Nor is there an inherent contradiction with Robert. Undoubtedly some of the Attalid colonies were built with an eye to a Seleucid counterpart, past or present, and vice versa. Unfortunately in many cases, especially in connection with the colonies of Macedonians, we cannot identify the founder or the founding dynasty. Nevertheless we must bear in mind that the very factor(s) that induced one monarch to establish a colony in a particular area could induce another to do the same. Attaleia and Apollonis may not have been in the most strategically advantageous places, but they were located in the same region as Thyateira, Nakrason, and Akrasos. Surely the Attalids were aware of this when they chose the sites. After all, they had inherited a land empire dotted with colonists who had been loyal to the Seleucid royal house. With all of Lydia and Phrygia under Attalid control it was not necessary to seize the most strategic places. On the other hand, it was necessary to establish an Attalid presence in various regions that had only recently passed from Seleucid to Pergamene rule. This probably explains, for example, the decision to found PHILADELPHIA and EUMENEIA. In short, many of the Attalid settlements *were* founded to give good land to settlers. At the same time the choice of location suggests that the Attalids were also aware of the need to maintain a presence in certain areas and near certain former Seleucid colonies. Finally, there were other cases where the same foundation was built by one dynast and later refounded by another. I have already mentioned the case of ANTIGONEIA/ALEXANDREIA Troas and ANTIGONEIA/NIKAIA in Bithynia. This was also apparently the case with HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia, which benefited from both Seleucid and Pergamene attention. Hierapolis was, of course, a major religious center. It made sense, therefore, that the Attalids would want to lavish as much attention on it as their predecessors.

I have mentioned elsewhere the presence of colonies in Phrygia that were probably founded by independent dynasts. In this connection we might also note the evidence for Pergamene activity in Phrygia. The Attalids did not come into permanent possession of Phrygia until after the Peace of Apameia in 188 B.C. It will not be surprising, therefore, that we know of only two Pergamene settlements there: FUMENEIA and DIONYSOPOLIS.

The Southern Coast of Asia Minor. Earlier I mentioned the contrasting situation in the interior of Asia Minor as regards the absence of evidence for Antigonid colonies and the wealth of evidence for Seleucid settlements. A similar state of affairs is to be found on the southern coast. In the third century the Ptolemies and the Seleucids were both very active founding colonies along

the south coast of Asia Minor. Colonies of the former are to be found on the coast of Rough (i.e., western) Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and probably Caria as well. On the other hand, evidence for Seleucid colonies is primarily limited to Smooth (i.e., eastern) Cilicia and the eastern part of Rough Cilicia, as well as Pamphylia. In contrast there is no evidence that Antigonos Monophthalmos established colonies on the south coast of Asia Minor.

As a result of his shipbuilding program in 314 B.C. (Diod. 19.58.1-4) Antigonos was a major naval power in the eastern Mediterranean. In order to maintain his rule over the southern coast and to service his ships he apparently relied on various coastal towns where there were garrisons or shipyards. For example, Diodorus tells us that Antigonos established shipyards at Tripolis, Byblos, and Sidon in Phoenicia in order to take advantage of the forests of Lebanon, and in Cilicia, and that he also made use of one on the island of Rhodes. Regarding the Cilician and Rhodian shipyards, Diodorus says that timber from the Tauros Mountains was used for the former and was imported for the latter (19.58.4-5). In addition we know that Theodotos, Antigonos' admiral, sailed with his fleet from Patara in Lycia in 315 B.C. (Diod. 19.64.5) and that Demetrios Poliorketes put in at a Cilician harbor in 307 B.C. before crossing over to Cyprus (Diod. 20.47.1; cf. 20.93.4). As for garrisons, it is interesting to note that despite his repeated declarations supporting the freedom and autonomy of the Greeks Antigonos apparently maintained garrisons in a number of Cilician cities (20.19.3-5). We also know of garrisons in Kaunos in Caria and Xanthos in Lycia (Diod. 20.27. 1-2). Presumably others existed as well. On the other hand, there is no evidence for colonizing by Antigonos along the south coast. This contrasts sharply with the situation under the Ptolemies.

In the period before the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. Antigonos and Demetrios contended vigorously with Ptolemy I for control of the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean basin. In the continuing and often confused struggle Ptolemy gained and lost numerous territories. Thus he conquered Syria and Phoenicia in 320 B.C. only to lose it in 315 to Antigonos.⁸⁰ After his defeat of Demetrios Poliorketes in 312 B.C. at Gaza Ptolemy was able, temporarily, to retake Palestine; shortly afterward, however, he yielded it once again to Demetrios and Antigonos (Diod. 19.93-94; Plut. *Demetr.* 6.3). In 310 he took control

⁸⁰ Ptolemy's first conquest of Syria and Phoenicia: Diod. 18.43.1-2 (320/19 B.C.); App. *Syr.* 52; the Marmor Parium (*FGH* 239 B12, 319/8 B.C.). Antigonos' capture of the region in 315 B.C.: Diod. 19.59.2-3, 61.5. See E.M. Heichelheim, *Revue biblique* 44 (1935) 559-81; V. Tcherikover, in *The World History of the Jewish People: The Hellenistic Age*, ed. A. Schalit (New Brunswick, NJ, 1972) 63-65.

of Cyprus (Diod. 20.21) but lost it to Demetrios in 306 (Plut. *Demetr.* 15-16; Diod. 20.47-53). In 309 he captured various cities on the Lycian and Carian coast and the island Kos (Diod. 20.27.1-2). In the same year he took some Cilician cities but soon lost them (Diod. 20.19.4 and 27.1). In 308 he sent a large expedition to the Peloponnese, but, having failed to rally the Greeks to his side, he departed, leaving garrisons in Sikyon and Korinth (Diod. 20.37.2).⁸¹

Ipsos radically changed the situation. Antigonos' land empire was divided among the victors. And even though Demetrios still controlled the League of the Islanders and Cyprus as well as various coastal towns in Greece, Asia Minor, and Phoenicia, his star was waning. Ptolemy was quite ready to chip away at the few remaining possessions of Demetrios' sundering empire. Though Ptolemy did not fight at Ipsos, he seized control of southern Syria as his share of the spoils (Diod. 21.1.5). This was to remain under Egyptian hegemony until 200 B.C. Then in 294 he retook Cyprus, and after 287 he seized the League of the Islanders.⁸² Egypt now had significant territory in the Aegean and was a major presence in the eastern Mediterranean. And like the nineteenth-century British Empire, which focused much of its effort on assuring a safe passage to India, so the Ptolemies needed to ensure that they had a safe and reliable passage to the Aegean and to Greece. For this they needed a strong navy and ports of call to service the fleet. This was the basis of the Ptolemaic policy to found colonies throughout the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean—in Cyprus, Crete, Keos, the Argolid, and along the southern coast of Asia Minor. For just as, according to Libanius (*Or.* 11.100), Seleucid colonies served the needs of travelers along the main trade routes, so these Ptolemaic colonies served the needs of the Egyptian fleet.

The Ptolemies' need to colonize and control as much of the coast of Asia Minor as possible inevitably brought them into conflict with the Seleucids. In discussing the history of the conflicts between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies historians tend to concentrate their attention on the fight for control of Syria, the so-called Syrian Wars that were fought intermittently throughout the third century B.C. To some degree this has diverted modern attention from another contest that was going on at the same time: the struggle over the control of the western and southern coast of Asia Minor. Our evidence for this is particularly scrappy; but what is clear is that the two royal houses were as tenacious in their desire to rule these regions as they were to dominate Coele-Syria. And one way of maintaining control was to establish colonies in the area. Control of Cilicia and Pamphylia alternated between the Seleucids and Ptolemies throughout

⁸¹ Seibert, *Ptolemaios*, 184-89

⁸² Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 136-41

much of the third century. However, because of the poor evidence it is not always possible to specify the precise holdings of either dynasty at a given time. According to Theocritus (17.88-89) Ptolemy II Philadelphos' overseas possessions included Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. According to the Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54) Ptolemy III Euergetes I inherited, among other regions, Caria and Lycia from his father but conquered Pamphylia and Cilicia in his own right. Euergetes' claim to have conquered Cilicia is also mentioned by Hieronymus (*FGrH* 260 F43). There is no necessary contradiction between the various sources. It is possible, after all, that Philadelphos lost some overseas territory that Euergetes subsequently reconquered. In any event, Ptolemaic control over much of the southern coast effectively came to an end in 197 B.C. when, according to Hieronymus, Antiochos III captured the following places from Ptolemy V: Selinos, Anemourion, Zephyrion, Aphrodisias, Korykos, Soloi, and Mallos in Cilicia as well as Xanthos, Patara, Andriake, and Limyra in Lycia.⁸³

Caria. Antigonos Monophthalmos first came into possession of Caria in 312, when he overcame the Macedonian satrap, Asandros. Although it remained under his rule until the battle of Ipsos, various coastal sites did, at one time or another in the last decade of the fourth century, fall to Ptolemaic attacks or ally themselves with the Egyptians. For example, Kaunos was occupied by Ptolemaic troops in 309 B.C. (Diod. 20 27.2). Around the same time IASOS was allied with Ptolemy, and in 308 Myndos served as a port of embarkation for the Egyptian fleet on its way to the Peloponnese.⁸⁴ After Ipsos, Pleistarchos, the brother of Kassandros, came into possession of Caria. In the short time that he controlled the area, namely, from 301 until 295 B.C., he built at least one settlement, the eponymous PLEISTARCHEIA. We do not know the precise limits of Pleistarchos' principedom. Apparently it was confined to central Caria, encompassing the area of Mylasa to Hyllarima. Billows has argued convincingly that around 295/4 B.C. Pleistarchos' territory came under attack from the north by Lysimachos and from the south by Ptolemy I.⁸⁵ He has

⁸³ Livy (33 20 4) mentions Zephyrion, Soloi (for a dedication to Antiochos found at Soloi and dating probably to shortly after his conquests in the region see *OGIS* 230; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 161; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1970] 627), Aphrodisias, Korykos, and Selinos

⁸⁴ Iasos: *I. Iasos* 1 2 (for the date see H. Hauben, *EA* 10 [1987] 3-5); Myndos: Diod. 20 37 1. See also Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 89-94; Seibert, *Ptolemaios*, 187; M. Wörle, *Chiron* 7 (1977) 49-50; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 28-32; Buraselis, *Dos hellen. Maked.*, 13 n. 41, 45-48; Billows, *Antigonos*, 208-9

⁸⁵ *Cl. Ant.* 8 (1989) 190-93

also suggested that the dynast Eupolemos succeeded to control of this region and that he remained in power from about 294 until 286 or 280 B.C. Seleukos Nikator's victory over Lysimachos at Korupedion in 281 brought the Seleucids to Caria.

There were a number of Seleucid settlements in northern and central Caria: ANTIOCH on the Maeander, NYSA, SELEUKEIA Tralleis, ANTIOCH Alabanda, APOLLONIA Salbake, and STRATONIKEIA. The factors underlying the decision to found these settlements are not far to seek. I have already noted that the first three were located in the Maeander River valley on the Common Road. Furthermore Apollonia Salbake, Nysa, Seleukeia Tralleis, and Stratonikeia were located at the site of or close to important religious centers. Finally, there was the Ptolemaic threat. On most of the southern littoral of Asia Minor the Ptolemies apparently confined themselves to the coastal regions. Caria is one of the few regions in southern Asia Minor, along with Lycia, where we have evidence for the Ptolemies penetrating significantly into the interior.⁸⁶ For example, a Ptolemaic inscription (*I. Strat.* 1002) from the area of STRATONIKEIA is dated to the year 274 B.C. (six years later it was under Seleucid domination: probably an accurate reflection of the tension between the two dynasties in Caria and their constant jockeying for control). And a decree of the Chrysaoric League (*I. Labraunda* 43), dated to the nineteenth year of King Ptolemy (i.e., 267 B.C.), indicates that at the time Labraunda and MYLASA were under Ptolemaic rule. There is also evidence for AMYZON under Ptolemaic rule: a decree from AMYZON is dated to the ninth year of Ptolemy Philadelphos.⁸⁷ Later, at the very end of the third century, Antiochos III took control of Amyzon. The transition can be seen in a letter of Antiochos to Amyzon, written in 203 B.C., which promises to maintain the privileges that had previously been granted when the city was in the Ptolemaic alliance.⁸⁸ The changeover apparently resulted in some dislocation. In 201 B.C. the Seleucid epistates, Menestratos, arranged for the repopulation of the Artemision at Amyzon. Despite the extensive evidence for a Ptolemaic presence in the interior of Caria, only one Egyptian colony is attested, PTOLEMAIS. Like many other Ptolemaic colonies, it was probably located on the coast. Finally, a recently published inscription suggests that Euromos may

⁸⁶ See the collected evidence in Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 43-47

⁸⁷ J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 118-24, no. 3; for other documents from the period of Ptolemaic hegemony over Amyzon see *Amyzon*, pp. 124ff

⁸⁸ *RC* 38 5 = J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 133, no. 9; for other documents of Seleucid Amyzon see *Amyzon*, pp. 138ff. For other epigraphic evidence for Antiochos III controlling southwestern Asia Minor—and in particular Caria—see PHILIPPOI Euromos

have been renamed PHILIPPOI by Philip V during his Carian expedition of 201/200 B.C.

Lycia. The Ptolemaic presence in Lycia is attested as early as 309 B.C. (Diod. 20.27.1-2).⁸⁹ Inscriptions, many of which have been discovered in the last two decades, provide extensive evidence for Egyptian control of Lycia throughout much of the third century B.C.⁹⁰ We know of two Ptolemaic foundations in Lycia, ARSINOE Patara and PHILOTERA. The former was, like other Arsinoes, a coastal city with a harbor. A decree of the inland city of Araxa bears what is apparently a Ptolemaic date.⁹¹ In this connection it is worth noting that whereas for much of southern Asia Minor Ptolemaic control was generally limited to the coastal regions, in Lycia as well as Caria it extended inland. Apparently there was also a Seleucid colony, the KARDAKON KOME, in Lycia; it was probably founded by Antiochos III after he occupied the area in 197 B.C.

Pamphylia. The situation of Pamphylia in the third century B.C. is particularly difficult to clarify. Theocritus (17.88) lists Pamphylia among the possessions of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Furthermore Philadelphos appointed a Pamphyli[arch] over the area in 278 B.C.⁹² However, since Ptolemy III claimed Pamphylia as one of his conquests (*OGIS* 54.14), it is probable that (part or all of) the territory had been lost and recaptured. Later, in 218, the usurper Achaïos overran most of Pamphylia (Polyb. 5.77.1), effectively ending Ptolemaic rule in the region. In 213 Achaïos was captured and executed by Antiochos III. Presumably at that time Achaïos' holdings were turned over to Antiochos. In any event, Hieronymus' list of cities conquered by Antiochos in 197 records Lycian and Cilician towns but omits mention of any Pamphylian ones (*FGrH* 260 F46). The argument is admittedly *ex silentio*, but the possibility exists that

⁸⁹ For the Ptolemies in Lycia see M. Wörle, *Actes du Colloque Sur la Lycie antique* (Paris, 1980) 63-73; id., *Chiron* 7 (1977) 45-66.

⁹⁰ Epigraphic evidence attesting the Ptolemaic control of Lycia can be seen, for example, at Amyzon (J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 127, no. 6, time of Ptolemy I); Limyra (M. Wörle, *Chiron* 7 [1977] 43-66 = *SEG* XXVII 929, 288/7 B.C.); Telmessos (Wörle, *Chiron* 8 [1978] 201-46 = *SEG* XXVIII 1224, 279 B.C.); Lissa (*TAM* II 158, 159, mid-270s B.C.); Xanthos (J. Bousquet, *REG* 99 [1986] 22-28 = *SEG* XXXVI 1218, 243/2 B.C.; id., *REG* 99 [1986] 28-30 = *SEG* XXXVI 1219, Ptolemy III; id., *REG* 101 [1988] 12-53 = *SEG* XXXVIII 1476, 206/5 B.C.; id., *REG* [1986] 31-32 = *SEG* XXXVI 1220, 202/1 B.C.) See also Bagnail, *Ptol. Poss.*, 105-7.

⁹¹ Bagnail, *Ptol. Poss.*, 106; A. Maiuri, *Annuario* 8-9 (1925-26) 315.

⁹² L. Robert, *DocAMM*, 53-58; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1967) 601.

Hieronymus' silence reflects the fact that the Pamphylian cities had already transferred and maintained their allegiance to Antiochos. It should be emphasized, however, that our evidence is so scrappy that it is not possible to indicate precisely the duration or the extent of Ptolemaic or Seleucid rule in Pamphylia. There was an ARSINOE (as well as a PTOLEMAIS) in Pamphylia, and, according to Strabo (14.5.3), it was located near an area that supplied shipbuilding timber used by Cleopatra VII. Undoubtedly her predecessors also exploited this resource and founded Arsinoe in that connection. There were, in addition to the Ptolemaic foundations in Pamphylia, a SELEUKEIA and an ATTALEIA (the modern Antalya). The location of the latter should be noted. As a result of the Peace of Apameia in 188 B.C. the Attalids had come into possession of a large part of Asia Minor. However, as M. Holleaux has pointed out, the liberated Greek cities on the western coast of Asia Minor limited Eumenes II's access to the Aegean.⁹³ As a result the king was particularly concerned about having outlets on the south coast. Attaleia provided that outlet. Its precise founding date is, however, unknown.

Cilicia. I have already mentioned that in 314 B.C. Antigonos Monophthalmos undertook a major shipbuilding program. As part of this effort he established a number of shipyards throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Diod. 19.58.1-4). He founded one in Cilicia because of the timber from the nearby Tauros Mountains. Furthermore, before Demetrios Poliorketes set out on his expedition to Cyprus in 307 B.C. he put in at Cilicia in order to assemble additional soldiers and ships (Diod. 20.47.1). We do not know, however, where his fleet anchored or where his father built his ships.

For the Seleucids possession of Cilicia was extremely important, because it controlled access to the land route from Syria to central and western Asia Minor. Seleucid concern over this region can clearly be seen in their colonizing activity both in the early third century B.C. and again in the first part of the second century. In the first part of the third century Seleukos I Nikator founded SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos. As the existence of ANTIOCH on the Kydnos is first attested in the mid-third century the possibility arises that it, too, was founded by Nikator. It is also possible that ANTIOCH on the Pyramos was established in the third century. One is led to wonder, therefore, if Seleukos was trying to establish a Seleucid presence in Cilicia with these (and other?) settlements in much the same way as he was anchoring a Seleucid presence in

⁹³ M. Holleaux, in *CAH* VIII: 232-33. On Eumenes' claim to Pamphylia see Hansen, *Attalids*², 96.

northern Syria with Antioch on the Orontes, Seleukeia in Pieria, Laodikeia by the Sea, and Apameia.

Later, in the second century, Antiochos IV Epiphanes turned his attention to the area. While no settlement in the area can definitely be attributed to him it is possible that he founded or refounded ANTIOCH on the Saros, EPIPHANEIA Oiniandos, HIERAPOLIS Castabala, and SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos. These (re) foundations were probably little more than formal renamings. Despite that it is interesting to find Epiphanes attempting to emulate his ancestors. It certainly would have made sense for Antiochos to try to reinvigorate a Seleucid presence in the area. By the time he came to the throne the Seleucid empire had shrunk to a fraction of its original size. Hence it is quite understandable that Antiochos would want to reassert a Seleucid presence in part of the territory still subject to his rule.

In the Greek mind Cilicia was geographically on the eastern extremity of Asia Minor. When Isocrates recommended to Philip that he colonize Asia Minor he described the area as "Asia from Cilicia to Sinope—as some say" (*Philip* 120).⁹⁴ For the overland traveler moving eastward the passage through the Cilician Gates opened the way to Syria and regions farther east. In fact it is in Cilicia that we have our first evidence for a settlement named for a Macedonian or Greek town. AIOEAI on the Cilician coast was undoubtedly given the name of the old Macedonian capital. This practice, of course, becomes prevalent in Syria and throughout Asia. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that no examples of this kind of toponym are attested in Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains.

For the Ptolemies Cilicia had definite attractions. From the strategic point of view control of the region meant the ability to cut off the Seleucids from a vital east-west route. Equally important was the shipbuilding timber that Cilicia, along with Pamphylia, supplied. Ready access to shipbuilding material was obviously of the highest importance to the Ptolemies, who were trying to control an overseas empire with a large navy and yet ruled a state that was virtually devoid of timber. In addition to material, Cilicia was also a source of manpower. One sees frequent references, for example, to Cilicians in Ptolemaic garrisons in Cyprus.⁹⁵

As a footnote to the Hellenistic settlements of Asia Minor one might mention the activity of Antiochos IV of Commagene. Commagene became

⁹⁴ Cf. Isoc. *Paneg.* 162, where he describes the region of Asia Minor that was inhabited by Greeks as being "from Knidos to Sinope."

⁹⁵ For Cilicians in Egypt and Cyprus see, for example, *P. Enteuxis* I: no. 8; *SEG* VIII 573; *OGIS* 148, 157; Launey, *Recherches*, 476-81.

an independent kingdom around 162 B.C. when it successfully rebelled against the Seleucids. In its checkered history it was by turns annexed and freed by the Romans. Its last king was the energetic Antiochos IV, who came to the throne in 38 A.D. when Gaius restored its nominal independence. Having then been briefly deposed by Gaius, he regained the throne under Claudius and reigned until 72 A.D. The kingdom stretched from the Tauros Mountains to the Euphrates and was not highly urbanized. As in other native kingdoms of Asia Minor, villages and temples predominated. Nevertheless it is possible that Antiochos IV, following Hellenistic fashion, founded ANTIOCH on Kragos, among other settlements.⁹⁶

Pisidia and Lycaonia. After the battle of Korupedion both Pisidia and Lycaonia passed from Lysimachos to Seleukos I Nikator. The region was strategically very important, particularly as the Common Road ran through it. The extent of Seleucid control over the area, however, is unclear.

In this region we can identify two Seleucid colonies, LAODIKEIA Katakekaumene and SELEUKEIA, and possibly a third, NEAPOLIS. J. D. Grainger, noting that LAODIKEIA and SELEUKEIA, along with APAMEIA Kelainai, APOLLONIA, and ANTIOCH, were located on the northern fringe of Pisidia, has suggested these settlements were founded in order to "enclose the Pisidians in a crescent of forts."⁹⁷ He is undoubtedly correct. Located as they were along the Common Road, these colonies both enclosed the Pisidians to the south and acted as bulwark against the Galatians to the north.

Galatia. There are no firmly attested Hellenistic colonies in Galatia.

Cappadocia. The Cappadocian royal house was descended from a satrapal family that had refused submission to Alexander. Around 260 B.C. Ariaramnes, a grandson of the satrap Ariarathes, conquered Cappadocia. Then, around 255 B.C., his son Ariarathes III took the title of king. Like the Mithridatids, the Cappadocian kings generally followed a pro-Seleucid policy. Ariarathes III, for

⁹⁶ R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW II, Princ* 8 (1977) 732-98; A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*², 211

⁹⁷ Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator*, 186, following Levick, *RCSAM*, 33. On the other hand, Grainger's further suggestion that the instructions for their founding came from Seleukos I is less convincing. As Grainger himself notes, there is no direct evidence to support this contention. Furthermore, it is important to remember that Seleukos' hegemony over Asia Minor extended only from the time of his victory at Korupedion in 281 B.C. until his death, i.e., a period of considerably less than a year; see further, Heinen, *Unter*, 37-43; Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator*, 1: 299-315.

example, married a daughter of Antiochos II, while Ariarathes IV married a daughter of Antiochos III.⁹⁸ For the Seleucids Cappadocia occupied a strategic region astride the Common Road, which connected western Asia Minor with Mesopotamia (Strabo 14.2.29).

We know of at least four cities that were founded by the Cappadocian monarchs.⁹⁹ Ariaramnes probably established the city named for himself. ARIARATHEIA was founded, according to Stephanos, by a relative of Anti-ochos. In addition Strabo (12.1.4) records two cities in Cappadocia: EUSEBEIA near Argaios, the former Mazaka, and EUSEBEIA near the Tauros, the former Tyana. Both were probably founded by the philhellene Ariarathes V Eusebes and have left evidence of developed civic institutions. Furthermore we should recall that Ariarathes V maintained a correspondence with the philosopher Carneades. Nevertheless most of Cappadocia remained relatively immune to urbanization and Hellenization. Strabo, for example, remarked that in his day the native language was still widely spoken (12.1.2).¹⁰⁰

Northern Asia Minor. Because of distance, the barrier presented by the Pontic Alps, and, after 278 B.C., the presence of the Gauls, the Seleucids were never able to get control of northern Asia Minor. The geopolitical situation in Hellenistic Asia Minor will, I believe, become clearer if we also consider the east-west highway system. It will be recalled that in the Hellenistic era the major east-west road was no longer the Royal Road, which began in the Hermos River valley, but rather the Common Road, which originated farther south in the Maeander valley (Strabo 14.2.29). The primary focus of east-west land travel in Asia Minor was from Syria to the Aegean littoral and back. Under the Republic and early Empire the Common Road and its western terminus, Ephesos, remained a vital link for communication with Rome. One can see that clearly in Cicero's itinerary of 51 B.C. (*Att.* 5.13-20).

Under the later Empire trade with the Danube region increased. At the same time it became more important to maintain communication between the northern and eastern frontiers in order to expedite the movement of troops.¹⁰¹ NIKOMEDEIA, which from the first century A.D. was called "Metropolis" and

⁹⁸ Seibert, *Verbindungen*, 56, 64-65, 114-16

⁹⁹ A fifth possible settlement was NYSSA

¹⁰⁰ Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 837-40

¹⁰¹ See Broughton, "Roman Asia," 861-61-62; E. Gren, *Kleinasien und der Ostbalkan in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Uppsala, 1941) 13f, 39f, and 135; Magie, *RRAM*, 786

"First City of Bithynia and Pontus," was made the capital of the Eastern Empire by Diocletian.¹⁰² Subsequently Constantine made the newly founded Constantinople his capital. So it was that the major east-west route shifted northward again. The importance of Bithynia and Pontus was obviously far greater in the third century A.D. than in the third century B.C. If before, in the Hellenistic era, the strategic planning of the various kings had been centripetally focused on the Mediterranean, under the Roman Empire it was centrifugally directed away from the Mediterranean and toward the border regions. In this context Bithynia and Pontus assumed an importance under the Romans that they never had in the Hellenistic world. The willingness of Alexander and the successor kings to allow the northern kingdoms to go their own way certainly reflects the immense difficulties involved in controlling them. However, it probably also reflects strategic priorities that differed quite significantly from those facing the Roman emperors. In short, during the Hellenistic period the Mediterranean and the Aegean were still the central focus of strategic planning by all the major dynasties. As a result, Bithynia and Pontus were on the periphery and thus not as important strategically as they would later become.

Pontus and Paphlagonia. The ruling family of Pontus, the Mithridatids, claimed to be descended from Persian nobility. In 302 B.C. Mithridates II, who was subject to Antigonos but was suspected of shifting his allegiance to Kassandros, was killed (Diod. 20.111.4). He was succeeded by Mithridates III. The latter, fearing Antigonos, fled to Kimiata, a fortress in Paphlagonia. Mithridates III, who ruled from 302 to 266 B.C., took the title "king" at some point in his reign, perhaps in 281 B.C. as a result of the defeat of Seleukos Nikator's general, Diodoros (Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* 17), or as a result of the death of Lysimachos or Seleukos in that year.¹⁰³ Appian (*Mith.* 9) says that the Pontic Mithridates III took advantage of the preoccupation (ἀσχολία) of the Macedonians in order to expand his rule over Cappadocia and the neighboring regions along the Black Sea. Inasmuch as the terms "Cappadocia" and "Pontus" were applied quite flexibly, we may expect that

¹⁰² For Nikomedeia as "Metropolis" see, for example, *IGR* III 63 16, 69 15; for the title "First City of Bithynia and Pontus" see, for example, Babelon and Reinach, in Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 519f, nos 30-39. In general see L. Robert, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 1-39.

¹⁰³ McGing, *Mithridates Eupator*, 13-42, esp 19; Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 462-78; Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 571-78.

Appian here was in fact referring to what we know as Pontus.¹⁰⁴ The history of the Pontic kingdom is one of gradual expansion over the northern coast of Asia Minor and southward into central Anatolia. Like the Cappadocian kings the Mithridatids generally cultivated goodwill with the Seleucids. Thus a daughter of Antiochos II married Mithridates II, a daughter of Mithridates II in turn married Antiochos III, and Pharnakes married Nysa, a granddaughter of Antiochos III.¹⁰⁵

Pontus represents an interesting contrast with Bithynia. Despite the philhellenic tendencies of the royal house the country remained much less Hellenized and urbanized than Bithynia. The village, not the city, predominated, while temples exerted a major influence on the country. Whereas one can identify ten Hellenistic settlements in Bithynia, it is possible to recognize only four in Pontus; two were built by Mithridates VI Eupator. The earliest settlement was probably PHARNAKEIA toward the eastern extremity of the Pontic coast; presumably it was founded by Pharnakes I soon after he captured Sinope in 183 B.C. Both EUPATORIA Amisos on the Black Sea and EUPATORIA Magnopolis in the interior were established by Mithridates VI. The founder of LAODIKEIA is not known. Finally, AMASTRIS, which was technically in Paphlagonia, was founded by Amastris, the wife of Dionysios of Herakleia and, later, of Lysimachos. After the battle of Korupedion it came into the possession of Mithridates III's son, Ariobarzanes.

The Mithridatids were also active elsewhere. On the northern and western Black Sea coast Pharnakes established ties with Chersonesos in the Crimea and Odessos in Bulgaria. The only known Hellenistic foundation in the Ukraine was a fortress, EUPATORION, in the Crimean peninsula. It was built by Diophantos, a general of Mithridates Eupator. And in 86 B.C. the Pontic king founded a BERENIKE on Chios.

Bithynia. The kingdom of Bithynia originated in the peninsula of Kalchedon in northwest Asia Minor. The Bithynians themselves were of Thracian descent, warlike, xenophobic, and very independent. Xenophon remarks (*Anab.* 6.4.2) that they preyed on the shipwrecked and treated them with great cruelty. Neither the Persians nor Alexander was able to subjugate them completely. In 297/6, after successfully resisting Lysimachos, Zipoites took the title

¹⁰⁴ On the term "Cappadocia" and the regions of Asia Minor to which it referred at various times see Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 39, 122; D. Musti, *SCO* 15 (1966) 73-74; Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator*, 1: 213-14; McGing, *Mithridates Eupator*, 1, 15. See also Rostovtzeff and Ormerod, *CAH* IX: 211-16.

¹⁰⁵ Seibert, *Verbindungen*, 58-59, 69, 118-19.

"king."¹⁰⁶ The Bithynians generally followed a policy of friendship with the Gauls and the Ptolemies and hostility toward the Seleucids.

The history of the Bithynian kingdom is one of expansion, eastward toward Herakleia and Paphlagonia, southward toward the Mysian Mount Olympos, and westward toward the Propontis.¹⁰⁷ In the process of expanding, the Bithynians, particularly Nikomedes I and Prousius I, were active in founding settlements. Zipoites founded the eponymous ZIPOITION. His son and ultimate successor, Nikomedes I, founded NIKOMEDEIA on the Astakene Gulf. This foundation was particularly important because it gave the Bithynians access to the sea. Nikomedes was, of course, a great philhellene; the statue erected to him at Olympia attests his many benefactions (Paus. 5.12.7). Thus the founding of Nikomedeia was, like Peter the Great's founding of St. Petersburg, an act of major significance, commercially and culturally as well as politically. It is surely not coincidental that the Bithynian king cultivated good relations with Antigonos Gonatas and Ptolemy II Philadelphos, both of whom were among the executors of his will (Memnon, *FGrH* 434: F14). Nikomedeia's potential as a commercial center would have been severely stunted if shipping lanes to and from it ran through hostile waters. In this connection Rostovtzeff has called attention to a very illuminating document, the letter of Ziaēlas to Cos recognizing the inviolability of the temple of Asklepios and promising protection to merchants from Kos (*RC* 25). I quote Rostovtzeff: "In this reply we read between the lines that he [i.e., Ziaēlas] perfectly understood the position of the Coans and the real aim of the embassy. He insists that he will follow the policy of his father and will remain faithful to his friendship and alliance with [Ptolemy III] Euergetes. His friendliness to the Coans was in fact an expression of his feelings towards Euergetes: 'and because King Ptolemy, our friend and ally, is well disposed towards you.' What the Coans, and behind them Ptolemy, really wanted to obtain from Ziaēlas was an assurance of his friendly and helpful attitude towards Greek merchants, who were ready to trade with him, provided they had this assurance. Ziaēlas replies quite explicitly. He assures the ambassadors that he takes good care 'of all Greeks who repair to us', and in express terms he guarantees complete safety to all sea-going folk who land in Bithynia or are wrecked on its coast. The general purport of his letter is clear. Come to Bithynia, he says, the time is past when Bithynian pirates used to molest merchants. The Bithynians are now friendly to strangers

¹⁰⁶ On the beginning of the Bithynian era in 297 B.C. and the assumption of the tide by Zipoites see W. H. Bennett, *Hist.* 10 (1961) 459-69; C. Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Zipoites 1," 431-32; and B. E. Harris, *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 7.2 (1972) 858-62.

¹⁰⁷ On Bithynian expansion see Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 452-62, and map opposite p. 459.

(μισόξενοι), as they were in the days of Xenophon."¹⁰⁸ And the newly founded port city of Nikomedeia was waiting to do business with the merchants.

As part of his eastward expansion Ziaëlas apparently founded an eponymous city, though probably not as far east as Cappadocia, as Stephanos (s.v. "Zela") says. His son, Prousius I, was especially active as a founder of cities. As a result of military assistance given to Philip V of Macedon in 202 B.C. Prousius came into possession of Kios and Myrleia in Hellespontine Phrygia. These cities, which represented a further westward expansion, were refounded as PROUSIAS by the Sea and APAMEIA, respectively. Both of these gave the Bithynians even greater access to Aegean markets; they also allowed the Bithynians, with an eye to Pergamon, to establish a secure presence in the southern part of their kingdom. Early in the second century Prousius turned eastward and captured Kieros from Herakleia on the Pontos. He then renamed it after himself. Around the same time the king founded PROUSA in the southern part of his territory at the foot of the Mysian Mount Olympos, presumably to fortify his southern border against the Attalids. Finally, I should mention NIKAIA. It was obviously an important city. Nevertheless it is well to recall that it was not founded by the Bithynian dynasty. It was rather a foundation of Antigonos and Lysimachos that was inherited by the Bithynians.

The experience of Bithynia in the Hellenistic period presents a good example of the function and the result of Hellenistic colonization. In the third and early second centuries B.C. the Bithynian kingdom was expanding. And like the other Hellenistic monarchs the Bithynians used urban foundations as a means of controlling newly won territory. Frequently, in good Macedonian fashion, they named their foundations for themselves. As elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, different settlements served different purposes. Thus Nikomedeia was established primarily for political and economic reasons, while Prousa was founded with an eye to military needs.

Furthermore, like settlements elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, these foundations were built on Greek models and became centers of Greek culture. In this way the economic, political, and strategic needs of the Bithynian kings melded with their philhellenism. The Bithynian achievement, however, may also serve as a good example of the limits of Hellenization, to use Momigliano's expression. We know about the cities that were founded and the Hellenization this implied. What we do not know is the degree to which this Hellenization penetrated the countryside. Evidence is almost completely lacking. Undoubtedly, however, the Bithynian villages remained untouched by this program of urbanization. In this, too,

¹⁰⁸ *SEHWW*, 569

the Bithynian experience will have been similar to that of the other Hellenistic kings.

The Purpose of the Settlements

What was the purpose of the various Hellenistic settlements in Europe and Asia Minor? We can distinguish military, economic, political, and administrative motives; of course in many cases these will have overlapped. Military considerations were clearly behind Philip's decision to send colonies to newly conquered parts of Thrace. According to Diodorus, "by founding strong cities at important places [Philip] stopped the rashness of the Thracians" (16.71.1-2). Polybius tells us that Alexander established a ring of Greek cities around Media in order to protect it from the neighboring barbarians (10.27). And Appian specifically says that Lysimachos founded Lysimacheia in Thrace as a bulwark against the Thracian menace (*Syr.* 1). Internal security was the primary concern of Antiochos III when he sent Jewish colonists to Lydia and Phrygia. In the letter sent to Zeuxis setting out his plan, Antiochos writes: "It is necessary to give my very serious consideration to a revolt which I learn has broken out among the inhabitants of Lydia and Phrygia; and having consulted with my friends as to what should be done, I have decided to convey two thousand Jewish families with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the garrisons and most important places" (Joseph. *AJ* 12.149).

The military significance of the settlements was twofold: (a) they served as sources for recruits, and (b) they were frequently located at strategic sites. As for the recruitment of soldiers it will be recalled that, unlike Alexander, most of the Hellenistic monarchs could not bring over at will new recruits from Macedonia and Greece. By settling retired soldiers in colonies the kings were assuring a loyal presence at a particular place. And since the male children could be expected to do military service, they were also assuring the continued vitality of the army. G. T. Griffith and E. Cumont have suggested that a military obligation was tied to the land lot settlers were given.¹⁰⁹ This was the case, for example, in Ptolemaic Egypt. However, for the Seleucid empire there is no explicit evidence to support the suggestion. Other theories have proposed that service in the Seleucid army was tied to regional conscription or membership in a fraternal association.¹¹⁰ Whatever the nature of the military obligation,

¹⁰⁹ Griffith, *Mercenaries*, 157-59; E. Cumont *CRAI* (1931) 248

¹¹⁰ Regional conscription: Bickerman, *JS*, 74-77; membership in a fraternal association: Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 51-52

it is clear that the descendants of the original settlers served in the Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and other Hellenistic armies.

In addition to founding colonies for military purposes the kings also re-founded older cities at more defensible sites or strengthened existing defences. Demetrios Poliorketes did this at Sikyon, which he renamed DEMETRIAS. It is also possible that his father played a role in the enlargement of the city walls of KOLOPHON.¹¹¹

The importance of the location of a settlement is clearly seen in Diodorus' description of Antigoneia on the Orontes (20.47.5). He says the site was "naturally suited for keeping watch over Babylon and the upper satrapies and again for [keeping watch over] Lower Syria and... Egypt" (trans. R. Greer). Diodorus' comment is interesting. Antigoneia was in northern Syria. Nevertheless he evaluates its importance in terms of the control it exercised over areas that were considerably removed. Overland access to them, however, was controlled by the new settlement. This is what Diodorus meant when he said Antigoneia "kept watch" over these regions. The same will have been true for other colonies. I have already mentioned the strategic location of settlements like ANTIPATREIA in Illyria, ANTIGONEIA in Epirus, PHILIPPOPOLIS, the renamed Phthiotic Thebes, and DEMETRIAS in Thessaly. As Strabo noted (9.5.15), the latter was a naval station; in addition it controlled both the Vale of Tempe and the mountains Pelion and Ossa. ARSINOE Methana, described by Louis Robert as "une base idéale à l'entrée du golfe Saronique, un petit Gibraltar," was an important Ptolemaic naval base, as were many of the Ptolemaic settlements.¹¹² ANTIOCH on the Maeander was on the Common Road that ran eastward from Ephesos to Phrygia and was the site of an important bridge that crossed the Maeander.

The economic motive is implicit in Libanius' comment that Seleukos founded Antioch on the Orontes not just for enjoyment's sake but as a starting point in order that travelers could have cities instead of posthouses at which to stop (*Or.* 11.100). We are dealing here with commercial travelers, not tourists, and the reference is clearly to cities built along the major trade routes. Strabo, for example, called APAMEIA Kelainai "the great emporium of Asia" (12.8.15), and already in the early fourth century Xenophon could describe Tarsos, the later ANTIOCH on the Kydnos, as "large and prosperous" (*Anab.* 1.2.23).

¹¹¹ See A. W. McNicoll, "The Development of Urban Defences in Hellenistic Asia Minor," in *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, ed. E. J. Ucko et al. (London, 1972) 787-91, who notes that the development of the torsion catapult in the latter half of the fourth century necessitated the construction of larger and stronger city walls.

¹¹² *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 157-58, n. 5.

Tarsos was at the Cilician terminus of the southern trunk of the Common Road, while APAMEIA Kelainai occupied an important point on the central section of the highway. The western terminus of this road, Ephesos, was, according to Strabo (14.1.24), the most important emporium in Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains. The protection and enhancement of trade routes, whether on land or sea, was obviously a vital factor in the choice of sites that were to be colonized. The many settlements along or near such routes makes that quite clear. Of course the site of some colonies will have been chosen in order to take advantage of a natural resource in the vicinity. For example, the Ptolemaic settlements on the Cilician and Pamphylian coast were important both because they served as ports of call and because of their proximity to timber-producing regions. Similarly the native timber of Cyprus contributed to the importance of the various ARSINOES on the island. In Phrygia, both DOKIMEION and SYNDA were located near great marble quarries. Economic considerations could also play a major role in the decision to relocate a city. Thus when silting of the Kayster River had cut off Ephesos from the sea Lysimachos moved the inhabitants to a new location—the refounded ARSINOE—where a harbor could be built.

In the administrative and political sphere it is interesting to note that a number of the foundations in Europe and Asia Minor are known to have been (or were intended to be) royal residences: DEMETRIAS in Thessaly, LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, Pergamon NIKOMEDEIA, ARSINOE Ephesos, EUPATORIA Amisos, and APAMEIA Kelainai. In fact Kelainai had been chosen by Alexander to be the capital of the satrapy of Phrygia. Furthermore the Attalids maintained a palace at Tralleis. EUSEBEIA near Argaios was the residence of a royal official, and ILION was the center of the Federation of the Troad. Finally, we should bear in mind that the creation or expansion of cities resulted in a commensurate reduction of royal land, simplifying the administrative burden on the central authorities. The larger urban units were also undoubtedly more economically viable.¹¹³

Temples and shrines were centers of influence and wealth. The donations Hellenistic monarchs made to various festivals, the recognition as "crowned" or inviolable that they gave to festivals and temples, all attest to this. Such donations were another means, incidentally, by which the king could proclaim and advertise his philhellenism. Thus, in the course of recognizing the inviolability of the temple of Asklepios at Kos, Ziaēlas of Bithynia wrote to the Koans that "we pay attention to all the Greeks who come to us since we believe that this contributes in no small way to one's reputation" (RC 25. 11-17).

¹¹³ Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 154-56

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many of the Hellenistic settlements were built at or near major religious centers or were the sites of especially well known temples. Thus ANTIOCH near Pisidia, APOLLONIA Salbake, and SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos were all near well-known religious centers. ILION was home to an important temple of Athena, Ephesos (ARSINOE) was famous for its temple of Artemis, and KOLOPHON had within its territory Klaros and the oracle of Apollo.¹¹⁴

Thus far I have not alluded to Hellenization as a motive because I do not think any of the kings had that as a primary consideration. It is true, of course, that in his speech to the Macedonians at Opis Alexander, referring to his father, said: "Philip found you poor wanderers, most of you clothed in sheepskins Philip gave you cloaks to wear instead of sheepskins, brought you down from the hills to the plains He made you dwellers of cities and civilized you with good laws and customs." (Arr. *Anab.* 7 9.2). We should not, however, be misled by this speech. Philip moved the Macedonians not to civilize them but rather to control them. His motive had to do with security, not culture. Civilizing would possibly have been a by-product of this process, but one should not confuse the by-product with the purpose. "Civilizing" or "Hellenizing" was not, per se, the purpose of any of the Hellenistic kings in founding colonies. On the other hand, a number of ancient authors make clear that civilizing or Hellenizing was a *result* of colonization. In talking about Alexander's achievement Plutarch pointed to the civilizing aspect: "By founding more than seventy cities among the barbarian tribes and by spreading Greek magistracies over Asia, Alexander overcame its wild and uncivilized way of life" (*De Alex. fort.* 1.328E). Appian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Libanius emphasized the role of Seleukos as a builder of cities in the East:

He [Seleukos] founded cities throughout the length of the whole empire and named sixteen of them Antioch for his father, five Laodokeia for his mother, nine for himself, four after his wives, three Apameias and one Stratonikeia. The most famous of these even now are the two Seleukeias, the one by the sea and the other on the Tigris River; Laodikeia in Phoenicia, Antioch under Mount Lebanon, and Apameia in Syria. The other cities he gave names from Greece or Macedonia, for his own deeds or in honor of King Alexander. As a result the names of many Greek and Macedonian towns are to be found in Syria and the barbarous regions of upper Asia, such as Beroia, Edessa, Perinthos, Maroneia, Kallipolis, Achaia, Pella, Oropos, Amphipolis, Arethousa, Astakos, Tegea, Chalkis, Larissa, Heraia, and Apollonia; in Parthia Soteira, Kalliope, Chaffs, Hekatompylos, Achaia; in India

¹¹⁴ See Appendix VI

Alexandropolis; in Scythia Alexandreschata Nikephorion in Mesopotamia and Nikopolis in Armenia near Cappadocia are named for the victories of Seleukos (App. Syr. 57)

For making use of the larger number of men whom he ruled for a long time in peaceful conditions, in place of their rustic dwellings he built cities that were strong in great wealth and power (Amm. Marc. 14.8.6)

The other kings have exalted themselves in destroying existing cities; he, on the other hand, arranged to build cities which did not yet exist. He established so many over the earth that they were enough to carry the names of towns in Macedonia as well as the names of those in his family; there were many cities that shared the name of a single person, whether man or woman. Moreover, if one should wish to compare him with the Athenians and Milesians, who are supposed to have sent out the greatest number of colonies, he would appear to be the greater colonizer, for he so much outstripped each of them in the magnitude of his works that one of his cities was worth ten of theirs. One can go to Phoenicia to see his cities, one can go to Syria and see even more and greater cities of his. He extended this noble work up to the Euphrates and the Tigris; and surrounding Babylon with cities, he scattered them everywhere, even in Persia. In short, there was no place suitable to receive a city that he left bare; rather, by Hellenizing the barbarian world he brought it to an end. (Lib. Or. 11.101-3)

What emerges from reading these passages is the tremendous effect that the settlement foundings had on the ancient world. What was said about Alexander and Seleukos and their colonization of the East could equally be said about the other kings in other parts of the Hellenistic world and especially in Asia Minor. In Asia Minor alone, over one hundred settlements were founded or refounded in the Hellenistic period. According to Pausanias (10.4.1) a town could not be considered a polis unless it at least had magistracies, a gymnasium, a theater, and an agora. Hellenistic colonization spread these institutions—and the settlements that bore them—throughout Asia Minor and the rest of the Middle East.

To understand the impact of the settlement foundings it is useful to revert briefly to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. At that time all of Asia was under the tutelage of the Persian Empire. The Persian king was *the King*, as all students of Xenophon learn. The threat, potential or actual, of the Persian Empire was a motif that ran through Greek political thinking. In the fifth century Herodotus began his account of the Persian Wars by recounting the history of east-west conflict and tracing it to before the Trojan War! In the fourth century the humiliation of the King's Peace in 387 had allowed the King to reassert control over the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Alexander's

conquest of the King removed, once and for all, the Persian (i.e., Eastern) threat. However, it did more than that. It opened a vast, new world and made possible the colonization of this world. So it was that Greeks and Macedonians were brought to the remotest parts of Asia Minor, Asia, and Egypt. They brought with them Greek culture and Greek civic life. But they brought this to the settlements, not the countryside, and probably never attempted to reach out to the native population beyond those living in the cities. In short the colonists remained an exclusive and exclusionary element in an essentially foreign environment. There *was* Hellenization among the native peoples. But it was probably limited mainly to the upper classes in the cities, and it was spontaneous. The experience of the Jews in Jerusalem leading up to the Hasmonean revolution is a good example of this.

The Hellenized Jews were very much the upper class of society. And it was they, not Antiochos IV Epiphanes, who initiated the pressure for Hellenization and reforms.¹¹⁵ According to the author of I Maccabees, "in those days there went out from Israel lawless men, and they persuaded many, saying, 'Let us go and make a covenant with the nations around us, because ever since we separated from them much evil has overtaken us.' The plan was good in their eyes. Then some of the people were zealous and they went to the King and he gave them authority to keep the ordinances of the nations. And they built a gymnasium in Jerusalem according to the customs of the nations" (1.11-13). The parallel account in 2 Maccabees 4.9-15 also mentions, among other things, the building of the gymnasium. Furthermore it indicates that the leader of the Hellenizers was a new high priest, Jason, that the other priests, now disdainful of the temple service, hurried to the gymnasium, and that the "best of the young men" (τὰς νέους 2 Macc. 8.1) to build up his support. The *pagani* were always the most conservative, whether they lived in the Roman or the Seleucid empire.

Tarn and Griffith have suggested that the Hellenistic and especially the Seleucid scheme of colonization failed because the settlers "did not go out on

¹¹⁵ See E. Bickerman, *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (Berlin, 1937) 117-39; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*², trans. J. Bowden (London, 1981) 279-309; contra, K. Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa* (Göttingen, 1983) 146f; N. Hyl Dahl, in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. P. Bilde et al. (Aarhus, 1990) 192-94.

the land" and that as a result the Asiatics never became Hellenized.¹¹⁶ This charge assumes that Alexander and the Hellenistic dynasts, like the British raj in India, wanted to convert the native population. This assumption is unfounded. As best as one can see, the *purpose* of the various colonizing programs was military, economic, or political, not cultural. The primary motive of the king in founding colonies was to establish a Greco-Macedonian presence at a particular site and to maintain it. The Greco-Macedonian settlers did not go out on the land. They probably had no desire to go, nor did the kings particularly want this.¹¹⁷ Except for the Antigonids, all the other dynasts were ruling foreign territories that had no Greco-Macedonian core or substratum. In order to anchor their rule they had to assert their presence by the creation of settlements whose names and populations constantly reminded one and all of the power of the ruling house. At the same time, the encouragement of a Hellenic ἀγωγή καὶ διαίτα, was an object lesson not lost on any of the Successors (Diod. 18.7.1).

For the Successors Hellenization meant fostering Hellenic culture primarily within the new settlements.¹¹⁸ As a result, from the perspective of Plutarch, Appian, and Libanius the kings did Hellenize and civilize the East, because now a Greek could travel anywhere in Asia Minor or Asia and find Greek magistracies, gymnasia, theaters, and agoras. For the Greeks of the Hellenistic and Roman world the significance of the settlements was clear: they were the means whereby the barbarian world was, in Libanius' words, "Hellenized" and "brought to an end." But for Libanius Hellenization of the East did not mean the conversion of the East. Rather it meant the extension of Greek institutions to settlements in the region. And the same was undoubtedly true for Asia Minor. Whether the surrounding population was affected by the new polis culture was of little consequence. The barbarian world was brought to an end not by the conversion of barbarians but rather by the spread of the Greek *settlements* among the barbarians. When Appian and Plutarch looked at a map of Asia Minor and Asia they saw Alexandrias and Antiochs everywhere;

¹¹⁶ *Hellenistic Civilization*³ (London, 1952) 161ff

¹¹⁷ On the segregation of population groups by ethnic background in the settlements of Alexander and the Seleucids see Briant, *Klio* (1978) 88-89

¹¹⁸ On Hellenization, see G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1990) xi

this was the Hellenization of the Middle East. In short, if by "Hellenization" we mean the permanent conversion of the Middle East, then the Hellenistic colonies failed. If, on the other hand, by the term we mean—as did Plutarch and Libanius—the founding of Greek settlements throughout the East and the spread of Greek culture *to these settlements*, then the Hellenistic colonies succeeded admirably. In describing the Middle East that Xenophon and his cohorts encountered, A. H. M. Jones commented that "the *Anabasis* shows the Greek cities farther east were islets of civilization in a barbarian ocean."¹¹⁹ A century later the same would be true of the Hellenistic colonies.

The prominence in the Hellenistic period of cities that were Hellenistic foundations or refoundations is a good measure of the success of the various settlement programs. Two of the most important cities of the Hellenistic and Roman world, Antioch on the Orontes and Alexandria, were new foundations. The latter city shared with Pergamon the distinction of being among the great centers of culture in the Hellenistic world. The Peace of Apameia, which permanently removed the Seleucids from Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains, was signed at the Seleucid settlement. Numerous Hellenistic foundations and refoundations appear on the Delphic *theorodokoi* list of c. 230-220 B.C. and later in 81 B.C. among the cities that recognized the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at STRATONIKEIA in Caria (itself a Hellenistic colony).¹²⁰ We also see Hellenistic foundations exchanging *isopoliteia*, and their citizens acting as judges in international disputes.¹²¹ A number of foundations were the sites of royal mints, while still more

¹¹⁹ CERP², 148

¹²⁰ Hellenistic foundations and refoundations found in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (H. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 1-85; L. Robert, *BCH* 70 [1946] 506-23) include LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, ANTIGONEIA in Chalcidice, KASSANDREIA, THESSALONIKE, ARSINOE in Aetolia (?), DEMETRIAS in Thessaly, LYSIMACHEIA in Aetolia, ARSINOE near Salamis (?), PERGAMON, PTOLEMAIS Lebedos, ANTIOCH Alabanda or on the Maeander, SELEUKEIA Tralleis, STRATONIKEIA in Caria. Cities in the list that had been or would be refounded in the Hellenistic period included Gomphoi (PHILIPPOLIS), Mantinea (ANTIGONEIA), Koresia (ARSINOE), Rhithymna (ARSINOE), Larisa (PTOLEMAIS), Ephesos (ARSINOE).

Cities that recognized the inviolability of the temple of Hekate (*I. Strat* 508) included Herakleia by Latmos (PLEISTARCHEIA?), Alinda (ALEXANDREIA by Latmos?), AMYZON, Euromos (PHILIPPOI?), STRATONIKEIA in Macedonia, IASOS, Ephesos (ARSINOE), Tralleis (SELEUKEIA), ALEXANDREIA Troas, ANTIGONEIA in Macedonia, THEBES, NYSA, Sikyon, ANTIGONEIA Mantinea, APAMEIA on the Maeander (Kelainai), Patara (ARSINOE), Demetrias, Seleukeia on the Gulf of Issos (in Pieria).

¹²¹ See, for example, SELEUKEIA Tralleis, ARSINOE in Cilicia, ANTIOCH Alabanda, KASSANDREIA, and Appendix VIII.

minted civic coinage.¹²² In short, the settlements took a full and active role in the Hellenistic world, and many continued to flourish under Roman rule.

Livy (37.54.18) in the first century B.C., Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.42) in the early second century A.D., and Cassius Dio (40.16) in the early third century A.D. all attest to the continued vitality and Greco-Macedonian character of the settlements. Furthermore, Christianity was nurtured in many of these settlements. In his travels Paul of Tarsos (which was itself refounded as an Antioch) visited many such cities, including Antioch on the Orontes, ANTIOCH near Pisidia, Ephesos (ARSINOE), and THESSALONIKE. The seven "Churches of Asia" (Rev. 1.11) were located in cities of Asia Minor that had been founded or refounded in the Hellenistic period: PERGAMON, Smyrna (EURYDIKEIA), Ephesos (ARSINOE), LAODIKEIA, PHILADELPHIA, SARDIS, and THYATEIRA. The first great council of the Church was, of course, held at NIKAIA and was convened by an emperor who, in refounding Byzantium as Constantinople, was following good, Hellenistic tradition.

To the criticism that the Hellenistic colonization of the Middle East ultimately failed one may answer that time and contemporary witnesses give proof of its success. It is true that by the fourth century A.D. Ammianus Marcellinus could remark that the old native town names were being used, supplanting the Greek toponyms imposed when the settlements were founded by Seleukos (14.8.6). But this was five to six hundred years after the colonies had been founded! The extraordinary thing is that so many of the settlements remained identifiably Greek for so long. One is reminded of the (apocryphal?) anecdote told about Charles de Gaulle's visit to Stalingrad. After viewing the war-torn city he remarked, "*Formidable, formidable.*" When his Russian hosts asked, "What, *mon général?*?" de Gaulle replied, "Ah, that the Germans should have come so far."

¹²² There were Seleucid mints, for example, at LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, ILION, ALEXANDREIA Troas, PERGAMON, Ephesos (ARSINOE), Smyrna (EURYDIKEIA), SARDIS, Tarsos (ANTIOCH on the Kydnos), and SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos; see Newell, *WSM*, 214-358; Houghton, *CSE*, 51-61.

Lysimachos' mints are attested at, among other places, LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, ALEXANDREIA Troas, PERGAMON, EURYDIKEIA Smyrna, ARSINOE Ephesos, KOLOPHON, SARDIS, Kios (PROUSIAS by the Sea); see M. Thompson, in *Essays S. Robinson*, 163-82.

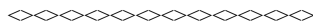
Demetrios Poliorketes had mints at DEMETRIAS Sikyon (?), DEMETRIAS in Thessaly, Ephesos (ARSINOE), and Tarsos; see further, E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorketes* (London, 1927).

There are no royal mints firmly attested at any of the Ptolemaic foundations in Greece, the Aegean (including Crete), Cyprus, or Asia Minor. In fact the evidence for Ptolemaic mints in this region is pretty much confined to Kition, Salamis, Paphos, and, possibly, Amathous in Cyprus and, briefly, Korinth (around 308 B.C.) as well Ephesos (around 240 B.C.). See further Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 176-212.

I
Illyria and Epirus

Antigoneia in Epirus

The existence of an Antigoneia in Epirus is well attested in the literary sources.¹ Its precise location, long a subject of dispute, has been settled by the discovery of fourteen bronze discs with the inscription ANTIFONEION at Yerma, a ridge west of the village of Saraginishtë.² Yerma overlooks the gorge of the Drin River, which was the route from the north into central Epirus. It is now clear that this gorge is the ancient "defile by Antigoneia."³ Furthermore, the dating of the earliest fortification walls at Yerma to the beginning of the third century B.C.⁴ supports the view that Pyrrhos founded the city and named it for his wife, Antigone.⁵



In general see Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Antigoneia 2"; Tscherikower, 4; E Prendi and D. Budina, *Actes du I^{er} congrès international des études du sud-est européen* (Athènes, 7-13 mai 1970) (Athens, 1972) 2: 121-32; D. Budina, "Antigonée (fouilles 1966-1970)," in *Iliria* II (Tirana, 1972) 269-378; id., *Iliria* IV (Tirana, 1976) 327-46; N. G. L. Hammond, *JRS* 61 (1971) 112-15; id., *Epirus*, 278-79, 578, and passim; E Garoufalas, *Pyrrhus, King of Epirus* (London, 1979) 245-46; M. Korkuti and K. M. Petruso, *AJA* 97 (1993) 724-27 and literature cited on p. 724.

1. For Antigoneia in the **literary evidence** see, for example, Pliny *NH* 4.2; Ptol. 3.13.5; Stephanos s.v. "Antigoneia 1," as well as Polyb. 2.5.6 and Livy 32.5.9.

2. For the discovery of the **discs with the inscription ANTITONEION** and the identification with Yerma see Prendi and Budina, 129; Budina, "Antigonée," 275-79; Hammond, *JRS* (1971) 112-15 (good map of the region); J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1972) 245; E Cabanes, *L'Épire* (Paris, 1976) 115. Previously suggested sites for Antigoneia have included Lekel on the Drin River (Hammond, *JRS* 56 [1966] 47, and *Epirus*, 278) and Tepeleni at the confluence of the Aoos and the Drin (Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 2.5.6, and *Philip*, 149 n. 1). Yerma is 7 km east of the Drin; it "stands high above the valley floor" and is next to "the largest site in the Drin valley," i.e., Saraginishtë (Hammond, *JRS* [1971] 112; id., *Epirus*, 209 and photograph, plate XV b).

Stephanos (s.v. "Antigoneia") and Livy (32.5.9) place Antigoneia in Chaonia; Polybius located it in Atintania (see Walbank's comment on Polyb. 2.5.6 and 2.11.11). The former attribution is more likely (Hammond, *JRS* [1966] 53-54; id., *Epirus*, 578, 617, 679; but cf. P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* [Paris, 1957] 186 n. 1; Garoufalas, 245—both place it in Atintania).

3. The "**defile by Antigoneia**" is mentioned both by Polybius (2.5.6; see Walbank's commentary, p. 156) and Livy (32.5.9-11; see J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy XXXI-XXXIII*, 176). On the identification of the "defile by Antigoneia" with the gorge of the Drin, see Hammond, *JRS* (1971) 115 and (1966) 47; id., *Epirus*, 278. For an ancient description of the pass see Plut. *Flam.* 3. For earlier views

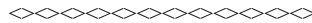
on the identification of the "defile by Antigoneia" see the discussion in Hammond, *JRS* (1971) 114; Walbank, *Philip*, 149 n. 1.

4. For the **dating of the early walls** of the city see Budina, *Iliria* II: 279-86; Hammond, *JRS* (1971) 114; id., *Epirus*, 669. Budina estimates that the final circuit wall was approximately 4 km in circumference; Hammond estimated it was 2,600 meters (*Epirus*, 211; *JRS* [1971] 114). See also Livy (43.23.3), who mentions the territory (*ager*) of Antigoneia. For maps, plans, and photographs see Budina, op. cit.; Hammond, op. cit.

5. For **Pyrrhos as the founder** of the city see, for example, Hammond, *Epirus*, 578; Cabanes, 115; Lévêque, x86; Garoufalas, 245; see also Beloch, *GG²*, 4.2: 381, who suggests it was founded either by Pyrrhos or by his son Ptolemy while he was in Italy. The—admittedly subjective—dating of the walls to the early third century B.C. (above, note 4) supports the identification of Pyrrhos as the founder. Droysen (*Hist.* 3: 241 n. 2), Jones (*Greek City*, 13), Tarn (*AG*, 312 and n. 3), Cary (*Hist. Gk. World*, 400), and Tscherikower (4), writing before the excavations at Yerma, suggested that the founder was Antigonos Gonatas.

Antipatreia in Illyria

Livy (31.27.2) describes Antipatreia in southern Illyria as a strongly fortified city in a narrow pass that the Romans sacked and burned in 200 B.C. In the nineteenth century Leake suggested that Berat occupied the site of Antipatreia. Hammond, noting that Berat "is built on a steep hill on both sides of the narrow gorge of the river Osum," concurred with the general acceptance of the identification of the site. Hammond found a few pieces of Macedonian foundation courses there and reported the discovery of traces of fire in the remains. The founder of the town may have been Kassandros, who will have named it in memory of his father, Antipater. The founding date is also unknown. If Kassandros was the founder, we can likewise suggest that he founded it after he came into possession of Illyria, around 314 B.C.

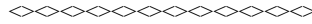


In general see Polyb. 5.108.2; Leake, *NG*, 1: 361; Beloch, *GG²*, 4.1: 262 and n. 1; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Antipatria"; Hammond, *JRS* 56 (1966) 42 and nn. 11-12 with further references, as well as *Epirus*, 567. Tscherikower does not mention Antipatreia in Illyria.

Berenike in Epirus

Plutarch says (*Pyrrh.* 6.1) that Pyrrhos founded Berenike on the "Chersonese of Epirus" and named it for his mother-in-law.¹ Stephanos also mentions it

(s.v. no. 1), as does Appian (*Mith.* 1.4), who describes it as a *polis*.² The location of Berenike is not definitely known. The "Chersonese of Epirus" is the peninsula of Preveza; Berenike was probably located at the site of the harbor village of Kastrosikia, which is, according to Hammond, a four-hour walk north of the town of Preveza.³



In general see Tscherikower, 5; P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, 122; Hammond, *Epirus*, 578-79; S. Dakaris, *Cassopaia and the Elean Colonies* (Athens, 1971) 103; Garoufalas, *Pyrrhus*, 244-45.

1. Plutarch actually gives "Berenikis" as the name of the town (*Pyrrh.* 6.1); this form is not found elsewhere (see A. B. Nederlof, *Plutarchus' Leven van Pyrrhus* [Amsterdam, 1940] 29). Stephanos (s.v. "Berenike 1") says the town was founded by "Pyrrhos the Younger." Hammond suggests that the town was named both to honor Pyrrhos' mother-in-law and to commemorate the landing of Egyptian forces at his restoration in 297 B.C. (*Epirus*, 579).

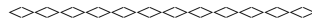
2. Appian (*Mith.* 1.4) records a meeting at Berenike of the Bithynian prince Nikomedes, the Bithynian envoy Menas, and the Attalid envoy Andronikos, the purpose of which was to secure the throne for Nikomedes: *ἡπειρος* here is the mainland of Asia Minor" (*Epirus*, 579 n. 1). However, Appian provides no indication as to how much time elapsed between the acclamation of Nikomedes and his meeting with Attalos. Furthermore, I know of no Berenike on the Asia Minor coast where they could have met. (BERENIKE in Cilicia was too far east. BERENIKE on Chios was apparently founded by Mithridates Eupator long after the events described by Appian.) Hammond also suggests (p. 657) that a Berenike recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (dated to c. 230-220 B.C.; see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea) is "probably in Cyrenaica but ... may be the place in ... Epirus." It is certainly the Cyrenaican city. In the *theorodokoi* list the four cities of Cyrenaica are listed in an east-to-west progression: Cyrene, Ptolemais, Arsinoe, Berenike (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 21, col. IV.19, and p. 62).

3. For the probable **location** of Berenike at Kastrosikia see Hammond, *Epirus*, 49, 578-79, and map on p. 47. Cf. Dakaris (103) who places it at Michalitsi (also Cabanes, 508). Philippson and Kirsten (*Gr. Land.*, 2.1: 109-10; but cf. 284 n. 34) suggest ("vielleicht") the town of Preveza. Oberhummer (*RE* s.v. "Berenike 2," followed by Hansen, *Attalids*², 137 n. 1) and Garoufalas (244) believe that Berenike was the site of the later Nikopolis. Tscherikower's suggestion (5) of Aktion is most

unlikely. According to Kienast (*RE* s.v. "Pyrrhos," 119) Pyrrhos planned to make Berenike his capital; he changed his mind after the annexation of Ambrakia and made the latter his capital instead.

Pyrrheion in Epirus

In describing the Roman siege in 189 B.C. of Ambrakia, the capital of Pyrrhos' kingdom, both Polybius (21 27.2) and Livy (38.5.2 and 6.1) refer to attacks launched against the "Pyrrheion." Unfortunately the references do not make clear what the "Pyrrheion" was or where it was located. It has been suggested that this was either a fortified palace that Pyrrhos built as an extension to Ambrakia or a whole new fortified settlement—which possibly included a palace added on to the city.¹ On the other hand, throughout the Hellenistic world there were numerous sacred precincts named after the person honored or buried there. It is more likely, therefore, that the Pyrrheion was a *temenos* that probably contained the tomb of Pyrrhos.²



In general see Hammond, *Epirus*, 145ff. and 584; Walbank, *Comment.*, 3: 124; Garoufalas, *Pyrrhus*, 247-48. The latter contains full discussion and bibliography.

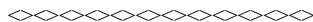
1. Garoufalas suggested (33 and 247) that the Pyrrheion was a palace that gave its name to the new settlement; Hammond believed (*Epirus*, 145 and 584) it was a "fortified suburb" (followed by Walbank, *Comment.*, 3: 124). The precise location of the palace/suburb (if in fact the Pyrrheion was either of these) is not definitely known; see further Hammond, 145-48 (map, p. 141); Garoufalas, 247-48.

2. For the suggestion that the Pyrrheion was the monument that held Pyrrhos' ashes see, for example, Beloch (*GG*², 4.1: 579 n. 1) and Niese (*GMS*, 2: 61). In a private communication C. Habicht has also suggested the Pyrrheion was a *tanenos* and has noted the analogy with other **sacred precincts**: thus, for example, the Amynteion at Pydna (schol. to Dem. *Olynth.* 1.5 [ed. Dindorf, *Demosthenes* VIII (Oxford, 1851) 45]; Habicht, *Gott.*², 11), the Alexandreion at PRIENE, the Ptolemaion at Rhodes (Diod. 20. 100.3; Habicht, *Gott.*², 109), the Lysimacheion at LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, the Eumeneion at PHILETAIREIA, the Diodoreion at Pergamon (see under PHILETAIREIA), the Laodikeion at SARDIS, the Arateion at Sikyon (DEMETRIAS), the Prepelaion north of KOLOPHON, and the Nikatoreion at Seleukeia in Pieria (App. *Syr.* 63).

II
Thrace

Agathopolis

Agathopolis is known only from a series of coins dated by scholars to c. 300 B.C. and from some references in later Byzantine texts.¹ The numismatic evidence consists of bronze coins that have a young male head bound with a fillet on the obverse, and an owl, double owl, laurel wreath, caduceus, or olive crown with the legend Α Α, Α Α , or Α Α Ο on the reverse.² It is possible that Lysimachos named Agathopolis for his son, Agathokles. Agathopolis was probably located at the site of the modern Black Sea coast city of Ahtopol in southern Bulgaria.³



In general see E. G. Bapheus, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγαθουπόλεως καὶ Βορειοανατολικῆς Θράκης* (New York, 1948) 61-67; L. Robert, *RPh* (1959) 172-78, 234-35; G. Mihailov, in *IGB I*², p. 401; P. Soustal, *TIB VI*: 168-69.

1. For the **Byzantine references** to Agathopolis see, for instance, George Pachymeres *De Mich. Palaeologo* 5.4 (*CSHB XVII*, p. 348) and *De Andro. Palaeologo* 7.18 (*CSHB XVIII*, p. 601); Niketas Choniates *Urbs capta* (*CSHB XLI*, p. 852) and *De Isaacio Angelo* 2 (*CSHB XLI*, p. 515); also *Not. Ep.* 7.623, 9.497, etc.; in general see L. Robert, *RPh* (1959) 172 nn. 5-7; *IGB I*², p. 401.

2. For the **numismatic evidence** see, for example, H. P. Borrell, *NC* 4 (1841-1842) 1-2; Imhoof-Blumer, *NZ* 16 (1884) 239, nos. 14-17; *BMC Thrace*, 188, nos. 1-2; *HN*², 258; Hirsch, *Sam. Rhousopoulos* 630-31; id., *Sam. Philipsen* 212-13; H. Gaebler, *ZfN* 34 (1924) 310; *SNG (Cop) Thrace II*: 855; and J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1960) 236 (on Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 21 [1917] 57, no. 66); see also L. Robert *RPh* (1959) 174 n. 1; and Bapheus, 61-67. A coin attributed by Wroth to Agathopolis (*NC* [1896] 88, no. 3) in fact belongs to Elaia (Imhoof-Blumer, *ZfN* 20 [1897] 281). Most of the above, as well as Babelon (*Traité de monnaies* [1927] 4: 990) and Jones (*CERP*², 3), followed Borrell, who suggested the five coins he published were from the Agathopolis mentioned by George Pachymeres and that the city was located in or near the Thracian Chersonese. The problem is that no city of this name was known in that area (see, for example, U. Kahrstedt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der thrakischen Chersones* [Baden-Baden, 1954] 39 n. 111). Borrell also suggested that the city was named for Agathokles.

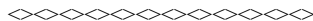
There was, however, an Agathopolis on the Black Sea coast of what is now southern Bulgaria. While referring to Pachymeres (*De Mich. Palaeologo* 5.4), Borrell did not notice that the Byzantine author grouped it with Sozopolis (ancient Apollonia, on the Black Sea coast) and Kanstritzi (north of the coastal town of Varna/Odessos). Furthermore, the *Notitiae* place it in the archdiocese of Adrianople, between Sozopolis and Develtos (west of Sozopolis). In 1948 a native of Agathopolis, E. G. Bapheus, published a book (op. cit.) that covered the city's history from ancient times to its almost complete destruction in 1918 (the

present Bulgarian town at the site is Ahtopol). In a brief section on the city in antiquity, Bapheus placed the coins with Α Α Ο, etc., at the Byzantine-modern Agathopolis. For the dating of the coinage to c. 300 B.C. see, for example, Head, Gaebler, and Robert, *RPh* (1959) 175.

3. For the **identification of Agathopolis with Ahtopol** see L. Robert, *RPh* (1959) 172-75; H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1956) 70; Mihailov, in *IGB* 1², p. 401. Bapheus identified the coinage with Agathopolis/Ahtopol but provided no argumentation for so doing (61-67; cf. Robert, *RPh* [1959] 234-35). L. Robert claimed that the coinage with Α Α Ο, etc., belongs not with the Thracian city but rather to a previously undetected Agathopolis or AGATHOKLEIA in Mysia (*RPh* [1959] 175-78); his arguments, however, are weak, and this identification must be considered speculative; see AGATHOKLEIA.

Alexandropolis

In 340 B.C. Alexander, acting as regent of Macedonia for his father, subdued a rebellion by the tribe of the Maidoi. Plutarch says (*Alex.* 9) that after capturing the city he expelled the barbarians, settled a "mixed population" (συμμεκτους) in it, and called it Alexandropolis. The name is analogous to Philippopolis and was probably given on the instruction or, at the very least, with the permission of Philip. The territory of the Maidoi extended along the middle and upper Strymon River, and presumably it was somewhere in this region that Alexandropolis was located.



In general see Tscherikower, 1: Tarn, *Alexander*, 2: 242, 248-49; Hammond and Griffith, *Macedonia*, 2: 558.

Stephanos refers to this foundation as an "Alexandreia" (s.v. no. 3), on which see Tarn, 242. Tarn claims Alexandropolis was a military colony rather than a polis (248-49 and 249 n. 2, followed by J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch, Alexander: A Commentary* [Oxford, 1969] 23); contra, Hammond and Griffith, 558, who, correctly, question Tarn's assumption that a mixed population indicates a military colony. On the **Maidoi** see Thuc. 2.98.2; Strabo 7.5.7, 12, and frag. 36; Pliny *NH* 4.40; Lenk, *RE* s.v. "Maidoi." Tscherikower (1) suggests a **location** between the Strymon and Nestos rivers.

Lysimacheia in Thrace

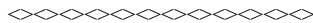
Lysimacheia in the Thracian Chersonese was established by Lysimachos in 309 B.C. and then refounded by Antiochos III in 196 B.C.

The first settlement was built, according to Appian (*Syr.* 1), as a bulwark against the Thracian menace. Of course it also protected Lysimachos from Antigonos Monophthalmos. It included at least two nearby towns—Paktye and Kardia. Pausanias adds that in the course of the founding Kardia was destroyed (1.9.8). Presumably, as happened in similar instances elsewhere, the Kardians were moved to the site of the new settlement.¹ Justin mentions (17.1-2) that twenty-two years after its founding Lysimacheia was the victim of a major earthquake. In 281 B.C. Seleukos Nikator, having crossed the Hellespont on his way to take possession of Lysimacheia, was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos (App. *Syr.* 62). The latter then proceeded to Lysimacheia, where he appeared wearing a diadem (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F8.3). According to Appian (*Syr.* 64), after Lysimachos died the inhabitants of the city buried him in a temple that they then called "the Lysimacheion." This suggests the establishment of a founder cult.² Under Lysimachos the city produced autonomous bronzes and had a royal mint. Posthumous issues of Lysimachos continued to appear for a generation after the king's death in 281 B.C. The posthumous issues were followed by Seleucid tetradrachms apparently coined in each of the three short periods after the death of Seleukos I when the Seleucids were in Thrace: under Antiochos II (c. 250 B.C.), Hierax (c. 227-226 B.C.), and finally in the refounded city under Antiochos III (c. 196-190 B.C.). Lysimacheia was recorded on the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, which is now dated to c. 230-220 B.C., and was briefly occupied by Philip V at the end of the third century B.C.³ After he withdrew in 199/8 B.C., it fell to the Thracians, who destroyed it (Polyb. 18.4.5).

The refounding of Lysimacheia is described in some detail both by Livy (33.38.10-11 and 40.6) and Appian (*Syr.* 1). From these authors we learn that Antiochos discovered the city abandoned and in ruins as a result of the recent sacking by Thracians. Appreciating its strategic location, the king decided to reestablish the city, both to gain control of Thrace as well as to provide a secure base for operations against the Romans. He repopulated it by calling back inhabitants who had fled and ransoming those who had been sold into slavery. He also invited new settlers and tried to entice them by various inducements. The king rebuilt walls and homes and provided sheep, cattle, and agricultural implements. In order to complete the project as expeditiously as possible Antiochos ordered half his army and all his naval allies to take part in the rebuilding. The other part of the army he took with him on an expedition to devastate the neighboring areas of Thrace. Finally, he declared that the rebuilt city would be a residence for his son, Seleukos (the future Seleukos IV Philopator; Polyb. 18.51.8; Livy 35.15.5).⁴ In fact, when the false news of the death of the boy-king Ptolemy V caused Antiochos to break off the conference with the Romans at Lysimacheia in 196 B.C., he left Seleukos in charge of rebuilding the city (Livy 33.41.4-5).

An inscription found at Ilion records a treaty between King Antiochos and Lysimacheia. We are probably concerned with Antiochos III. The king promises to uphold the city's [autonomy] and democracy, to keep it tribute-free and ungarrisoned, and to defend it if attacked. In his oath the king makes specific reference to the *phrouria* and the harbor of the city. The Lysimacheians in turn swear to maintain the alliance with the king.⁵ Two other Hellenistic inscriptions, which are dedicated to the god, or hero, Anaïos, contain lists of twelve *strategoi* and are dated by an eponymous magistrate who was a priest.⁶

Following the withdrawal of Antiochos from Europe Lysimacheia apparently once more fell into decay. In the late first century A.D. Pliny (*NH* 4.47; cf. Paus. 1.10.4) described it as practically deserted. Lysimacheia was most probably located at Ortaköy in the Thracian Chersonese.⁷



In general see Tscherikower, 1-2; Weiss, *RE* s.v. "Lysimacheia 4"; Walbank, *Comment.*, 2: 478-79.

1. For the **founding of Lysimacheia** in 309 B.C. see the Marmor Parium 239 F B19; Diod. 20.29.1; Euseb. *Chron.* II, p. 116 (ed. Schöne) (on which see Niese, *GMS*, 1: 311 n. 3). On Lysimachos as founder see also Paus. 1.9.8; Strabo 7, frag. 52. For the inclusion of Paktye in the new foundation see Pliny *NH* 4.48. Stephanos' comment (s.v. "Lysimacheia") that Lysimacheia was previously Kardia is incorrect; the two were separate and distinct (see Pliny and Strabo; also App. *BCiv.* 4.88; Ptol. 3.11.7 and 9). Despite Pausanias' assertion that Kardia was destroyed when Lysimacheia was founded, it did not disappear (see, for example, Appian, Ptolemy, and Strabo): either the town was not totally destroyed or, if it was, it was subsequently rebuilt on a lesser scale. Note that in his description of the founding of ARSINOE Ephesos Pausanias says (1.4.7) that Lysimachos destroyed Kolophon and Lebedos in order to populate the new city. In fact we know that both cities were in existence afterward. On the question of the "destruction" of a city and the various forms it could take see KOLOPHON.

2. On the **murder of Seleukos** see Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator*, 315-22. On the **Lysimacheion** see Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 257; Habicht, *Gott.*², 140 n. 12.

3. **Coinage**. For **autonomous bronzes of Lysimacheia** see, for example, Mionnet, 1: 428-29, nos. 20-29; *BMC Thrace*, 195-96, nos. 1-19; *SNG (Cop) Thrace* II: 899-922; *SNG Sweden* II. 2: nos. 799-810 (**ethnic**: ΛΤΣΙΜΑΧΕΩΝ). For **royal coinage of Lysimachos minted at or for Lysimacheia** see, for example, Müller, *Münz. K. Lysim.*, 47-49, nos. 37-84; M. Thompson, *Essays S. Robinson*, 168-69, nos. 1-18. It is possible that after the earthquake of 287 B.C., which leveled Lysimacheia (Justin 17.1.1), its coins were minted for a time at Lampsakos; see Thompson, 169; cf. Newell, *WSM*, 355. For the history of Lysimacheia in the third century B.C. see Beloch, *GG²*, 4.2: 346, 355-56; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 159-61; Huss, *Aussen.*, 212-13.

On **Seleucid coinage minted at or for Lysimacheia** see Newell, *WSM*, 353-58, nos. 1610-21. The assignment of these coins to Lysimacheia is rendered reasonably secure by the presence of the city's badge, a lion's head. On the other hand, the attribution of the coins to particular Seleucid monarchs is less secure. Newell attributed nos. 1610-13 to Antiochos II, 1614 (which may have been minted at Lampsakos) to Hierax, and 1615-21 to Antiochos III. Boehringer (*Zur Chronologie*, 65, 161, no. 29) grouped nos. 1625-20 with Hierax and 1621 with Antiochos III. Houghton (*CSE*, 61) attributed only coinage of Antiochos II and Hierax to Lysimacheia, though he later expressed agreement with the assignment of no. 1621 to Antiochos III (see Le Rider, *QT* 17 [1988] 200). Most recently Le Rider (*QT* [1988] 195-207) modified Newell's attributions by reassigning nos. 1615-20 from Antiochos III to Antiochos II. Le Rider noted (200-201) the discovery of two hoards, one dated to c. 245-235 B.C. (Gülner: A. Davesne, *CRAI* [1981] 356-70; see now Davesne and Le Rider, *Meydancikkale* 227-30) and the other dated to c. 246 or a little later (Tel Halaf: *IGCH* 1763), and pointed out that "deux exemplaires du *WSM* 1615-1620 figurent dans le trésor (*i.e.* of Meydancikkale)." This excluded the attribution of these coins to Antiochos III. The assignment of nos. 1610-13 as well as 1615-20 to Antiochos II indicates a significant minting and reflects Antiochos' active presence in the region; see also ANTIOCH in the Propontis; J. Youroukova, in *Studia Naster*, 120ff.

Gardner's suggestion (*NC* [1878] 92-93, followed by Babelon, *RdS*, XXXVII, XLIX) that Antiochos I may have minted coins in Europe is very uncertain (see Beloch, *GG²*, 4.2: 356); neither Newell (*WSM*, 354) nor Houghton (*CSE*, 61) assign any coins to him. For some coins of Lysimacheia overstruck on Seleucid issues of either Antiochos II or III see G. E. Hill, *NC* (1917) 5-6; R. Münsterberg, *NZ* 8 (1915) 111-15.

For the **Delphic theorodokoi list** see A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 19, col. III.95. For the date of the list see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea.

4. For the **Thracian sack of Lysimacheia in 198 B.C.** see Polyb. 18.4.6; Walbank, *Comment.*, 2: 478-79, 556. On Antiochos III and Thrace see Bengtson, *Hist.* 11 (1962) 27-28. With **Antiochos III's rebuilding of Lysimacheia** compare his repopulation of the Artemision at AMYZON in 201 B.C., Jerusalem in 200 B.C. (Joseph. *AJ* 12.138-44; Bickerman, *REJ* 100 [1935] 4-35), his rebuilding of SARDIS in 213 B.C., and his treatment of Seleukeia in Pieria after he captured it (Polyb. 5.61.1-2); cf. Timoleon's actions in trying to repopulate ravaged areas of Sicily (Nep. *Timoleon* 3).

5. For the **treaty between Antiochos and Lysimacheia** see Z. Tasliklioglu * and E. Frisch, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 101-6 (= *I. Ilion* 45). Frisch identified the king as Antiochos III (see also E. Piejko, *Hist.* 37 [1988] 151-56). J. L. Ferrary and P. Gauthier (*JS* [1981] 327-45) in a very thorough discussion questioned this identification on both historical and palaeographic grounds. They suggest an earlier date ("270-260?") and hypothesize the king may have been Antiochos I, "peut-être Antiochos II" (p. 343). I do not believe their arguments are convincing.

In the first place they point out that while King Antiochos swore to preserve the [autonomy] and freedom of the city and to keep it free of a garrison and of tribute (ll. 13-15), the literary evidence indicates that in 196 B.C. Antiochos III's son remained at Lysimacheia with an army (Livy 33.41.4) and that in 190, under pressure, Antiochos ordered the garrison (*praesidium*) withdrawn from Lysimacheia (Livy 37.31.1). However, it is well known that in the Hellenistic world the gap between theory and practice when it came to matters such as the granting or guaranteeing of freedom and autonomy was immense. It would be naive to think that just because the king granted these conditions he actually lived by them—or intended to. In the second place Ferrary and Gauthier claim that the two fragments that make up this inscription do not belong to the same stele (350ff.). Their arguments are based on a consideration of the letterforms—a highly subjective criterion at best, especially as Tasliklioglu * and Frisch have claimed on the basis of the letterforms and length of lines that the two fragments belong to the same stele (103). Given the known fact of Antiochos' presence at Lysimacheia and his (and his son's) involvement with the city, it appears most likely—in the present state of the evidence—that he is the "King Antiochos" in the treaty with Lysimacheia.

For the earlier treaty between Philip V and Lysimacheia (*Staats.* III.549, c. 202-199/8 B.C.) see D. Pandermalis, *Studies Edson*, 285-86.

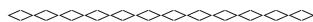
6. For the **inscriptions dedicated to the—unknown—god or hero Anaïos** see D. Hereward, *ABSA* 57 (1962) 178-79. Hereward reasonably suggests that the *strategoï* were the "governing board" of the city and that "they were twelve because one took the chair every month" (178).

7. **Location.** The various literary sources indicate that Lysimacheia was in the middle of the Chersonesos, surrounded by Paktye on the Propontis and Kardia on the Melas Gulf (e.g., Pliny *NH* 4.48; Strabo 7, frags. 51, 53), and that Pausanias (second century A.D.) saw the grave of Lysimachos, which Appian (*Syr.* 64) says was in Lysimacheia, at a spot between Paktye and Kardia (1.10.4). Nevertheless the precise site of Lysimacheia has not yet been identified with certainty. Some MSS of Ptolemy (3.11.7) place it at Hexamilion (the modern Ortaköy; see Müller's note: τὸ νῦν Ἑξαμῖλιον "inepte adsunt"); this is followed, for example, in Smith's *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Lysimachia." Casson (*Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* [Oxford, 1928] map opposite p. 211; also p. 225) places it on the Melas Gulf near Kardia. But Walbank (*Comment*, 2: 478) cited Appian (*BCiv.* 4.88), who says Kardia and Lysimacheia protected the entrance to the Chersonesos "like gates"; this suggests, as Walbank remarks, "that one stood on or near either side" (sc. of the isthmus). One hypothesis would place Lysimacheia near the Hellespont and in the vicinity of Bolayir. This location was first suggested by L. Robert (*Hellenica* 5 [1948] 51-54 and 10 [1955] 266-71); subsequently D. Hereward identified the nearby Sukrüler Tepe as the actual site of the town (*Archaeology* 11 [1958] 129 and map). On the other hand, in a recent, extensive study of the problem Kai Brodersen reverted to the citation in Ptolemy and suggested Hexamilion (Ortaköy)

as the site (in *Studien zur Alten Geschichte Sieg. Lauffer 70 Geburtstag* [Rome, 1986] 69-85; see map on p. 85).

Panion

In recognition of the help he gave Rome in the war with Antiochos III, Rome allowed Eumenes II to take possession of the Seleucid's territory in Thrace (Livy 38.39.14; cf. *OGIS* 339.14). Evidence for an Attalid colony there comes from an inscription discovered at Panidos that honored King Eumenes II as "founder of the city." In all, five honorific inscriptions for Attalid kings have thus far been discovered.¹ This is the only extant evidence for a colony. Panion was on the Propontis, approximately ten kilometers south of Tekirdag.²



In general see Hansen, *Attalids*², 176 and 465; J. Schmidt, *RE* s.v. "Panion 2"; and Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 248-50.

1. On the Attalid possessions in Europe see Hansen, 94 and n. 62. For the inscription honoring Eumenes II as **founder** see *OGIS* 301 (= G. Seure, *BCH* 24 [1900] 165-66, no. 8); see also W. S. Ferguson, *CPh* 1 (1906) 231-34; Leschhorn, 249. For other inscriptions honoring Eumenes and Attalos II see *OGIS* 302-4; A. Dumont, in *Mélanges Dumont* (Paris, 1892) 407, no. 81a.

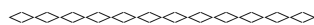
2. On the **location** of Panion and the variant forms of its name see Schmidt, op. cit.; Tomaschek, *SAWW* 113 (1886) 332; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* (Brussels, 1935) 1: 46 n. 3; Leschhorn, 249. Hierokles (632.5) lists the town in Thrace under the name Panonion. Panion is also recorded, for example, in the *Not. Ep.* (1.118, etc.) and Constant. Porphy. *De thema*. 47 (ed. A. Pertusi, *Studi e testi* 160 [1952] 86).

Panion was *not* identical with Bisanthe (so the authors of the *ATL*, 1: 475; contra, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 [1948] 54-55; E. Schönert-Geiss, *Die Münzprägung von Bisanthe. Dikaia. Selymbria* [Berlin, 1975] 3-5). Bisanthe was located at Tekirdag. Panion was farther down the coast.

Seuthopolis

The existence of Seuthopolis in Thrace was not known until 1948. In that year a salvage excavation was begun in Bulgaria on the banks of the Toundja River, eight kilometers west of Kazanluk and three kilometers southwest of the village of Koprinka. The excavation revealed a fortified town that, though not a Greek polis, reflected Hellenistic-Macedonian influences. It was founded by the Thracian Seuthes III and laid out on an orthogonal plan around the *tyrsis*, the fortified residence of the local chief. An inscription from the end of

the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. found at the site (*IGB* 1731, unedited) gives the name of the city, Seuthopolis, mentions an agora and a sanctuary of the great gods and of Dionysos, and refers to Seuthes' queen, Berenike. The latter may have been a Macedonian princess. Among the 1,330 coins found, over 800 had the name—and possibly the portrait—of Seuthes.¹ The city was founded toward the end of the fourth century B.C.



In general see D. Dimitrov, *Sovetskaya Archeologia* 1 (1957) 199ff.; id., *Atti del VII Congr. inter. di archaeologia classica* (1961) 379-87; *IGB* III.2, pp. 146-47; R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity* (London, 1975) 93-97; id., *The Thracians* (London, 1981) 122-24; D. P. Dimitrov and M. Cicikova, *The Thracian City of Seuthopolis*, BAR Suppl. 38 (Oxford, 1978); Danov, *RE* Suppl. IX, s.v. "Seuthopolis"; Burstein, *AncW* 14 (1986) 22-24; and the bibliography in each of the above.

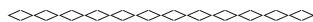
1. For the **worship of Dionysos** at Seuthopolis see *IGB* 1732. On the **coinage** see Danov, 1375; Y. Yourkouva, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*, BAR Suppl. 4 (Oxford, 1976) 23f.; and K. Dimitrov, *ANS MN* 32 (1987) 1-10. For **coins with a portrait of Seuthes III** see T. Gerasimov, *Izvestiya na Bulgariskya Arheologicheskiya Institut* 19 (1955) 123-28. For coins of Philip II, Alexander, and the Diadochoi found at Seuthopolis see K. Dimitrov, *Actes du 9ème cong. inter. de numismatique* (Bern, 1979) 227-31.

Location. For maps and photographs see especially Dimitrov and Cicikova, plates at end.

III
Macedonia and Paonia

Antigoneia in Chalcidice

According to Livy (44.10.8), Antigoneia was a town near the south coast of Chalcidice, located between Aineia and the peninsula of Pallene. It is recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 18, col. III.76) between Aineia and Kassandreia and is also mentioned by ps. Scymnus 631 (= *GGM*, 1: 221) as being between Aineia and Poteidaia.¹ It was probably located six kilometers north of Nea Kallikrateia, close to Agios Pavlos.² Tam speculates that Antigonos Gonatas founded it in order to keep watch on the nearby Kassandreia.³



In general see W. M. Leake, *NG*, 3: 460; Tscherikower, 3; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Antigoneia 3"; Tam, *AG*, 197-98; Zahmt, *Olynth*, 155; and Papazoglou, *Villes*, 419-20.

1. There are **two other epigraphic attestations for an Antigoneia**—undoubtedly the Chalcidian rather than the Paeonian one: L. Robert, *RPh* (1939) 144 and *OGIS* 441.182-83 (= *I. Strat.* 508.40-41: an "Antigoneia in Macedonia" included in a list of cities recognizing the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at Stratonikeia in Caria from 81 B.C.). Similarly, Stephanos records an Antigoneia of Macedonia (s.v. no. 3) that he says was a foundation of Antigonos Gonatas. It is not clear whether this refers to the Chalcidian or the Paeonian one. However, if, as appears likely, Papazoglou is correct in her claim (*The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times* [Amsterdam, 1978] 145-46) that Paeonia first came under Antigonid rule when Doson conquered it, then Stephanos' reference can only be to the Chalcidian city.

Under Macedonia Ptolemy mentions Antigoneia Psaphara (3.12.35) and Antigoneia of Mygdonia (3.12.33). At 3.12.35 Ptolemy writes ἡ παρ' Ἀξιόν. As a result she posited that Antigoneia Psaphara was, in fact, Antigoneia on the Axios. See also ANTIGONEIA in Paeonia.

Among those living in Macedonia Pliny (*NH* 4.12) mentions the ANTIOCHIENSES. Jones (*Creek City*, 306 n. 12) and Papazoglou (*Villes*, 420) have both raised the possibility that this was an error for Antigonenses. Papazoglou would apparently

associate the "Antigonenses" with Antigoneia in Chalcidice (Pliny does mention ANTIGONEIA in Paeonia at *NH* 4.34). This is, of course, speculation.

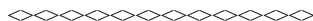
Ἀντιγονία in Hierokles 639.2a is not Antigoneia, as Hirschfeld suggests (following Müller in his edition of Ptolemy, *ad* 3.12.33). L. Robert (*REG* 47 [1934] 31-36, esp. 36 and n. 7) correctly connected this town with the tribe of the Antanoi. See also Honigsmann's comments on this passage in his edition of Hierokles, and Papazoglou, *Villes*, 326 n. 130.

2. For the **location** see Papazoglou, *Villes*, 420 and map 19; Zahrnt, *Olynth*, 155 and n. 73.

3. For Antigonos Gonatas as the likely **founder** see Tarn, *AG*, 197-98; Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 274.

Antigoneia in Paeonia

According to Pliny (*NH* 4.34) there was an Antigoneia between Stobi and Europos on the Axios River. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (VI.5) places it on the road from Stobi to Thessalonike as does the Ravenna Geographer (IV 9.7, p. 51, ed. Schnez: Asigonia, i.e., Antigonía).¹ The founder is not definitely known. Part of Paeonia probably first came under Antigonid rule during the reign of Antigonos Doson. It is possible, therefore, that he founded the city.² The exact location of Antigoneia is not definitely known. It apparently was intended to guard the passage of the Axios (Vardar) River from Paeonia into Macedonia.³



In general see Tscherikower, 2; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Antigoneia 4"; Kiepert, *FOA* XVII; Hammond, *Macedonia*, 1: 78, 172-74, and maps 14, 17; Papazoglou, *Villes*, 323-26 and maps 5, 12, 20.

1. Livy uses the **ethnic** Antigonensis (45 58.8) for two commanders, Menon and Patrokles, in Perseus' army. These officers *may* have been from the Paeonian Antigoneia.

Under Macedonia Ptolemy mentions Antigoneia of Mygdonia (3.12.33) and Antigoneia Psaphara (3.12.35). Some scholars have suggested that by the former Ptolemy meant Antigoneia in Paeonia (so, for example, Tscherikower, 2). However, Mygdonia did not extend that far north. This prompted L. Robert to reject Ptolemy's reference to Antigoneia being in Mygdonia (*RPh* [1939] 144-45). Papazoglou, noting that in his enumeration Ptolemy lists Kalindoia immediately after Antigoneia of Mygdonia, suggested that under this heading Ptolemy in fact meant ANTIGONEIA in Chalcidice (*Villes*, 324). For other references to an Antigoneia in Macedonia that may refer either to this or to the Chalcidian city see ANTIGONEIA in Chalcidice.

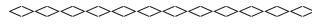
2. For the claim that **Paeonia was partly brought under Antigonid rule by Antigonos Doson** see Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times* (Amsterdam, 1978) 145-48. Contra, for example, Tarn, *AG*, 173, 320f., 365f., who claimed Antigonos Gonatas conquered Paeonia.

3. For the **location** of Antigoneia see the important discussion of Papazoglou in *Villes*, 324-26 and map 12. Hammond (op. cit., 174) suggested Antigoneia may have been near Banja. Since the Peutinger Table gives XII miles as the distance from Stobi to Antigoneia, while the distance of the former to Banja is approximately 25 km, Hammond suggested emending the text from XII to XVII (172; on errors in the Peutinger Table see Pritchett, *Topography*, 3: 202 and n. 20); cf. G. I. Kazarow (*BCH* 47 [1923] 299-300), who thought Antigoneia was at Negotino. Miller (*Itineraria Romana*, 573) suggested Vojšanci; Papazoglou (*Villes*, 326) opted for Budur Ciflik. On the location see also L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* (Paris, 1876) 329.

Ἀντιγῶνεια in Hierokles 639 2a does not refer to Antigoneia; see ANTIGONEIA in Chalcidice.

Antiochienses

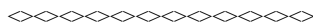
Among the people living in Macedonia, Pliny mentions the Antiochienses (*NH* 4.35). We do not know who these were, where precisely they were located and, if they were descended from a Hellenistic settlement, who founded the colony.



Jones (*Greek City*, 306 n. 12) suggests either that the Antiochienses were named for Antiochos I Soter, the second husband of Stratonike and the brother-in-law of Antigonos Gonatas, or that the term is a mistake for Antigonenses. The first suggestion is unlikely. When Hellenistic monarchs gave personal names to settlements they usually named them for more immediate relatives; see, for example, Appian (*Syr.* 57), who says that Seleukos named cities for his father, mother, his wives, and himself; but cf. BERENIKE in Epirus, which Pyrrhos named for his mother-in-law. It is of course possible that Pliny made an error and that he meant Antigonenses (so Jones, op. cit., and Papazoglou, *Villes*, 420). Note, however, that at section 34 he did mention ANTIGONEIA in Paeonia. In that case he used the toponym rather than the ethnic.

Demetrias

Under "Demetrias" Stephanos first records the Thessalian city and then a Demetrias in Macedonia (s.v. no. 2). This is the only extant evidence for the foundation. Most likely it was founded either by Demetrios Poliorketes or by Demetrios II.

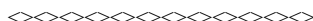


See Tscherikower, 2. Jones, noting that this Demetrias is not mentioned elsewhere, suggested it is a "doublet of the first" (*Greek City*, 305 n. 9). Stephanos adds that the **ethnic** was **ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ**.

Kalindoia

A dedicatory inscription to Apollo (*SEG XXXVI.626*) was found at Toumpes Kalamotou, the site of the ancient Kalindoia in the Chalcidic peninsula. It records a list of priests of Asklepios¹ who had fulfilled their duties "from the time when King Alexander (i.e., Alexander the Great) gave to τὰ χωρία around Kalindoia—the territory of Thamiskos (?), Kamakai and Tripoiai" (ll. 5-10).² "Makedones" are the Macedonian people. It is probable, therefore, that this was a collective gift to "Makedones," made in order to allow for the establishment of a Macedonian city on the site of Kalindoia. Furthermore the new polis probably included the three other towns.³ Vokotopoulou has demonstrated that the stele was probably set up in 323 B.G. Therefore the reorganization of Kalindoia probably took place in 335/4.⁴ We do not know whether the new city was called Kalindoia or had a new name. The diameter of the territory given to Makedones would have been approximately fifteen kilometers.⁵

Toumpes is halfway between Kalamoto and Doumpia, about thirteen kilometers south of the western end of Lake Bolbe.



In general for the inscription from Kalindoia see I. P. Vokotopoulou, *Anc. Maced.* (Thessaloniki, 1986) 4: 87-114 (editio princeps and commentary); N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* 82 (1988) 382-91; id., *ZPE* 82 (1990) 174; M. Hatzopoulos, *BE* (1988) 847; *SEG XXXVIII.575*.

1. **Priests of Asklepios** were frequently eponymous officials in other Macedonian cities; see further, Hatzopoulos, 847.
2. On the **location** of Kalindoia and the three other towns see Vokotopoulou, 87, 103-4; Hammond, *CQ* 82 (1988) 385.
3. According to Hammond (*CQ* 82 [1988] 386) the term "Makedones" was being used in a general sense in the inscription. He noted that "~~Makedones~~," without the definite article, was often "used in a political context for the Macedonian people": for example, Hdt. 9.44.1; Thuc. 1.57.2; Paus. 10.8.2; Arr. *Anab.* 1.27.4; 3.24.5, 26.2, 27.2; *IG* I³ 89.60; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1948) 2: 111.17; *IG* VII.3055.8; J. Bousquet, *Mélanges Daux*, p. 24, l. 10. For the likelihood that the inscription deals with **a collective gift to "Makedones"** see

Hatzopoulos, *BE* (1988) 847; id., *Donation*, 29 n. 2; Hammond, *CQ* 82 (1988) 386; id., *ZPE* 82 (1990) 174. The inscription would thus explain the setting up of a list of priests that marked the beginning of a new era at the new Macedonian city.

On the other hand, Vokotopoulou (97) believed the inscription meant the recipients of Alexander's largesse were individual Macedonians. However, Hammond rightly objected that, among other things, the magnitude of the gift rendered it unlikely that it was made to individuals (*CQ* [1988] 386).

4. For the **dating of the inscription** see Vokotopoulou (97), followed by E. Badian (*ZPE* 79 [1989] 65-66 and n. 16) and Hammond (*CQ* 82 [1988] 384 and *ZPE* 82 [1990] 174). Vokotopoulou demonstrated (97-98) that the first nineteen lines—which included the record of the first ten priests—were inscribed by the same hand and that subsequent additions were made by different hands. Furthermore Vokotopoulou dated the whole inscription palaeographically to the period 330-300 B.C. This pointed to the period 330-320 as the time when the first ten names were inscribed by the same stonecutter, and the decade 340-330 for the beginning of the new era dated by the eponymous priests. Furthermore she suggested that Alexander made the gift during the winter of 335/4, i.e., between his return from Greece and his departure for Asia. See also Hammond, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 174.

5. For the **extent of the territory** see Vokotopoulou, 98-106; Hammond, *CQ* 82 (1988) 385.

Kassandreia

In 316 B.C. Kassandros founded, by synoecism, a city on the site of Poteidaia and named it Kassandreia.¹ Diodorus tells us (19.52.2-3) that the new foundation incorporated not only Poteidaia and other cities of the peninsula of Pallene but also a considerable number of neighboring towns as well as survivors of Olynthos. In short, the territory of the new foundation was extensive and included both area in the peninsula as well as to the north of the isthmus toward Olynthos.²

There is evidence for an eponymous priest at the end of the fourth century B.C. who was also, very probably, a priest of the city founder(s) (*Syll.*³ 332). A decree of Kassandreia from 242/1 B.C. accepting an invitation of Kos to participate in the celebration of the Asklepieia and granting *asylia* to the sanctuary (*SEG* XII.373) refers to an *archegeteion*, which was probably a center of the cult of the royal founder. We also know of an eponymous priesthood of King Lysimachos, which endured only while he controlled the city (287-281 B.C.).³ From *SEG* XII.373 we learn, too, that the city was passing decrees and had a *boule*, *strategoi*, *nomophylakes*, and *tamiai*. The population was divided into demes (and therefore, presumably, tribes as well). *Proxenia* decrees referring to Kassandreians, from as far back as the late fourth/early third century B.C.,

indicate that the city had a good deal of autonomy. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the city coined money in the Hellenistic period.⁴

We learn about gifts of land at Kassandreia from two documents, *Syll.*³ 332 and *SEG* XXXVIII.619. The first records a confirmation by "King Kassandros" of estates previously given by Philip II and Alexander the Great and located on land now included in Kassandreia. The second records a gift made by "King Lysimachos" in 285/4 B.C. Interestingly both inscriptions are Kassandreian civic decrees rather than royal documents.⁵ In both cases the recipients were given their land in full ownership, an indication that the land on which the properties were located had become city land.

Kassandreians begin appearing throughout the Greek world very soon after the city's founding. In addition to *proxenia* decrees for Kassandreians, there is also an inscription from Arcadia, c. 304/3 B.C., that mentions a Kassandreian victor in the horse race at Lykaia (*Syll.*³ 314 B28). A Kassandreian is mentioned in a *theorodokos* list of the Asklepieion at Epidauros late in the fourth century (*IG* IV.1² 94.41-42), and Kassandreian mercenaries appear in an Athenian inscription of c. 300 B.C. (*IG* II² 1956. III-16). By c. 270-260 B.C. judges from Kassandreia were rendering decisions in boundary disputes between other Greek cities.⁶

After the death of Kassandros in 297 B.C. the city went through a very confused period, passing in turn to his sons, then to Demetrios Poliorketes, to Lysimachos, then briefly to his widow, Arsinoe, then to Ptolemy Keraunos, who assigned it to his mother, Eurydike, then to the revolutionary, Apollodoros, and finally to Antigonos Gonatas in 276 B.C.

The ancient city wall, outcroppings of which still exist, is very close to the modern town of Nea Poteidaia.⁷



In general see Tscherikower, 3; E. Oberhummer, *RE* Suppl. IV, s.v. "Kassandreia"; E. Meyer, *RE* Suppl. X, s.v. "Poteidaia-Kassandreia," 628-39; J. A. Alexander, *Anc. Maced.* (Thessaloniki, 1970) 1: 127-46; A. Giovannini, *Anc. Maced.* (Thessaloniki, 1977) 2: 465-72; Zahmt, *Olynth*, 112-19; Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia*, 3: 209 and passim; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 252-54; Hatzopoulos, *Donation*, 17-54; and Papazoglou, *Villes*, 424-26.

1. On the **founding date** of 316 B.C. see Diod. 19.52.2 and the Marmor Parium (*FGrH* 239 F B14); see also W. L. Adams, *Anc. Maced.* (Thessaloniki, 1983) 3: 24. For **selected literary references to Kassandreia** see, for example, Strabo 7, frags. 25, 27; Livy 44.11.2; Stephanos s.vv. "Kassandreia" and "Potidaia"; Pliny *NH* 4.36; Paus. 5.23.3; Procop *Aed.* 4.3.21; Ath. 3.98e; Ptol. 3.12.10. The city is frequently mentioned in Byzantine lists; see, for example, *Not. Ep.* 7.301, 9.187, etc. For a full list of references see Meyer, 628 and 633.

2. For the **territory of Kassandreia** including much of the peninsula of Pallene see Polyaeus 6.7.2 and Eust. *Comment.* to Dionys. Perieg. 330 (= *GGM*, 2: 276). For the numismatic and archaeological evidence for the abandonment of the post-348 B.C. settlement at Olynthos in 316 B.C. (i.e., when Kassandreia was founded) and the removal of both population and building materials to the new foundation, see D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus* VIII (Baltimore, 1938) 9-13; U. Kahrstedt, *Hermes* 81 (1953) 106. For the similar situation at Mekyberna see Robinson and P. A. Clement, *Olynthus* IX: 372-74; Robinson, *Olynthus* XIV: 40. The inscription found at Poteidaia that recorded the renewal of a land grant and privileges by King Kassandros (*Syll.*³ 332, 306-297 B.C.) says that the recipient, Perdikkas, held land in Sinos, as well as at Trapezous and Spartolos (on which see C. Edson, *GPh* 42 [1947] 104-5; Kahrstedt, 89). Kassandreian territory also included Mende (Livy 31.45.14; *RE* s.v. "Mende," 779). For "Hippolyteus," a Kassandreian demotic possibly for settlers from Mende, see *Syll.*³ 380.2-3; *IG* II² 9337; Alexander's discussion on pp. 128ff.; and below, note 4. Mendeian wine was exported from Kassandreia (Ath. 11.784c). Stephanos mentions a *phrourion* of Kassandreia called Lingos (s.v. = *FGrH* 244 F11); Polyaeus (4.6.18) records a nearby place, Bolos; and Livy (44.11.4) mentions a Clitae. See the complete list in Zahmt, *Olynth*, 142-254.

3. *Syll.*³ 332 (see above, note 2) is dated by the **eponymous priest** Kydias but does not refer to Kydias as a "priest of Kassandros." (For another inscription recording a decree *ἐπ' ἐπέως Ἀρχωνος*, possibly from Kassandreia and dated palaeographically to the second half of the third century B.C., see Hatzopoulos, *Donation*, 26-28 = *SEG* XXXVII.558 = D. M. Robinson, *TAPA* 69 [1938] 55-56, no. 8. *Nota bene* that the provenience is not clear. Robinson, who thought the stone recorded a deed of sale [contra, Hatzopoulos, 26], suggested it was from Olynthos, while Hennig, *Chiron* 17 [1987] 144, opted for Poteidaia.) It is not clear which divinity (or divinities) Kydias served. Dittenberger suggested he was a priest of King Kassandros (note 1 to *Syll.*³ 332). Contra, Alexander, who correctly noted (128) that the wording of the preamble does not allow this interpretation. The most likely suggestion is that, in a situation parallel to DEMETRIAS in Thessaly (*IG* IX.2.1099b.13-14), the eponymous priesthood was a priesthood of the royal founder of the city and the hero-founders of the communities united in the synoecism (Habicht, *Gott.*², 37-38; see also Leschhorn, 252-53; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1953] 152). For the **archegeteion** as a cult place of the founder, see Herzog and Klaffenbach (below, note 4), 17; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1953) 152; Leschhorn, 254. It is also possible, though less likely, that the *archegeteion* was a center for the worship of Apollo Archegetes (Klaffenbach, op. cit.; Habicht, op. cit.; J. and L. Robert, op. cit.; on Apollo *archegetes* see also LAODIKEIA on the Lykos).

On the other hand, two Kassandreian inscriptions (*Syll.*³ 380 = *SEG* XXIX.600 = D. M. Robinson, *TAPA* 59 [1928] 227 n. 2 = D. Feissel and M. Sève, *BCH* 103 [1979] 299-300, no. 34; and Hatzopoulos, *Donation*, 17f. = *SEG* XXXVIII.619) do record an eponymous priest—Timesios—of Lysimachos in 285/4 B.C. This

priesthood reflects the existence of the short-lived ruler cult for King Lysimachos (Habicht, *Gott.*², 40).

4. *SEG* XII.373 = R. Herzog and G. Klaffenbach, *ADAW* (1952) 15, no. 6; see also Alexander, 129f.; and E Papazoglou, *Anc. Maced.*, 3: 202f. Alexander suggests that the presence of an eponymous priest in c. 306-297 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 332) but the absence of same (as well as the presence of *strategoi* and *nomophylakes*) in 242/1 B.C. (*SEG* XII.373) may indicate a constitutional change brought about by the overthrow of Apollodoros by Antigonos Gonatas in 276 B.C. (130 and n. 14). In addition to the evidence for **governmental offices** in *SEG* XII.373 see further evidence for a *tamias* in Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) 60, no. 14. 16 (inscription found near Hagios Mamas, which belongs to the district of Kassandreia; see further Robinson, 56; Alexander, 133). On the Kassandreian deme Hippolyteis (*Syll.*³ 380), see P. Perdrizet, *REA* 2 (1900) 263 and 12 (1910) 224, against Dittenberger (*Syll.*³ 380, note 3), who suggests it was the name of a tribe; see also Jones, *Public Organization*, 267, who is noncommittal as to whether the term denotes a deme or tribe. The earliest extant *proxenia* decrees for Kassandreians are from Oropos (*IG* VII. 247, after 316 B.C.) and Delphi (*FD* III.1.117, 294/3 B.C.). For other examples see Alexander, 134 and n. 26. On the question of Kassandreia's autonomy see Meyer, 635; Alexander, 128. The earliest Kassandreian **coinage** dates from the time of Augustus; see *BMC Macedonia*, xxxix and 65-66.

5. For the **gifts of land** see Hatzopoulos, *Donation*, 46-49. For gifts of Seleucid royal land and their incorporation in a city see *RC* 10-13; see also 18-20.

6. For **the inscription found at Delphi, which records the names of five Kassandreian judges** who arbitrated boundary disputes between cities of Achaia-Phthiotis in Thessaly see *SEG* XVIII.238.4-5; Alexander, 139 and n. 43. For further lists of Kassandreians in the Hellenistic world see Alexander, 132-45. Kassandreia is also recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 18, col.III.77). On the dating of the *theorodokoi* list to c. 230-220 B.C. see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea.

The masculine **ethnic** appears as **ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ** (e.g., *IG* XII.9.828), the feminine as **ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ** (e.g., *IG* IX.1.626), **ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ** (*IG* II² 9002); for a full list see Alexander, 143-44 and n. 52. A Kassandreian markedly preferred to call himself that, rather than a "Macedonian" (Tarn, *AG*, 186 and n. 62; Alexander, 131 and n. 17; for a possible exception, see Alexander, 143 n. 52, under "Pagasae"). In inscriptions and on coins the name is always spelled with two sigmas; in the literary evidence it appears both as "Kassandreia" (e.g., Strabo 7, frag. 27) and "Kasandreia" (e.g., Diod. 19.52.2).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was thought by some scholars that Kassandreia had been renamed "**Eurydikeia**" for a short period (Leake, *Num. Hell.*, "European Greece," p. 53; Borrell, *NC* 3 [1841] 135 ff.). This suggestion was based on a passage in Polyaeus (6.7.2) that says Eurydike granted freedom to the city. However, Polyaeus then says that a festival, the "Eurydikeia," was established, not that the city was renamed "Eurydikeia" (on the festival see Habicht,

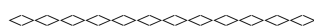
*Gott.*², 253-55). In any event, coins with a veiled head turned to the right and, on the reverse, a tripod and the legend **ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΕΩΝ**, attributed by Borrell, Leake, Mionnet (Suppl. 3: 77-78, nos. 475-76), and Head (*BMC Macedonia*, 75, nos. 1-3) to Kassandreia should in fact be assigned to EURYDIKEIA Smyrna.

7. For the history of **Kassandreia after the death of Kassandros** see, for example, Meyer, 629-31; Tarn, *AG*, 159-60 and 171-72. On the **location** of Poteidaia-Kassandreia see Alexander, *Potidaea: Its History and Remains* (Athens, 1963) 3ff. and passim; Buraselis, *Das hellen. Maked.*, 37.

Perseis

Philip V founded the town of Perseis after his Thracian campaign of 183 B.C.¹ He named it in honor of his son. According to Livy (39.53.14-16) the foundation was located in the Paeonian district of Derriopos near the Erigon (Cerna) River, which was *haud procul Stobis*. The precise site has not yet been discovered.²

In the autumn of the same year Philip undertook a major program of population transfer and moved inhabitants of the coastal towns to Paeonia (Polyb. 23.10.4; Livy 40.3.3-4). Although neither Polybius nor Livy says so, it is likely that some of the people involved were sent to Perseis.³



In general see L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* (Paris, 1876) 313-38; Tscherikower, 2; Walbank, *Philip*, 242-43; P. Meloni, *Perseo* (Cagliari, 1953) 34-38.

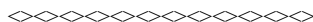
1. On the **founding date** of Perseis see Niese, *GMS*, 3: 28; Walbank, 243.

2. **Location**: Derriopos was north of Lynkestis and south and west of the Erigon River. Heuzey, 314-15, mentions inscriptions from Tsepicovo that show the existence of *proedroi* and a council convened by **ἐν τῷ Ἐργῶνι** were populous (7.7.9). For Prilep, which is on a tributary of the Erigon, as the site of Perseis see Reinach, *BCH* 34 (1910) 269 and n. 1; Meloni, 37; Walbank, *Philip*, 243. Heuzey suggested Tikvetch (333), but cf. Hammond (*Macedonia*, 1: 174 n. 3), who doubts if it was in Derriopos and suggests that Perseis was "just north of the Monastir gap" (*Macedonia*, 3: 459; map in *Macedonia*, 1: 62-63). On the form "Derriopos" rather than "Deuriopos" see Hammond, *Macedonia*, 1: 69.

3. On the **population transfer**, which also involved bringing "Thracians and barbarians" to the evacuated towns, see Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 23.10.4; id., *Philip*, 243-44. On the question of whether or not these Thracians were themselves military settlers see Walbank, *ibid.*

Phila

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Phila"), Phila was founded in Macedonia by Demetrios II on the Peneios River and named for his mother. Phila was five miles from Herakleion (Livy 44.8.9) and occupied a strategic site at the entrance to the Vale of Tempe. Hammond locates it on the north bank of the Peneios, southeast of Piryetos.¹



In general see E. Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Phila 6"; Papazoglou, *Villes*, 115-16.

1. On the **location** of Phila see Hammond, *Macedonia*, 1: 135 and map 12. Leake (*NG*, 3: 422) placed it near the mouth of the Peneios on the north bank; Hammond objects to this because it would locate Phila too far south to conform with Livy's information that it was five miles from Herakleion. L. Heuzey (*Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* [Paris, 1860] 80f.) suggested it was located at the village of Piryetos, where he found some capitals and inscriptions. The strategic importance of Phila can be seen in the frequency with which it is mentioned in the course of Livy's narrative of the war against Perseus: e.g., 44.2.12, 3.7, 8.1, 8.8, 34.10. According to Livy, Perseus left (*relinquit*) a small garrison force there (42.67.2). Furthermore it was an important supply depot (44.7.12); see further, Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia*, 3: 528-30.

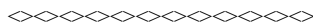
There is no **coinage** that can definitely be ascribed to Phila. A bronze coin from the Roman period with the legend $\Gamma \Lambda$, which Imhoof-Blumer attributed to Phila (*M. Gr.*, 90), is probably not Macedonian (*HN*², 244).

Stephanos (s.v.) gives the **ethnic** as $\Gamma \Lambda \text{ AIO}$.

Stratonikeia

The evidence for Stratonikeia in Chalcidice is severely limited. Ptolemy refers to a Stratonikeia that was located on the Singitic Gulf (3.12.9). Presumably this is the same city as that mentioned in a list of cities that recognized the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at Stratonikeia in Caria in 81 B.C. (*OGIS* 441.154-55).¹ Stratonike was the daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes and the sister of Antigonos Gonatas. In 253 B.C. the latter founded a festival, the Antigoneia, on Delos (*IG* XI.287.B125-26, 129; *I. Délos* 298.A83). In the same year it was undoubtedly Gonatas who founded another festival on Delos, the Stratonikeia, "on behalf of Queen Stratonike" ($\Sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon \iota \alpha$, *IG* XI.287.B124-25; *I. Délos* 298.A88, 313.a69-70, 320.B34-35); this is, most probably, Gonatas' sister. This, in turn, suggests that Gonatas may also have named Stratonikeia in Chalcidice for his sister.² Its precise location is

not known. However, Papazoglou has speculated reasonably that it may have been on the south coast of Akte.³



In general see Tscherikower, 3; L. Robert, *VAM*², 43 n. 5; Zahmt, *Olynth*, 244; Papazoglou, *Villes*, 432-33.

1. **OGIS 441.154-55** = *I. Strat.* 508.12-13. In a particularly confused entry on "Stratonikeia" Stephanos described it as

Στρατονικεύς· ἐκτίσθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ Ἀδριανούπολις ὀνομάσθη. As L. Robert noted, Stephanos confused Stratonikeia in Macedonia with STRATONIKEIA in Lydia and, possibly, in Caria (*VAM*², 43 and n. 5; 44 n. 1).

2. For the **Antigoneia and Stratonikeia festivals on Delos** see E. Schulhof, *BCH* 32, (1908) 106; Tarn, *AG*, 351-52; Buraselis, *Das hellen. Maked.*, 143; and P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique*, (Paris, 1970) 558-63. All of the above agree, as is most likely, that "Queen Stratonike" was Gonatas' sister. Cf., however, W. Kolbe (*GGA* [1916] 456), who thought that "Queen Stratonike" was the daughter of Antiochos I (and the wife of Demetrios II), and Bickerman (*REA* 40 [1938] 375 and n. 6), who accepted the identification with Gonatas' sister but attributed the festival to Antiochos II.

For Antigonos Gonatas as **the probable founder of Stratonikeia in Chalcidice** see also Tarn, in *CAH* VII: 201; cf. Tscherikower (3), who suggested that Demetrios Poliorketes founded it.

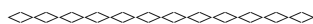
3. **Location.** Leake, noting the similarity of the ancient toponym to the name of the modern village of Stratoni and the presence of archaeological remains there, suggested (*NG*, 3: 160) that Ptolemy erred in placing Stratonikeia on the Singitic Gulf and that in fact it was on the Strymonic Gulf (see Leake's map at the end of *NG* 3); followed, for example, by Diehl and Cousin, *BCH* 9 (1885) 473, and Zahmt, 244. On the archaeological remains at Stratoni see, for example, P. G. Themeles, *Delt.* (1963) 206ff., and G. Daux, *BCH* 89 (1965) 306. However, Papazoglou (432-33) correctly pointed out that Ptolemy, following a geographic order, mentioned Panormos, Akrothooi, Stratonikeia, Akanthos, and Singos. According to Papazoglou, this suggests that Stratonikeia was in fact on the south coast of the central part of Akte, on the Singitic Gulf.

Thessalonike

Thessalonike was founded by Kassandros and named in honor of his wife, the daughter of Philip II. It is highly likely that it was founded around the same time as Kassandreia, that is, c. 316/5 B.C.¹ It was built on or very close to the ancient Therme. According to one fragment of Strabo (7, frag. 21, *Epitome Vaticana*) Thessalonike resulted from the synoecism of around twenty-six communities,

among them Therme.² According to another fragment (7, frag. 24, *Epitome edita*) Thessalonike was actually the renamed Therme.³

Evidence for Thessalonikans abroad and for the governmental institutions of Thessalonike dates not from the time of Kassandros but rather from the period of Antigonid rule.⁴ A decree of Histiaia from c. 270-200 B.C. listing *proxenoi* of the city records two Thessalonikans (*Syll.*³ 492.37-38). There is evidence for a *boule*, *ekklesia*, *tamiai*, *epistates*, and *hypepistates*; the latter two officials worked with a group of *dikastai*.⁵ A decree of 224/3 B.C. is dated by the regnal year as well as by an eponymous priest (*IG X.2*[1] 2).⁶ The population was divided into demes and tribes; Stephanos provides us with the names of two demes: Kekropis and Boukephalitai. Inscriptions ranging from the Hellenistic period (?) to the third century A.D. give evidence for four tribes: Antigonis, Asklepias, Gnaia, and Dionysias.⁷ There is evidence for a Sarapion in 187 B.C.; in fact the cult was probably introduced in the third century B.C.⁸ The earliest evidence for a gymnasium is from 95 B.C.⁹ Unlike the Kassandreians who avoided the designation, Thessalonikans quite commonly called themselves "Macedonians."¹⁰ The earliest coinage dates from after 168 B.C.¹¹ Thessalonike was, of course, located at the site of the modern, like-named city at the head of the Thermaic Gulf.¹²



In general see Tscherikower, 3; E. Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Thessalonike"; O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris, 1913); M. Vickers, *JHS* 92 (1972) 156-70; *PECS* s.v. "Thessalonike"; C. Edson, ed., *IG X.2*, fasc. 1, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et Vicinae*; C. Edson and G. Daux, *BCH* 98 (1974) 521-52; E. Carney, *AHB* 2 (1988) 136-39; Papazoglou, *Villes*, 189-95.

1. The **founding** date of 316/5 B.C. for Kassandreia is fixed by Diod. 19 52.2 and the Marmor Parium (*FGrH* 239 F B14). Furthermore Kassandros refounded THEBES in 316/5 B.C. This lends support to the notion that Kassandros likewise founded THESSALONIKE around the same time. For Thessalonike see Carney, 137 and n. 16; id., in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. S. B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991) 169 n. 42; W. L. Adams, *Anc. Maced.* (Thessaloniki, 1983) 3: 24 and n. 31. I am not convinced by E. I. Mikrogiannakes' suggestion that Thessalonike was founded by Kassandros after 305 B.C. (*Anc. Maced.* [Thessaloniki, 1977] 2: 228-29).

2. At 7, frag. 21 Strabo says that Kassandros destroyed (*συνουχίσας*) the inhabitants to the new foundation. Strabo mentions the names of six of the communities involved in the synoecism: Apollonia, Chalastra, Therme, Gareskos, Aineia, and Kissos (on these towns see Papazoglou, 198-201; Dion. Hal. also says that Kassandros destroyed Aineia and removed its inhabitants to Thessalonike, 1.49.4). At frag. 24 Strabo says

that Thessalonike was the renamed Therme and adds that Kassandros transferred (μετόχιον) the inhabitants to it. Despite the assertions about destruction and transfer, we know from other evidence that some of these towns continued to exist: for example, Apollonia (Livy 45.28.8; Acts 17.1), Aineia (Livy 44.10.7), Gareskos (Strabo 7, frag. 36; Ptol. 3.12.22). Chalastra is also mentioned elsewhere by Strabo (7, frags. 20 and 23), but here he may be reproducing a pre-Hellenistic source (see Edson, *CPh* 42 [1947] 102 n. 101). Furthermore it is important to remember that the "destruction" of a city or town could take a number of forms, from the physical destruction of (parts of) the city or city wall to—more frequently—the deprivation of its rights as an autonomous body. On the "destruction" of cities see KOLOPHON. On the synoecism see also Papazoglou, *Villes*, 189-90.

Two other names are attested for Thessalonike: Halia and Emathia. Stephanos (s.v. "Thessalonike") and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. "Thessalonike"), who give the **founder** as Kassandros, say that the city had once been called Halia. This is our sole source of information about Halia. It is not clear whether the term was a name for a town or a region. A number of scholars have suggested the term was related to ἅλιος ("pertaining to the sea") and, for example, reflected the name given by inhabitants of the interior to the coastal city of Thessalonike (Tafrali, op. cit., 5) or the name of the coastal region before the founding of Thessalonike (Oberhummer, op. cit., 145); see further Papazoglou, *Villes*, 195-96.

Zonaras (*Hist.* 12.26) comments that it had been known as Emathia. Papazoglou has plausibly suggested (196-98) that it may have been one of the towns included in the synoecism. Stephanos and the *Etym. Magnum*, as well as Constant. Porphy. (*De thema.* 23 [*Pat. Gr.*, 113: 120-21]), record a doubtful tradition that associated the name of the city with Philip II and a victory he gained over the Thessalians. Also doubtful is the assertion of the Heidelberg Epitome (*FGrH* 155 F2.4) that Thessalonike herself founded the city.

3. M. Vickers's observation that "the site of Therme and its relationship to Thessaloniki is one of the oldest problems of Macedonian topography" is quite correct. For full discussion of the problem and further references, see Vickers (*Studies Edson*, 327-33) and G. Bakalakis (*AK Beiheft* 1 [1958] 30-34), who favored the identification of Thessalonike and Therme; Hammond (*Macedonia*, 1: 150-51) and Papazoglou (*Villes*, 190-95), who rejected the identification; and C. Edson (*CPh* 42 [1947] 100-104), who suggested Therme was "at, or very near, Salonica." See also K. A. Romaios, *Makedonika* 1 (1940) 1-7 and map on p. 6.

For the identification of **Therme and Thessalonike** see also the following—late—sources: schol. to Thuc. 1.61.2 (ed. Haase [Paris, 1855]); Malalas 7.243 (*CShB* XXVIII, p. 190); Tzetzes *Chil.* 10.174-75 (ed. P. Leone, 1963); *Nomina urbium mutata* (in A. Burckhardt's edition of Hierokles [Leipzig, 1893]), App. 1.55, 1a-15, 3.106. *Nota bene* that the reliability of many of these later sources is questionable (see, for example, Oberhummer, op. cit., 145, and Edson, *CPh* 42 [1947] 102 n. 104). Cf. Procopius (*Aed.* 4.4 [B.279]), who mentions a Therme among the places in

Macedonia fortified by Justinian. Obviously if it is the Therme of the archaic and classical periods, then it and Thessalonike will have been distinct. However, the precise identification of Procopius' Therme is not certain. Vickers, for example, suggests it was another city located some distance from Thessalonike (*CR* 88 [1974] 10-11; *Studies Edson*, 330). Note that Pliny (*NH* 4.36) also says that Thessalonike and Therme were different cities. Hammond (op. cit.), on the basis of the fact that Pliny distinguishes between the two places, likewise separates them and postulates that the cape of Mikro Karaburnu was the site of Therme. For the (less likely) view that Therme was located at Sedhes (where there are warm springs), 10 km to the southeast, see Oberhummer, *RE* s.vv. "Therme," 2392, and "Thessalonike," 145; and the authors of the *ATL*, 1: 546 (contra, Edson, 100-101). Romaio's view (op. cit.) that Therme was a collective name for a group of villages extending from the modern Thessalonike to Sedhes is not likely.

4. For other evidence of **Thessalonikans abroad** in the Hellenistic world see, for example, *IG* X.2(1) 1028; *FD* III.1.577.1-2 and III.4.134.10; *IG* VII.295 and 320; in general see C. Habicht, *Gnomon* 46 (1974) 484-85.

5. For **the boule, ekklesia, and tamiai**, see *IG* X.2(1) 2, 1028. For the **epistates and hyepistates** see *IG* X.2(1) 2, 3, and 1028; see also Bengtson, *Strategie*, 2: 326; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 80f.; S. Le Bohec, *Ktema* 11 (1986) 281-88. The **officials working with the hyepistates** in *IG* X.2(1) 1028, l. 10, have been variously interpreted as A[PMO] TAI (Durrbach, *BCH* 10 [1886] 132; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 1: 261-70; Roussel, in *IG* XI.4.1053), as A[O I] TAI (Swoboda, *Griechische Volksbeschlüsse* [Leipzig, 1890] 122-23), and finally as [IKA] TAI (Edson, in *IG* X.2[1] 1028). The latter reading is confirmed by the *diagramma* of Philip V of 187 B.C., which mentions *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία* [1934] 17; also Welles, *AJA* 42 [1938] 249-51; L. Robert, *DocAMM*, 56; G. Daux, *Anc. Maced.*, 2: 317-19; id., *BCH* 102 [1978] 592-93).

6. Dating by an **eponymous priest** was quite common in Hellenistic Macedonia; it is found at, among other places, KASSANDREIA. See also Edson, *HSCP* 51 (1940) 135; L. Robert, *RPh* (1974) 193.

7. For the **demes** of Thessalonike see Stephanos s.vv. "Kekropia" and "Boukephaleia"; also P. Perdrizet, *REA* 2 (1900) 263 and 12 (1910) 224; the suggestion of Dittenberger (note to *Syll.*³ 380) and Szanto (*SAWW* 144.5 [1901] 63) that Kekropis was a tribal name is not convincing. The circumstances surrounding the naming of Boukephalitai are unclear. If it was named for Alexander's horse, it is unlikely that Kassandros, Alexander's enemy, would have done this. Edson has suggested the demotic is an example of the "Alexandrolatry" of the Severan age (*CPh* 53 [1958] 62 n. 8). **Tribes**: Asklepias (*IG* X.2[1] 183 [c. 225 A.D.], 265 [Hellenistic or early Roman?]), Gnaia (*IG* X.2[1] 278 [second/third century A.D.]), and Dionysias (*IG* X.2[1] 185 [c. 225 A.D.]). For the tribe Antigonis (*IG* X.2[1] 184 [c. 225 A.D.]), which was probably named for Antigonos Gonatas, see C. Edson, *Harvard Theological Review* 41 (1948) 160 n. 4; id., *CPh* 53 (1958) 62 n. 8; against

Habicht, *Gott.*², 153, who suggested it was named for Antigonos Monophthalmos. In general, see Jones, *Public Organization*, 267-68.

8. For the edict of Philip V regarding the **Sarapion** at Thessalonike, dated to 187 B.C., see *IG X.2*(1) 3. For inscriptions having to do with Sarapis see also *IG X.2* (1) 75ff., 255. On the Sarapion see R. Salditt-Trappmann, *Tempel der ägyptischen Götter* (Leiden, 1970) 47-52; Vickers, *JHS* (1972) 164-65; see also P.M. Fraser, *Oath* 3 (1960) 38-39.

9. For the evidence of a **gymnasium** see *IG X.2*(1) 4.

10. For the **Thessalonikans calling themselves "Macedonians"** and for their loyalty to the Antigonids, see Tarn, *AG*, 186 and n. 62.

11. On the **coinage (ethnic: E A ONIKE N)** see, for example, *BMC Macedonia*, 108ff. The city name is found as **Θεσσαλονίκη** in Polybius (22.11.2 and 29.4.7).

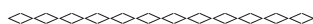
12. For a **possible plan of Hellenistic Thessalonike** see Vickers, *JHS* (1972) 156-70 and map, p. 161; on Roman Thessalonike see Vickers, *Anc. Maced.* (Thessaloniki, 1970) 1: 239-51. R. Martin (*L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*² [Paris, 1974] 163) credits Lysimachos with the planning ("en créant") of Thessalonike. I do not know of any evidence to support this claim.

Uranopolis

Strabo (7, frag. 35) tells us that Alexarchos, the eccentric brother of King Kassandros, founded a city on Mount Athos and called it Uranopolis. Strabo adds that it had a circuit of thirty stades. Alexarchos, who called himself the Sun, invented a new language for his city; Athenaeus records an indecipherable letter in this dialect that he sent to Kassandreia (3.98d-f). The date of the founding is not known but was probably around 316 B.C., which is the period when Kassandros founded Thessalonike and Kassandreia and restored Thebes.¹ We do not know how long the new toponym lasted.

The coins of Uranopolis are interesting. They bear the legend **ΟΥΡΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ**, "citizens of Uranopolis." Aphrodite Urania is portrayed on the reverse, while the obverse bears a representation of the sun surrounded by rays or a sun and lunar crescent, sometimes with stars.² It is possible that the mint at Uranopolis also produced posthumous Alexanders.³

The location of Uranopolis has not yet been fixed. Some indication is given by Pliny (*NH* 4.37), who enumerates the towns of the peninsula from northwest to southeast and begins with Uranopolis. His omission of Sane suggests that it may have been the site of Uranopolis. On the other hand, Uranopolis coins known to Leake were found in the vicinity of Akanthos (which is mentioned by Pliny). Presumably Uranopolis was located at or near one of these towns.⁴



In general see Tscherikower, 3; E. Wüst, *RE* s.v. "Uranopolis 1"; Tarn, *Alexander*, 2: 429-34; C. Ehrhardt, *Journal of Numismatic Fine Arts* 2 (1973) 25-32; J. Ferguson, *Utopias in the Classical World* (London, 1975) 108-10; Zahmt, *Olynth*, 120, 209-10, 219-221; and Papazoglou, *Villes*, 431.

1. For **Alexarchos** calling himself the Sun see Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 4.54.3 (ed. O. Stählin and U. Treu [1972]). For an attempted decipherment of Alexarchos' letter see O. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus* (Tübingen, 1933) 108-10; but cf. Athenaeus (3.98f-99a), who remarks that even Pythian Apollo could not have succeeded at that!

2. For the **coinage** of Uranopolis see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *M. Gr.*, 96, nos. 135-38; *BMC Macedonia*, 133-34, nos. 1-5; and *SNG (Cop) Macedonia* 454-58. Because of, among other things, their low weight, the authenticity of the autonomous tetradrachms was questioned by P. Lederer (*ZfN* 41 [1931] 47-54). However, N. Breitenstein (*Acta Archaeologica* 13 [1942] 248-50) argued for their authenticity. He pointed out that the low weight of the tetradrachms was in fact similar to the weight of late posthumous Philips (see also M. Thompson, *ANS MN* 26 [1981] 43).

3. The **attribution of some posthumous Alexander coinage, previously grouped by Müller with Amphipolis, Akrothooi, or designated as uncertain, to Uranopolis** (*Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand* [Copenhagen, 1855] nos. 62, 66-75, 641-45, and possibly 151-78 as well; see now Price, *Alexander and Philip*, 139f., nos. 509-23) was first made by Imhoof-Blumer (*M. Gr.*, 97). Imhoof-Blumer based this attribution on the appearance of the A-torch as well as the pyramid surmounted by a star or the fulmen-I on certain Alexanders and on the coinage of Uranopolis. He was followed by, among others, Breitenstein (above, note 2); R. W. Mathisen, *ANS MN* 26 (1981) 115; the *SNG Ashmolean Museum* 2657-58; and *SNG (Cop) Macedonia* 697-708. The attribution, however, is not secure (so, for example, Price, *Alexander and Philip*, 139 n. 3). A. R. Bellinger (*Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* [New York, 1963] 90), Thompson (*ANS MN* 26 [1981] 40-44), and Newell (see Thompson, *ANS MN* [1981] 40 n. 16) assigned this coinage to Amphipolis.

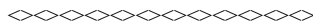
4. On the **location** of Uranopolis see the discussion by Imhoof-Blumer, 97-98. For the discovery of bronze coins at and near Erisso (the site of Akanthos) see Leake, *Num. Hell*, "European Greece," p. 109; id., *NG*, 3: 148-49. Imhoof-Blumer also notes (98 n. 68) that Akanthos stopped minting shortly before the founding of Uranopolis and Sane apparently never minted. For the less likely identification of Uranopolis with Akrothooi at the tip of Athos see Head, *BMC Macedonia*, xxxii.

Tarn suggests (430) that the Macedonian Uranopolis colonized the like-named town in Pamphylia mentioned by Ptolemy (5.5.5). There is no extant evidence to support this contention. See also Wrist, *RE* s.v. "Uranopolis 2."

IV
Thessaly, Aetolia, and Boeotia

Arsinoe Konope

According to Strabo (10.2.22), the village of Konope was refounded as the polis of Arsinoe by the like-named queen "who was the wife and sister of Ptolemy II."¹ There is evidence for the worship of Herakles.² Some gravestones (c. 250-150 B.C.) have survived.³ While Strabo and the other literary sources normally refer to the town as "Arsinoe," an inscription records the form "Arsinoeia." The new name persisted at least until Cicero's time.⁴ Both the epigraphic and literary evidence confirm the location of Arsinoe in southwestern Aetolia, most probably near the site of the modern village of Angelokastron.⁵



In general see W.J. Woodhouse, *Aetolia* (Oxford, 1897) 209-21; Tscherikower, 5; Bölte, *RE* s.v. "Lysimacheia 1"; Longega, *Arsinoe II*, 33-35.

1. Strabo actually refers to Konope as Konopa (10.2.22). There are three schools of thought regarding the circumstances of the **founding**. (1) Some scholars follow Strabo literally and claim that Arsinoe (or Ptolemy II Philadelphos) founded the city while she was the wife of Philadelphos, i.e., between 277 and 268 B.C. (on the date of Arsinoe's death see ARSINOE Methana, note 4); see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 755; P. M. Fraser, *BCH* 78 (1954) 60 and n. 3; cf. Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 15." Two objections may be raised against this view: (a) Aetolia never belonged to the Ptolemies, and (b) all the other Ptolemaic Arsinoes were seaports. (2) Other scholars, pointing to the nearby town of Lysimacheia, suggest either that Arsinoe founded the town while she was the wife of Lysimachos or that Lysimachos himself did it; this would have to be after the latter's conquest of Macedonia and Pyrrhos' retreat to Epirus, i.e., between 284 and 281 B.C.; for Lysimachos as founder see, for example, Woodhouse, 214-19. The objections to this hypothesis are (a) Lysimachos did not actually rule Aetolia, and (b) Strabo specifies that Arsinoe was the wife of Philadelphos. The counterargument to the second point is that Strabo referred to her this way only as a means of identifying *which* Arsinoe he meant. (3) Finally, it has been suggested that the Aetolians themselves founded the city and named it in honor of Arsinoe when she was the wife of Lysimachos (rather than when she was Ptolemy's wife), just as they founded Lysimacheia in his honor; see, for example, Tarn, *AG*, 111; Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 241 n. 2 (see also Flacelière, *Les Aitolians*, 81 n. 2); Tscherikower, 5; P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (Paris, 1957) 164-65; Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia*, 3: 236; Longega, 33-34. This is an attractive suggestion. Despite Strabo's explicit statement that **Arsinoe** founded the town it is possible the Aetolians actually founded the city but considered her the "founder."

2. For the worship of **Herakles** mentioned in two manumission inscriptions, see *IG* IX.1² 131 2; G. Klaffenbach, *SPAW* (1936) 360 1.5.

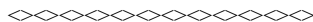
3. For **gravestones** see *SEG* XVII.269-72 (= P. M. Fraser and T. Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones* [Lund, 1957] 143-44, nos. 1-4, and 173).

4. For **the name "Arsinoe"** see, for example, Stephanos s.v. "Arsinoe 8"; Strabo 10.2.22; Polyb. 9.45.1 (= Ath. 10.424c). At 30.11.5 the Polybian MS has "Arsinoia." The form "**Arsinoeia**" appears in Klaffenbach, *SPAW* (1936) 360, l. 5; see also Klaffenbach's discussion and Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 149 n. 6. Nearly the same form ("Arsinoea") is also found in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (Daux, *REG* 62 [1949] 28, l. 14; see below, note 5) and may refer to the Aetolian city. For the **ethnic Ἀρσινεύς** see Polyb. 18.10.9; Klaffenbach, *SPAW* (1936) 360, ll. 8, 9; *IG* IX.1² 131.10, 12, also 133a and b; *GDI* 2529.6, 2530.4, and 1439.2. For Cicero's (exaggerated?) praise of Arsinoe as a thriving city of some renown see *Pis.* 91.

5. On the **location** of Arsinoe see Woodhouse, 210-13; Bölte, *RE* s.v. "Lysimacheia 1"; Philippson, *Gr. Land.*, 2: 340 and n. 1, 347, 609; and LYSIMACHEIA in Aetolia. For tiles found at Angelokastron and stamped with the legend AP INOE N see *IG* IX.1² 133a, b; E. Mastrokostas, *AM* 80 (1965) 156. For another possible epigraphic reference to Arsinoe see G. Daux, *REG* 62 (1949) 28, l. 14 (the Delphic *theorodokoi* list now dated to c. 230-220 B.C.; see further, ANTIGONEIA Mantinea). We also get an indication of the location of Arsinoe at Angelokastron from the combined evidence of Strabo and Polybius. In addition to telling us that Konope was refounded as an Arsinoe, Strabo adds that it was near Lysimacheia and was "well situated at the ford of the Acheloos" (10.2.22). From Polybius we learn that in 219 and again in 218 B.C. Philip V crossed the Acheloos (Aspropotamos) River at a spot near Konope. In 218 he crossed the river at a point between the towns of Stratos and Konope (5.6.6)—obviously the same "ford of the Acheloos" he had used in 219 (4.63.11, 64.5). Polybius also adds that after crossing the Acheloos in 218, Philip marched past Konope and the town of Lysimacheia (5.7.7). Finally, in the passage preserved by Athenaeus, Polybius refers to Arsinoe as being near a river called the Kyathos; this was apparently a tributary of the Acheloos (Aspropotamos) that flowed from the lake at Angelokastron (Polyb. 9.45.1 = Ath. 10.424c; see Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 9.45.1; Woodhouse, 210; Leake, *NG*, 1: 154; on the Lake Angelokastron [Lisimakhia] see *RE* s.v. "Lysimacheia 2"). In fact, the modern village of Angelokastron is in southwestern Aetolia, west of the lake of the same name approximately 2 km from the Acheloos. (On Angelokastron see Soustal and Koder, *TIB* III: 108 and map at end.) The ruins near the village are agreed to be those of Arsinoe Konope. Despite the fact that Stephanos places Arsinoe (s.v.) in Aetolia and Konope (s.v.) in Acarnania, there is no reason to doubt that the two were one and the same (so Woodhouse, 213 n. 4, against H. G. Lolling, "Hellenische Landeskunde," in *Müllers Handbuch* [Nördlingen, 1889] 3: 139). See the map in Walbank, *Comment.*, 1: 542.

Attaleia

In the latter part of the third century B.C. Attalos I cultivated good relations with the Aetolians. For example, at some point before 219 B.C. he helped fortify the Aetolian stronghold of Elaos (Polyb. 4.65.6-7). And in the First Macedonian War he was allied with the Aetolian League.¹ Interestingly, the ethnic Ἀτταλεὺς is found in Aetolian manumissions from the end of the third century B.C.² This has prompted R. E. Allen to suggest that there was an Attaleia in Aetolia, named to honor the Pergamene king.³ Presumably it was the refounding of an older town. We do not know where this Attaleia may have been located.



1. For **Attalos I's relations with the Aetolians** see R. B. McShane, *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamum* (Urbana, Ill., 1964) 100-102; Hansen, *Attalids*², 46-49; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 70-71.

2. For the ethnic Ἀτταλεὺς see *IG IX*.1² 95.2, 8, 11 and 107.6-7.

3. See Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 70. For other cities that the Aetolians may have (re)founded (or renamed) in honor of foreign rulers see ARSINOE Konope, LYSIMACHEIA, and PTOLEMAIS in Aetolia.

Demetrias

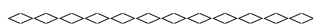
Demetrios Poliorketes founded Demetrias sometime after 294 B.C.¹ According to Strabo (9.5.15) the new city was a synoecism consisting of the inhabitants of the towns of Nelia, Pagasai, Ormenion, Rhizous, Sepias, Olizon, Boibe, and Iolkos. At the time of the founding or later Aiolo, Halos, Spalauthra, Korope, Kasthanaia, and Amphanai also were included. The strategic importance of the city was frequently noted in antiquity. It was a major fortress, which along with Chalkis and Korinth was considered to be one of the "fetters of Greece." Strabo noted (9.5.15) that the city controlled the Vale of Tempe as well as the mountains Pelion and Ossa and was a naval station. In 197 B.C. the Greek delegation to Rome claimed that Demetrias controlled Aetolia, Magnesia, and Thessaly and that as long as Demetrias, Chalkis, and Korinth were in Macedonian hands the Greeks could not consider themselves to be free (App. *Mac.* 8; Polyb. 18.11.4-7). Not surprisingly, therefore, Livy described Demetrias as an *urbem validam et ad omnia opportunam* (39.23.12).²

Demetrias was also an important administrative center. Strabo mentions that it was a royal residence (*basileion*) for the Antigonids while Livy (35.31.9) refers to a *regia aedificata* at Demetrias. This has been identified with the remains of a building that were discovered just north of the Sacred Market.³

The royal residence was apparently built by Philip V and abandoned at the end of Macedonian rule in the area. In the fill of the building seals with the picture of a warrior on the prow of a ship have been found; one of the seals had the inscription $\text{HMHTPIE} \quad \text{N}$.⁴ Epigraphic evidence from the third century B.C. attests the presence of a sanctuary of the *archegetai* and *ktistai* at Demetrias.⁵ In this sanctuary the heroes of the towns that were absorbed in the synoecism as well as the founder were honored. Plutarch says (*Demetr.* 53) that Antigonos Gonatas buried his father in Demetrias; quite possibly his grave was at the site of the sanctuary. Demetrias is recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, which is dated to c. 230-220 B.C.⁶

The evidence for the government of Demetrias dates mainly from the second half of the second century B.C. and shows a fully developed polis structure.⁷ The earliest coins, hemidrachms with a prow on the reverse, are probably to be dated to c. 290 B.C.⁸

On the landward side Demetrias was surrounded by a wall approximately seven kilometers in circumference, much of which is still preserved. Located on the west side of the Pagasian Gulf, it was seven kilometers southwest of the modern Volos.⁹



In general see Tscherikower, 3-4; F. Stählin, *Hellen. Thessal.*, 65-78; E. Meyer, in *Pagasai und Demetrias*, ed. Stählin, Meyer, and Heidner (Berlin, 1937) 178-210; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 196-98; P. Marzloff, I. Beyer, et al., in *Demetrias* I, ed. V. Milojcic and D. Theocharis (Bonn, 1976) 5-58, 75-90; S. C. Bakhuizen, *Demetrias* V (Bonn, 1987) 319-36; T. S. MacKay, *PECS* s.v. "Demetrias"; Meyer, *RE* Suppl. IX, s.v. "Demetrias"; P. Marzloff, in *Demetrias* III (Bonn, 1980) 5-42; Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia*, 3: 222f., 479ff.; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 262-67; Hild, *TIB* I: 144-45.

1. The **founding** should be dated to the period 294-288 B.C., when Demetrios was in control of Macedonia and Greece (Plut. *Demetr.* 53 3); see further Meyer, in *Pagasai*, 178 and n. 5.

2. *IG* IX.2.1109 (first century A.D.) mentions Iolkos, Homolion, Aiole, Halos, Spalauthra, and Korope as **demes of Demetrias**. See also Strabo 9.5.18 (Ormenion and Boibe) and 9.5.22 (Kasthanaia, a *kome* perhaps of Demetrias). For Amphanai see Meyer, in *Pagasai*, 181 n. 5. R. Herzog and G. Klaffenbach have demonstrated (*ADAW* [1952] p. 15) that Homolion was not part of the original synoecism (contra, Meyer, in *Pagasai*, 181 n. 5). In general see Meyer, in *Pagasai*, 181-82; Wehrli, 198. For a map locating the various towns/demes of Demetrias, see Stählin et al., *Pagasai*, 2.

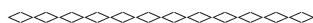
Demetrias as one of the **"fettters of Greece"**: see Strabo 9.5.15; Livy 32.37.3; App. *Mak.* 8; Polyb. 18.11.4-7; cf. Paus. 7.7.6. On the **strategic importance** of Demetrias see Bakhuizen, *Demetrias* V: 332-33.

3. The precise designation for the **building complex north of the Sacred Market** is unclear. N. Papachatzis and the German archaeological team, which has been working at Demetrias, suggest the term "anaktoron." For the identification of the building as part of a citadel (rather than simply a palace) see Marzollf, in *Demetrias* I: 17ff., III: 31ff.; id., *Wohnungsbau im Altertum: Kolloquium D.A.I. in Berlin 1978*, 129ff.; id., *Koldewey Gesellschaft* (Osnabrück, 1982) 42-46; H. W. Catling, in *JHS* "Archaeological Reports" 24 (1977-78) 40, 25 (1978-79) 24, and 27 (1980-81) 26-27; see also Papachatzis, *Thessalika* 1 (1958) 16-26, who identified the site as the palace. Diogenes Laertius relates (4.39) that the philosopher Arcesilaus once went on an embassy to Demetrias to meet with Antigonos Gonatas.
4. For the **seals** found at Demetrias see Furtwängler, *AM* 93 (1978) 133-49. In an accompanying article U. Kron (149-160) has argued that the warrior on the seals is in fact Demetrios himself. For references to seals from other cities see Furtwängler, 137ff. At ANTIGONEIA in Epirus bronze discs with the inscription ANTI ONE N have been found; cf. also a tile with the stamp ΑΤΣΙΜΑ[ΧΕΩΝ] discovered at LYSIMACHEIA in Aetolia and tiles marked I I found at ILION.
5. For the epigraphic evidence on a **founder cult**, see (a) *IG* IX.2.1099 (a sacred law found at Kanalya and dated palaeographically to the third century B.C.), II. 12-14, ἀρχηγέται καὶ κτίσται; see also A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur gr. Inschr.*, 151; Fr. Stählin, *AM* 54 (1929) 207; and E. Meyer, *RhM* (1936) 367-76. On the founder cult at Demetrias see Meyer, in *Pagasai*, 183-84; Habicht, *Gott.*², 75-76; Leschhorn, 263-67. For the possible site of the cult and the burial place of Demetrios see Marzollf, *Demetrias* V: 1-46, esp. 36-46.
6. For Demetrias in the **Delphic theorodokoi list** see A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 (1921) 20, col. III. 125; 29, col. V C(b).1. On the date of the list see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea.
7. For the **government** of Demetrias see Meyer, in *Pagasai*, 184-87. While most of the evidence dates from the second half of the second century B.C., already in the third century epigraphic evidence shows the presence of archons, a *tamias*, ἐξή[γητής], *poletai*, and a *thesmophorion* (*AM* 54 [1929] 208). From the second century we have evidence for, among other things, a *demos* or *ekklesia*, *strategoi*, and *nomophylakes* (e.g., *IG* IX.2.1108-10, 1113; Meyer, *Pagasai*, 184-87). For a discussion of which magistrates may have used the seals found at Demetrias, see Furtwängler, 145-49.
8. On the **coinage** see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Thessaly* 45-46; G. Hafner, *SNR* 55 (1976) 22; cf., however, Furtwängler, who suggests the earliest coins were minted after 217 B.C. (143 and n. 68). There was also a royal mint at Demetrias; see Newell, *Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, 131-36.
9. For the **city wall** see Stählin, *Hellen. Thessal.*, 66; id., *Pagasai*, 12-93; and MacKay, op. cit. It was once thought that the **location** of Demetrias was at

Goritsa (on which see S.C. Bakhuizen, *A Greek City of the Fourth Century B.C. by the Goritsa Team* [Rome, 1992]); see, for example, Leake, *NG*, 4: 375. The correct site of Demetrias was identified by Beloch (*Klio* 11 [1911] 442-45) based on the excavation reports of A. S. Arvanitopoulos in *PAAH* (1907) 175-82 and (1908) 201-21 (see also following years). In general see Meyer, in *Pagasai*, 248ff.; id., *RE* Suppl. IX, s.v. "Demetrias"; Marzloff, in *Demetrias* I: 5-16; Strabo 9.5.15; Pliny *NH* 4.29. For maps and photographs see Stählin et al., *Pagasai*, pls. i-xxiv and plans; Milojevic et al., *Demetrias* I, III, and V.

Lysimacheia

Strabo, quoting Apollodorus, mentions a Lysimacheia in Aetolia on a lake of the same name, between Pleuron and Arsinoe (10.2.22). According to Livy (36.11.7) Lysimacheia was on the road from Kalydon to Stratos. Polybius locates it near Konope, south of the lake of Lysimacheia (5.7.7). Finally, a tile with the stamp **ΛΤΣΙΜΑ[ΧΕΩΝ]** has been discovered half an hour south of Dokimion on the north shore of the lake. On the basis of this information most scholars now place Lysimacheia at Murstianu, which is about five kilometers southeast of Angelokastron (Arsinoe).¹ We do not know who founded Lysimacheia or when it was established. Most probably it was founded by the Aetolians in honor of King Lysimachos in the period 284-281 B.C., that is, after his conquest of Macedonia and Pyrrhos' retreat to Epirus. The name persisted at least until the beginning of the second century B.C.² I believe it more likely that the Aetolians founded the city to honor Lysimachos than that he established one in territory he did not rule.³ By Strabo's time the town no longer existed (10.2.22).



In general see Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 221; Bölte, *RE* s.v. "Lysimacheia 1 and 2," 2552-54; Tscherikower, 5.

1. For the **location** of Lysimacheia at Murstianu see H. G. Lolling, "Hellenische Landeskunde," in *Müllers Handbuch* (Nördlingen, 1889) 3: 139; Bölte, 2552-53; Klaffenbach, *SPAW* (1935) 715 and n. 1; Philippson, *Gr. Land.*, 2: 2.339-40; Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 5.7.7, and map on p. 542; see also ARSINOE Konope. Stephanos also mentions Lysimacheia in Aetolia (s.v.). For the earlier view that placed Lysimacheia farther east at Papadates see Leake, *NG*, 1: 122 and 153; Smith, *Dict. Geog.*, s.v. "Lysimachia"; Woodhouse, 221; Plassart, *BCH* 45 (1921) 62 n. 3; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, 7 n. 1. For the ruins just south of Murstianu see Lolling, 139; Bölte, 2553-54; E. I. Mastrokostas, *PAAH* (1963; appeared 1966) 217. The discovery of the **stamped tile** (*IG* IX.1² 130) near Dokimion prompted Romaos (*Delt.* 9 [1924/5; appeared 1927] 10, followed by Klaffenbach, *SPAW* [1936] 364).

to suggest that the territory of Lysimacheia extended north of the lake as well. On the lake of Lysimacheia (the modern Lake of Angelokastron or Lisimakhia), which Strabo says (10.2.22) was formerly called Hydra, see Bölte, "Lysimacheia 2." Woodhouse's confusion (224-27) of this lake with its eastern neighbor, the modern Lake Agrinion, results from his locating Lysimacheia farther east at Papadates. Woodhouse also suggested (227) that Hydra may have been the early name of Lysimacheia.

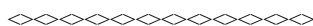
Other examples of stamped tiles can be seen at Pella (P. Petsas, *Pella* [Thessaloniki, 1978] 20-21, 52) and ILION (C. B. Rose, *Studia Troica* 3 [1993] 100-103).

2. Lysimacheia is included in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, which dates to c. 230-220 B.C. (Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 24, col. IV.74; on the date of the list see the discussion in ANTIGONEIA Mantinea). A Lysimacheian honored in a Delphic *proxenia* decree of the mid or late third century B.C. may have come from the Aetolian or the Thracian town (*FD* III. 1.430). For the **ethnic** Λυσισμαχεύς see *IG* IX.1² 13.7; *Syll.*³ 421.A20 (c. 272 B.C.); *Syll.*³ 539.A9 (c. 216/5 B.C.); *SYLL.*³ 545.5 (C. 213 B.C.).

3. On the **founding** see discussion on the nearby ARSINOE Konope.

Olympias

In 196 B.C. Flamininus' proclamation at the Isthmian Games deprived Philip V of possession of Gonnoi in Perrhaebia in northeastern Thessaly. To compensate for this loss Philip refounded Gonnokondylon, a fortress-village still in his possession northeast of Gonnoi, as Olympias.¹ The name was presumably taken from the nearby Mount Olympos and probably did not persist beyond 185 B.C., when Gonnoi recovered this part of its territory.²



In general see Tscherikower, 4; Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Gonnokondylon"; E. Kirsten, *RE* s.v. "Olympias 3" 175-77; Stählin, *Hellen. Thessal.*, 9; Pritchett, *Topography*, 2: 164-69; B. Helly, *Gonnoi* I (1973) 35, 44-46, 84, 100, and photographs and maps at end.

1. For a list of Perrhaebian cities from the fourth century B.C. see B. Helly, in *La Thessalie*, ed. B. Helly (Lyon and Paris, 1979) 165-200. For **Flamininus' grant of freedom to the Perrhaebians** see Polyb. 18.46.5 and Livy 33.32.6. For the **refounding of Gonnokondylon** as Olympias and the recovery of it by Gonnoi in 185 B.C. see Livy 39.25.16, 26.14; see also Helly, 35, 84, 100; Walbank, *Philip*, 230f. Büchner's hypothesis that it was Gonnoi that was renamed Olympias is wrong (*RE* s.v. "Gonnos"). See also Stählin, *Hellen. Thessal.*, 9 n. 4, who correctly refutes Bursian's suggestion (*Geog. v. Griech.*, 1: 61 n. 3) that "Gonnokondylon" in Livy 39.25.16 should be changed to Gonnos and Kondylon.

Location. For the identification of Olympias-Gonnokondylon with Tsourba-Mandria above the stream called Duo Dendra see, for example, A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *PAAH* (1919) 243 and (1911) 320-23; id., *AE* (1915) 16-17; Kirsten, 177; Pritchett, *Topography*, 2: 167; id., *AJA* 65 (1961) 373; Helly 39-41, 88, and 96 (description of ruins that include a funerary monument of the third century B.C.); for Gonnoi see Hild, *TIB* I: 166 and map at end.

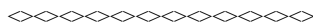
2. For the naming of **Olympias** after the nearby mountain, see Stählin, *Hellen. Thessal.*, 9 and n. 5. Arvanitopoulos (*PAAH* [1914] 213) suggested that the name recalled Olympias, the wife of Philip II, and that the circuit wall at the site was datable to the time of that king; Helly (84 n. 2; 45 and n. 3) denied the existence of such a wall.

Philippopolis Gomphoi

Stephanos says that Gomphoi in northwest Thessaly was renamed Philippoi (s.v.). Livy (39.25.3) refers to a Philippopolis in recounting the discussion that took place at the conference at Tempe in 185 B.C. The identification of Gomphoi with Philippopolis is proven by a coin type common to both: head of a nymph on the obverse, Zeus seated on a rock holding a scepter with either the legend

OM (OM E, OM E N) or I I O O IT N on the reverse.¹ The question is whether Gomphoi was renamed by Philip II or V. On the basis of the available evidence a definitive answer cannot be given.²

Philippopolis Gomphoi was strategically located in Histiaeotis, where it guarded two of the passes from Epirus into the Thessalian plain, the one from Athamania and the one from the Acheloos Gorge and the Ambracian Gulf. The remains of Gomphoi are on a height two kilometers north of the town of Mouzaki.³



In general see Tscherikower, 4; F. Stählin, *RE* s.v. "Gomphoi"; id., *Hellen. Thessal.*, 124-27; Hild, *TIB* I: 166.

1. The **identification of Gomphoi and Philippopolis** on the basis of the similarity of the coin types was made as long ago as 1831 by J. Millingen (*Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings* [London, 1831] 46); see also, for example, E. Muret, *BCH* 5 (1881) 289; Gardner, *BMC Thessaly*, xxxv-xxxvi, 19; *HN*², 294; Imhoof-Blumer, *JIAN* 11 (1908) 62; W. Froehner, *Collection Photiades Pacha* (Paris, 1890) 5; E. Rogers, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly* (London, 1932) 76. A. de Longpérier (*RN* [1859] 111), however, assigned the Philippopolis coins to the like-named city in Thrace. The (partially restored) name "Gomphoi" appears in a Delphic inscription dated to between 217 and 207 B.C. (*FD* III.3.221.6); also in Livy 32.14.1-2 (198 B.C.), 36-13.6 (191 B.C.), 38.2.11 (189 B.C.), and 42.55.4 (171 B.C.); and in Euseb. *Chron.* I, p. 246 (ed. Schoene) for 180/79 B.C. (on which see H. Kramolisch, *Die Strategen des*

thessalischen Bundes, Demetrias II [Bonn, 1978] 37, 54). For Gomphoi in a Delphic inscription of 130/129 B.C. see *FD* III.2.68.6.

2. Tscherikower suggested it was Philip V who **renamed Philippopolis** and that this is "in die Zeit des Krieges der Römer mit Antiochos III. oder gleich darauf anzusetzen" (4); he did not specify any further. Philip V had possession of Gomphoi only from 191 to 185 B.C. Furthermore, Livy still refers to it as Gomphoi in describing the events of 189 B.C. (38.2.11). Thus, if Philip V renamed Gomphoi and if the name in Livy 38.2.11 reflects its usage at the time, then Gomphoi will have been renamed after 189 B.C. and will have reverted to its old name after 185 B.C. Unfortunately, Tscherikower's case is weakened by the fact that he ignored the numismatic evidence.

In contrast to Tscherikower, most historians and numismatists have assigned the founding of Philippopolis to the father of Alexander the Great; see, for example, B. Helly, *Gonnoi* I: 82 and n. 2. There is no explicit literary or extant epigraphic evidence to support this claim. Nevertheless, recognizing the strategic importance of the town, scholars have assumed that Philip fortified and renamed it. The only supporting evidence for this hypothesis is the silver coinage with the legend

Ι Ι Ο Ο ΙΤ Ν. On stylistic and historical grounds it is most likely to be dated to the time of Philip II; see E. Muret, 289; C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley, 1976) 119; T. R. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton, 1985) 56 and n. 58. *Nota bene*, however, Martin's caveat: "The chronology of the coins of Gomphi/Philippopolis is impossible to determine with any accuracy and so the possibility cannot absolutely be ruled out that its coinage was suppressed by Philip at the same time as the coinages of all other Thessalian cities except for Larissa." On the other hand, as Martin (54-56) and Kraay (op. cit. and *Greek Coins and History* [London, 1969] 15-16) note, the suppression of Thessalian coinage by Philip after 344 was not as general as once believed (so, for example, P. Collart, *Philippe* [Paris, 1937] 164). Gardner's down-dating of these coins to the time of the Lamian War or of Demetrios Poliorketes (*BMC Thessaly*, xxxv-xxxvi, followed by [Hammond and] Griffith, *Macedonia*, 2: 540) is not likely. The old name appears again soon after 330 B.C. in an inscription from Argos (*IG* IV.617.10; see Stählin, 126; Westlake, *Thessaly in the Fourth Century* [London, 1935] 178).

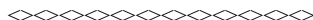
Nevertheless, the problem remains of the (re)appearance of the name Philippopolis in Livy's narrative of the events in 185 B.C. Leake argued unconvincingly (*NG*, 4: 364) that Livy meant Phthiotic Thebes, which was also renamed Philip-popolis, rather than Gomphoi. Stählin, on the other hand, suggested (*Hellen. Thessal.*, 126 and n. 8) that the name Philippopolis was purposely inserted in the discussion at Tempe by the Macedonian delegates! In this Stählin, who also attributed the renaming to Philip II, apparently assumed that the name had been briefly used a century and a half before, been dormant since, and was then suddenly revived by the Macedonian embassy in 185 B.C.! In sum, despite the apparently anachronistic—and not easily explained—appearance of "Philippopolis"

in Livy's account of the conference at Tempe, historical probability and the stylistic evidence of the coinage favor Philip II as founder. A final solution, however, must await further evidence.

3. For the **location** of Philippopolis see Leake, *NG*, 4: 520-22; Stählin, *RE* s.v. "Gomphoi"; id., *Hellen. Thessal.*, 124-25 and map at end; Philippson, *Gr. Land.*, 1: 56; Hild, *TIB* I: 166 and map at end.

Philippopolis Phthiotic Thebes

Phthiotic Thebes was a strategic Aetolian outpost that threatened Philip V's communication with the south and with the coastal region of Magnesia. In 217 B.C., according to Polybius (5.100.8), Philip V captured it, sold the inhabitants (τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας οὐκ ἔτορας) into slavery, settled Macedonian colonists in the town, and changed its name to Philippopolis.¹ The remains of Phthiotic Thebes are to be found some five kilometers from the the Gulf of Pagasai (the modern Volos) on a height approximately one kilometer northeast of the village of Mikrothebai (Aketsi).²



In general see Tscherikower, 4; Stählin, *Hellen. Thessal.*, 171-73; E Stählin, *RE* s.v. "Thebai 4, 1582-93; Hild, *TIB* I: 271-72.

1. For Philippopolis see also Diod. 26.9. Polybius calls it Φιλίπποι (s.v.).

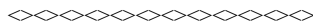
Tarn understands τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας οὐκ ἔτορας in Polyb. 5.100.8 to mean that Philip did not sell all the population of Thebes into slavery, only the (Aetolian) settlers (*JRS* 31 [1941] 171 and 173); but, as Walbank has observed, this is forcing the translation (*Comment.* on Polyb. 5.100.8). Some of the refugees from Thebes settled in Thronion (Livy 28.7.12).

2. On the **location** of Phthiotic Thebes see Polyb. 5.99.3; Strabo 9.5.8, 14; also Leake, *NG*, 4: 358-59; Stählin, *Hellen. Thessal.*, 171, *RE* s.v. "Thebai 4," 1583-84; Philippson, *Gr. Land.*, I.1: 179; Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 5.99.2.

Ptolemais

A Delphic inscription of the late third century B.C. mentions an Aetolian *hieromnemon* with the ethnic "Ptolemaieus."¹ Presumably we are dealing with the renaming of an Aetolian town. During the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I the Egyptians maintained an alliance with the Aetolians and gave them some kind of assistance in the war against Antigonos Doson.² Evidence for this close relationship can be seen, for example, in a series of statues of the Ptolemaic royal family under Ptolemy III set up by Lamios, an Aetolian, at

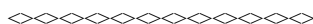
Delphi and by the Aetolian League at Thermos.³ It is possible, therefore, that the Aetolians founded Ptolemais in honor of Ptolemy III, just as they may have founded ARSINOE Konope in honor of Arsinoe II and LYSIMACHEIA in Aetolia in honor of Lysimachos. It is not likely that an Egyptian king established Ptolemais. Hellenistic monarchs did not normally found cities in territory they did not rule. As for the king who was honored: Ptolemy IV certainly is a possibility, but given the good relations that Ptolemy III cultivated with the Aetolians he appears to be the more likely candidate. The location is not known.



1. For **the Delphic inscription** see *Syll.*³ 545.6 = Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, App. 1, no. 39; P. 258 n. 6.
2. For evidence of the **Egyptian alliance with the Aetolians** see *P. Haun.* 6, frag. 12, 1. 18; C. Habicht, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 1-2.
3. For the **statue bases of the Ptolemaic royal family at Delphi** see *IG IX.1*² 202 = *FD III.4.233* and Flacelière, 268 n. 3. For the **monument at Thermos** see *IG IX.1*² 56 (= L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* II [Florence, 1975] no. 86); Huss, *CE* 50 (1975) 312-20; Habicht, 2 n. 4. In addition, at Delphi an Aetolian named Sosippos erected a statue for a Ptolemaic king (*IG IX.1*² 203 = *FD III.4.234*); Flacelière dates the inscription palaeographically to the second third of the third century B.C. The king could therefore be Ptolemy II, III, or IV; see Flacelière, *BCH* 53 [1929] 24-25; id., *Les Aitoliens*, 269 and n. 2; Huss, *Aussen.*, 117 and n. 67. On Aetolian soldiers serving in the Ptolemaic army see Launey, *Recherches*, 184-88. On the friendly relations between the Aetolians and Ptolemy III see Will, *Hist.*² 1: 378, 380.

Thebes

Thebes, which had been destroyed by Alexander the Great, was refounded by Kassandros in 316/5 B.C. Diodorus (19.53-54) and Pausanias (9.7.1 and 4) describe how he gathered together those Thebans who had survived and, with the help of many Greek cities, reestablished the community. Diodorus says, for example, that the Athenians rebuilt much of the wall, while other cities either put up buildings or sent money. The rebuilding of the wall took at least a year (Diod. 19.63.4). By 313 B.C. Thebes was again taking an active role in Greek affairs (Diod. 19.77.6 and 78.5).



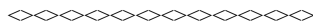
In general see Smith, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Thebae Boeotiae"; E Schober, *RE* s.v. "Thebai 1," 1484; M. Fortina, *Cassandra* (Turin, 1965) 41-42 and n. 93; Koder, *TIB* 1: 269-71; S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton, 1985) 148f.

For the **date of the rebuilding** in 316/5 B.C. see also the Marmor Parium (*FGrH* 239 F B14); Beloch, *GG²*, 4.2: 239-40. For a fragmentary record of gifts collected for the restoration of Thebes see *Syll.³* 337; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 1: 1-40.

V
The Peloponnese

Antigoneia Mantinea

In 223 B.C. Mantinea was captured by the Achaeans with the help of Antigonos Doson. The Achaeans massacred many of the male inhabitants; they enslaved others, as well as the women and children.¹ In addition, the wealth of the city was then divided between the Macedonians and the Achaeans on a two to one ratio. Subsequently, Plutarch tells us (*Arat.* 45.6), Antigonos handed over the city to the Achaeans. They decided to colonize it and chose Aratos to be the founder (*συνεβριον*).⁴ The Achaean League coinage of Antigoneia is extensive.⁵ Antigoneia Mantinea was located fourteen kilometers north of the modern Tripolis, in eastern Arcadia.



In general see Fougères, *Mantinee*, 503-8 and maps at end; Tscherikower, 6; Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* V.2, pp. 49-50; Bölte, *RE* s.v. "Mantinea," 1291, 1330; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 324-26.

1. On the difficult question of the **chronology** of this period see Walbank, *Aratos*, 167-211, esp. 210; id., *Comment.*, 1: 257, 265, 274; Wall, *Hist.*² 1: 399. For the **atrocities at Mantinea** see Plut. *Arat.* 45; Polyb. 2.56.6, 58.4-15. At *Arat.* 45.6 the manuscripts of Plutarch say that the *Ἀχαιοὶ*. This had been accepted by most scholars (e.g., Niese, *GMS*, 2: 349 n. 3; Tscherikower, 6; Hiller von Gaertringen, 50; Bölte, 1329). Fougères, however, retained the manuscript reading and suggested that after Antigonos gave the city to the Argives they repopulated and annexed it (*Mantinee*, 503-4; see also Droysen, *Hist.*, 3: 555). He also suggested it was only in 198 B.C., when Philokles, the general of Philip V, removed Argos from Achaean control (Livy 32.25), that Antigoneia became an independent member of the Achaean League (508-9 and n. 4).

2. Pausanias (8.8.11) says it was the Mantineians who decided to **rename the city**; Plutarch (*Arat.* 45.6) relates that Aratos arranged for the decree to be passed. On Aratos' role as founder see Leschhorn, 324-26. For Antigoneia Mantinea see, for example, Ptol. 3.14.40; Stephanos s.v. "Antigoneia 2"; Pliny (*NH* 4.20) listed the two as separate towns.

3. The old **name**, however, never fell totally out of favor: "Mantineia" continued to be used by some ancient authors, e.g., Polyb. 4.21.9; 11.11.2, 3, and 6; Strabo 8.8.2; Plut. *Phil.* 10; cf. the persistence of the name Kelainai after its being renamed APAMEIA. On inscriptions and coins "Antigoneia" is always found—with one possible exception (see below)—after the renaming. Thus it appears in a restored Milesian inscription of c. 184 B.C. (*I. Milet* 148.19-20: [ἀντ' Ἀντιγον]εῖας; on the date see R. M. Errington, *Chiron* 19[1989] 279-88) as well as in other inscriptions of the first centuries B.C. and A.D.; see, for example, *OGIS* 441.198 (= *I. Strat.* 508.56); *IG* IV.1136.9, V.2.268.6; and other references cited in Bölte, 1291. For the **ethnics** ANTI ONE N and ANTI ONIKA see, for example, *IG* V.2.263, ll. 17, 20; *IG* V.2.266, ll. 1, 33.

The possible exception to the use of the new name on inscriptions and coins after 222 B.C. is the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 13, col. II.113), where "Mantineia" is used. The dating of the list was long a matter of dispute. Plassart (38-44) placed it in the first quarter of the second century B.C. His dating was accepted by L. Robert (*BCH* 70 [1946] 514-15; in *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960] 168, however, Robert preferred to reserve judgment on the question of the date). G. Daux, however, claimed that columns I-III, i.e., the main part of the list, are datable to the period 235-220 B.C. (*REG* 62 [1949] 23-27; *BCH* 81 [1957] 393-95; and *BCH* 104 [1980] 121). Recent studies have demonstrated that the earlier dating proposed by Daux is almost certainly correct and that the main part of the *theorodokoi* list should be dated to c. 230-220 B.C. (M. B. Hatzopoulos, *BCH* 115 [1991] 345-47; P. Gauthier, *Sardes* II: 149-50; C. Habicht, in *Praestant Interna: Festschrift Ulrich Hausmann* [Tübingen, 1982] 381). It is probable, therefore, that the list antedates the name change. Crosby and Grace, writing in 1936, (see below, note 5) followed the later dating and suggested that certain Achaean League coins (nos. 86-95) with a trident and the letter M (or the monogram **Μ**)—probably referring to "Mantineia"—might belong to the period c. 195-190 B.C. (p. 18).

4. On *IG* V.2.263 see Fougères, *BCH* 20 (1896) 119-24, who discusses the other evidence (post 146 B.C.) for **governmental apparatus** at Antigoneia.

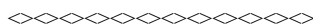
5. For **Achaean League coinage of Antigoneia** with the legend AN and **ΕΤ** or **ΕΤ** on most of the coins with the title *euergetes* and *soter* bestowed on Doson (*IG* V.2.299); note, however, that the legend **ΑΝΤΙ** is also found. For a coin with the legend AXAI N ANTI ONE N see, for example, Weil, *ZfN* (1882), 262, no. 6.

Arsinoe Methana

The fact that the town of Methana in the Argolid was refounded as an Arsinoe is known only from epigraphic and numismatic evidence. An inscription of

Eirenaïos from Thera mentions an Arsinoë in the Peloponnese (*IG* XII.3.466). The same Eirenaïos also appears in a restored inscription from Methana (*IG* IV.854) from the time of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-145 B.C.). The identification of Methana and Arsinoë is confirmed by two other inscriptions found at Epidauros that record (a) arbitration in a dispute between Epidauros and Arsinoë in the third century B.C. (*IG* IV² 72) and (b) an agreement of the second century B.C. between Troizen and Arsinoë (*IG* IV² 76). Finally, the discovery of a bronze coin at Methana with the legend AP I(NOE N) provides further evidence for the identification of it with Arsinoë.¹

There was a garrison of Ptolemaic soldiers stationed in the town. Pausanias mentions a temple of Isis at Methana (2.34.1); the cult may well have been introduced during the period of Ptolemaic control. It was probably in this same period that the walls of the city were rebuilt.² The city served as an important Ptolemaic harbor; the extensive references in the agreement between Arsinoë and Troizen to the docking facilities at Arsinoë make this quite clear. Strategically located on the peninsula extending out from the Argolid, Arsinoë was an important base for controlling naval traffic in the Saronic Gulf. It was near the present village of Megalochorio.³ Neither the founder nor the date of the founding is known. Most likely the founder was Ptolemy II Philadelphos, acting through his admiral Patroklos, soon after the death of Queen Arsinoë II in 268 B.C.⁴ Presumably the city name reverted to Methana after the departure of the Ptolemies, that is, at some point after the mid-second century B.C.



In general see E Hiller von Gaertringen *AE* (1925-1926) 68-76; Tscherikower, 6; E. Meyer, *RE* s.v. "Methana," 1378; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 157-59; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 124-26, 135-36; Longega, *Arsinoë II*, 118; Habicht, *Cl. Ant.* 11 (1992) 90; L. Foxhall et al., *AJA* 93 (1989) 248.

1. The restoration of [Ε]ἱρηναῖος for *IG* IV.854.4 (= *OGIS* 115) was suggested by Launey (*Mélanges Picard*, 572-78). In the same article (578-80) Launey also published other evidence for an Eirenaïos, a Delian decree from before 170 B.C. in his honor. For the **identification of Arsinoë and Methana** see Hiller von Gaertringen quoted in *I. Mag.*, 41; and esp. id., *AE* (1925-1926) 68-76; also Beloch, *Arch. f. Papyr.* 2 (1903) 251. The discovery of the **bronze coin of Arsinoë** at Methana (female head on the obverse, helmeted male figure with the legend AP I on the reverse) prompted Svoronos to reassign similar coins, previously attributed to Arsinoë in Crete, to Arsinoë Methana (*JIAN* 7 [1904] 397-400); see, for example, Mionnet, Suppl. 4: 307, no. 72; C. Combe, *Nummorum ... qui in Museo G. Hunter* (London, 1782) 45, no. 1; Leake, *Num. Hell.*, "Aegean Sea," 4; Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, 30-31, nos. 1-4; W. Wroth,

NC (1884) 15, no. 1; *HN*² 442; *BMC Crete*, 13, nos. 1-4; *SNG (Cop) Argolis* 147.

2. For the **garrison** of Ptolemaic soldiers at Methana see *IG* IV.854; see also *IG* XII.3.466, on which see E. Van 't Dack, *Anc. Soc.* 4 (1973) 84-89 (= *Ptolemaica Selects* [Leuven, 1988] 140-44; see also 154-55). In *IG* IV.854 a dedication is made *θεοῖς τοῖς μεγάλους* (ll. 2-3). Fränkel understood this to refer to Isis and Sarapis (note to *IG* IV.854); P. Jamot (*BCH* 13 [1889] 192), followed by Launey (575) and Bagnall (136), suggested the Dioskouroi. On the **walls** of Methana see A. Frickenhaus and W. Müller, *AM* 36 (1911) 35.

3. On the strategic **location** of Arsinoe, see Robert, 158-59. On the location and site of Methana see Philippson, *Gr. Land.*, 3.1: 58-63 and map 4 at end.

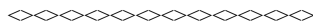
4. For Ptolemy Philadelphos as **founder**, see Beloch, op. cit.; Bagnall, 135. Svoronos suggests Ptolemy IV Philopator renamed Methana in honor of his wife, Arsinoe III (*JIAN* [1904] 399); this is not likely; see Bagnall, 135. E. Grzybek (*Du calendrier macedonien au calendrier ptolémaïque* [Basel, 1990] 103-12) has now established that **Arsinoe II died on July 1 or 2, 268 B.C.** (see the important review by H. Hauben in *CE* 67 [1992] 143-71, esp. 160-62). For the **reappearance of the name "Methana"** see *IG* IV.853, which is dated to "year 32," presumably the Aktian era, i.e., 1 A.D.

Demetrias Sikyon

In 303 B.C., according to Diodorus (20.102.2-4), Demetrios Poliorketes attacked Sikyon and succeeded in driving out the Ptolemaic garrison that controlled the city. He then transferred the population from the old city, which was in the plain near the harbor, to the acropolis, a more easily defended site approximately four kilometers inland.¹ The acropolis in fact consisted of two plateaus. The lower plateau, now partly occupied by the village of Vasiliko, became the site of the new city. The upper plateau was occupied by the king's own garrison. According to Diodorus, Demetrios helped the inhabitants to build their new homes and reestablished *κτίσις*.² From Athenaeus (13.577c) quoting Polemon we learn that Lamia, the king's mistress, built a *stoa poikile*. The Hellenistic remains on the lower plateau are extensive and include a theater, *bouleuterion*, and gymnasium. Furthermore, the discovery of foundations of houses and larger buildings lying in straight lines and intersecting at right angles indicates that the new city was laid out on a grid pattern.³ The refounded city apparently signed a commercial agreement with Stymphalos. From the inscription recording the agreement we also learn that the chief magistrates of Demetrias were called *stratagoi*.⁴ While the mint at

Sikyon quite actively produced royal money, no coins of Demetrias have as yet been discovered.⁵

Although the Sikyonians remained permanently at the new site, the new name did not, apparently, survive. A treaty between Sikyon and Athens that may date to 301 B.C. and that refers to the "Sikyonians" (rather than "Demetrias") would provide evidence for the short life of the new name.⁶ At any rate there is no definite evidence for the name Demetrias in the subsequent Hellenistic or Roman periods of the city's history. Nevertheless, in the fourteenth century Nikephoros Gregoras still could refer to Δημητριάδος χωρία, πόλις δὲ αὕτη Σικυῶν μὲν πρότερον ἐπικεκλιμένη.⁷



In general see C. H. Skalet, *Ancient Sicyon* (Baltimore, 1928) 1-7, 80-82; Tscherikower, 5-6; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 193-96; R. Stroud, *PECS* s.v. "Sikyon"; A. Griffin, *Sikyon* (Oxford, 1982) 78-79; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 258-60.

1. For other **literary evidence** for the new foundation of Demetrias see Plut. *Demetr.* 25; Strabo 8.6.25; Paus. 2.7.1; Polyaeus 4.7.3. In his account of the founding of Demetrias Plutarch differs from Diodorus on two points: he says that Demetrios bribed the Ptolemaic garrison to leave and that it was the king, not the Sikyonians, who changed the name of the city (*Demetr.* 25). In discussing the reasons for the refoundation Skalet (81) emphasized the reduced numbers of the inhabitants in the old city; Wehrli (194), on the other hand, followed Diodorus' emphasis on the inherent strength of the new location (20.102.2-4). The new city is mentioned as such by Pausanias (2.7.1: Σικυῶν, on which see Bursian, *Geog. v. Griech.*, 2:26 n. 2; contra, Honigmann in his commentary on Hierokles).

2. For the **cult of Demetrios** see Habicht, *Gott.*², 74-76; Leschhorn, 258-60. After his death in 213 B.C. Aratos was called "Founder and Savior" by the Sikyonians. His burial place, the Arateion, was the scene of annual sacrifices (Plut. *Arat.* 53.4; Leschhorn, 326-31).

3. For the **archaeological remains** see Skalet, 1-29; Griffin, 6-24; Stroud, *PECS* s.v. "Sikyon."

4. For the inscription recording **the commercial agreement between Styrnphalos and Demetrias** see H. Taeuber, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 181-92 (= *SEG* XXXI.351); see also J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1981) 270. The ascription of the agreement to Demetrias rather than Aigeira, as was previously done (see, for example, *Staats.* III.567 = *IG* V.2.351-57), is based on a new reading of lines 175 and 179 by Taeuber. For the *stratagoi* at Demetrias see I. 180.

5. For **royal coinage from Sikyon** see Newell, *Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, 144-47. It is possible that personnel from the mint at Korinth helped set up an Alexander coinage at Demetrias (Price, *Alexander and Philip*, 155, 159). Gardner has suggested that on some bronzes from Sikyon, H on the reverse may stand

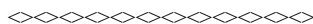
for Demetrias (*BMC Peloponnesus*, 49, nos. 159-61 and note). This identification, however, is not proven (so J. A. W. Warren, *NC* [1983] 48); in fact, as Price suggests, the letters may refer to the name of an official (*Alexander and Philip*, 159 n. 4).

6. For **the treaty between Sikyon and Athens** see E. Schweigert, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 35-41 (= *Staats*. III.445); Ferguson, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 126 and n. 39.

7. For the reference in Nikephoros (*Hist. Byz.* 4.9) see *CSHB* XXXVIII, p. 116. For **maps of Hellenistic Sikyon** see Skalet, fig. 1a; N. Faraklas, *Σικυωνία* (Athens, 1971) figs. 17a-d.

Orchomenos

An inscription that records a decree of the Achaean League of c. 234 B.C. concerning the entry of Orchomenos into the League (*Syll.*³ 490) specifies, among other things (ll. 11-13): *ἐτέων εἰκοσι χιλ.* It is interesting to note that in this instance the Achaeans apparently introduced individual colonists into the city. There is nothing in the available evidence to suggest that a colony with a separate organization was set up at the time.

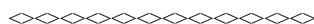


*Syll.*³ 490 = *IG* V.2.344 = *Staats*. III.499; the latter contains full bibliography. On the vexed question of the date of the decree see the bibliography cited in *Staats*. III.499. Hermann and Swoboda (*Gr. Staatsaltertümer*⁶, 199) suggested, on the basis of Polyb. 5.93.6ff., that Megalopolis may possibly have received colonists as well. For an organized colony existing within a city see the case of MAGNESIA near Sipylos.

VI
The Islands

Antioch in the Propontis

Among the islands of the Propontis Pliny (*NH* 5.151) mentions one called Antioch, which was apparently off the coast of Bithynia. Presumably this is the same island as the one listed by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.1), also in the Propontis, off Constantinople.¹ There is no further information available regarding this Antioch. Its precise identification and location are unknown, as is the founder. In any event, a strategically located stronghold in the Propontis would have been useful for securing supply lines to Thrace or for keeping watch over the western Bithynian coast. If it was a Seleucid colony, the question remains as to when it might have been established. Two possible candidates emerge as the most likely founder: Antiochos I at the beginning of his reign, when the Seleucids were conducting naval operations in the Propontis against the Bithynians (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F9-10; Justin 25.1.1), or Antiochos II, when he was besieging the city of Kypsela in Thrace (Polyaenus 4.16) and attacking Byzantion (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F15). Of the two I incline toward the former as the founder of Antioch in the Propontis.²



1. Tscherikower does not list this Antioch. On the *Tab. Peut.* IX.1 see also Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 610, who mentions the Princes' Islands (southeast of Istanbul in the Sea of Marmara) or the former island (now peninsula) of Arkontnesos (Kapu Dag) as possible sites. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that one of the Princes' Islands, Burgaz, was called νῆσος τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου in the Byzantine period: Theophanes Continuatus, p. 398; ps.-Symeon Magister, pp. 642, 732; George Monachos, p. 891 (all in *CSHB* XXXIII); an inscription from the island dated to 1063 A.D. (B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* [Paris, 1708] 52). The modern Greeks called it "Antigoni." See further Dörner, *RE* s.v. "Panormos 7"; J. Papadopoulos, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* (1926/27) 81-88.

2. The **most likely candidate as founder is Antiochos I**. In the early years of his reign he was faced with challenges to his authority in various parts of his empire, including northwest Asia Minor. Very little is known of the events in this region (see, for example, Wilcken, *RE* s.v. "Antiochos I," 2452-53; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 1: 129-35; W. Otto, *ABAW* 34 (1928) 17-21; Will, *Hist.*² 1: 109; and Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Zipoites 1," 453-54). Nevertheless it is clear that Antiochos, concerned with the threat posed by Antigonos Gonatas, the Northern League, and, in particular, Bithynia, conducted operations in the Propontis c. 278 B.C. Hence it is conceivable that, in an effort to reinforce the Seleucid presence in the area, he founded an Antioch there.

Another possible founder is Antiochos II. During his lifetime the Troad was still controlled by the Seleucids (see, for example, *RC* 18-20) and was the home of a

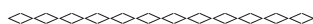
number of royal mints (for example at Lampsakos, Abydos, ALEXANDREIA Troas, ILION; also LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace; see Newell, *WSM*, 319-51; Houghton, *CSE*, 58-61). Polyaeus (4.16) says "Antiochos son of Antiochos" besieged Kypsela in Thrace; presumably this is Antiochos II. Furthermore Droysen suggested (*Hist.*, 3: 303-9) that the siege of Kypsela and the attack on Byzantion took place during the same expedition. When this expedition took place is not known. Wilcken (*RE* s.v. "Antiochos II," 2455) believed it happened at the beginning of Antiochos II's reign. Droysen (*Hist.*, 3:307 and n. 1) dated it to before 259 B.C.; see also Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. Sel.*, 77 and n. 1). Niese, *GMS*, 2: 137-38, suggested it was around 255 B.C., while Beloch (*GG*², 4. 1: 672 n. 5) opted for "die letzten Jahre des Antiochos." An Antioch in the Propontis would have been well located to protect travel from the Troad to Byzantion.

Other possible founders of Antioch are Seleukos I Nikator, Antiochos Hierax, and Antiochos III. After his victory over Lysimachos at Korupedion in 281 B.C. Seleukos was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos at a spot near Lysimacheia in Thrace. However, it is unlikely that he would have had the opportunity between Korupedion and his death to found an Antioch in the Propontis.

Antiochos Hierax died as a fugitive in Thrace around 226 B.C. (Polyb. 5.74.4 and Walbank's commentary; Euseb. *Chron.* I, p. 253 [ed. Schoene]). There is evidence for extensive activity by mints in the Hellespont under Hierax (see, for example, Newell, *WSM*, 321-58; Houghton, *CSE*, 58-61; id., *ANS MN* 23 [1978] 59-68). On the other hand, there is no extant evidence that indicates Hierax founded colonies anywhere in the regions under his control. Furthermore, as a fugitive he would hardly have had the opportunity to establish a settlement! Finally, Antiochos Hierax was also "the son of Antiochos," i.e., of Antiochos II. Nevertheless it is unlikely that Hierax would have been besieging or have captured (the MS readings for Polyaeus 4.16 differ between *ἐπὶ ῥοθί*) any city. The death of Hierax removed a Seleucid presence in the Hellespontine region until 196 and 195 B.C., when Antiochos III refounded Lysimacheia and pacified nearby areas. He did not remain long in the region on either of his visits and probably had no occasion to found an Antioch in the Propontis.

Arsinoe Lyktou

In his enumeration of cities named Arsinoe Stephanos records (s.v.) *Λύκτου*. The identification of this city is far from certain and has been the subject of many disparate suggestions.¹ If the text of Stephanos is correct and if his information is reliable, the most likely hypothesis would place Arsinoe in the territory of Lyktos (or Lyttos) in east-central Crete. We do not know the precise location. However, since the other Ptolemaic Arsinoes were harbors, we should expect that Arsinoe Lyktou was likewise a coastal town. The founder was probably either Ptolemy II Philadelphos or Ptolemy IV Philopator.² No extant coinage can be definitely ascribed to Arsinoe Lyktou.³



In general see Tscherikower, 7; M. Guarducci, in *I. Cret.* I: 180; E. Kirsten, *RE* Suppl. VII, s.vv. "Chersonesos," 84-89, and "Lyttos," 434-35; G. Le Rider, in *Essays S. Robinson*, 229-40; Longega, *Arsinoe II*, 118.

1. Briefly, the suggestions regarding **Λύκτου** is the correct reading, then Arsinoe was probably a coastal town in the territory of Lyktos. It should be noted, however, that Hellenistic foundations were not normally placed in the territory of other cities. But, then, we do not know what kind of settlement this Arsinoe was, nor do we know if Stephanos' text is correct. For a full survey of opinions on the Stephanos passage see Svoronos, *Numismlique*, 29-30; Le Rider, *Essays S. Robinson*, 230-31. For other Ptolemaic Arsinoes being harbor towns see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, (1960) 156-57; Le Rider, *Essays S. Robinson*, 233 n. 7. The **site of Lyktos** is close to the modern village of Xyda (see Le Rider, *Monnaies crétoises*, 236 and map at end; Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I: 179ff.).

2. The identification of the **founder** of Arsinoe (see above) remains open. Ptolemy II Philadelphos was, of course, very active in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean as a colonizer: practically all the foundations on Cyprus, the southern Asia Minor coast, and Keos and Methana can, with varying degrees of certainty, be ascribed to him. This raises the strong possibility that Philadelphos also colonized on Crete, as he undoubtedly did on Keos and at Methana during the Chremonidean War. However, for Crete we also have Strabo's comment that Ptolemy IV Philopator (who was married to Arsinoe III) began to rebuild the walls of Gortyna (10.4.11). Whether Philopator's interest in Crete extended to refounding cities we do not know. Certainly he would have had the opportunity to rebuild it after it was destroyed in 220 B.C. However, in the absence of any positive evidence supporting a claim for Philopator it is appropriate

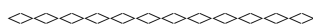
to identify Philadelphos as the likely founder (see also Huss, *Aussen.*, 156 and n. 141)

3. In his study of the **coinage** of Crete, Svoronos attributed four groups of bronzes to the Arsinoe there (*Numismatique*, 30-32, nos. 1-14). None can definitely be assigned to Arsinoe Lyktou. Svoronos himself later reassigned nos. 1-4 to ARSINOE Methana (*JIAN* 7 [1904] 397-400). More recently, Le Rider has grouped nos. 7-13 with ARSINOE Rhithymna (*Essays S. Robinson*, 231ff.). Le Rider also claimed that the attribution of nos. 5-6 (obv.—head of Athena; rev.—horn of plenty and the legend AP I) and 14 (obv.—head of Athena; rev.—AP, torch in a crown) to a Cretan city is doubtful (231).

The only **epigraphic reference** to a Cretan Arsinoe is *I. Mag.* 21 (= *GDI* 5152). This is an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander that lists eight cities in Crete, among which is an Arsinoc (l. 8). However, since the list is not in any discernible geographic order, it is not possible to know where this city should be located; see Le Rider, *Essays S. Robinson*, 229.

Arsinoe Marion

Stephanos twice (s.vv. "Arsinoe" and "Marion") mentions an Arsinoe that previously had been called Marion. From Diodorus we learn that Marion was destroyed in 312 B.C. by Ptolemy I and its population transferred to Paphos (19.79.4). It was probably Ptolemy II Philadelphos who founded Arsinoe on the site of the old Marion and named it for his wife and sister.¹ There are two inscriptions extant from Arsinoe. The first, from the time of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246-221 B.C.), refers, in a partly restored line, to a gymnasiarch who may have been an eponymous official. The second, dated to 142-131 B.C., records an honorific decree of [Ἀρ]σινοέων ἡ πόλις for Theodoros son of Seleukos as commandant of Salamis.² Strabo adds (14.6.3) that there was a precinct sacred to Zeus. Arsinoe is frequently mentioned in the geographic lists as being between Soloi and Paphos. It was located on the northwest coast of Cyprus, northeast of the present Polis Chrysochous.³



In general see Tscherikower, 6; Oberhummer, *RE*. s.v. "Marion"; G. E. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 1: 123, 232; K. Nicolaou, *PECS* s.v. "Arsinoe"; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 64; T. B. Mitford, *ANRW II, Princ.* 7.2 (1980) 1329; Watkin, "The Development of Cities in Cyprus," 203-6; W. A. P. Childs, *RDAC* (1988) pt. 2, 121-30.

1. On the **destruction of Marion** and its refoundation as an Arsinoe see L. Robert, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 598.

The identification of **Ptolemy II Philadelphos as the founder** of this and the other Cypriot Arsinoes while not certain is highly probable. A number of factors bear on this question: Cyprus was both a major source for the timber used

by the Ptolemies for shipbuilding (Strabo 14.6.2,5) and an important Ptolemaic shipbuilding center. Thus a Hellenistic amphora found in the area of Paphos bears the name of a shipbuilder (A. H. S. Megaw, *JHS* 72 [1952] 115), and a statue base found at Old Paphos (*OGIS* 39 = T. B. Mitford, *ABSA* 56 [1961] 9, no. 17) records the erection of a statue by "King Ptolemy" for [Pyr]goteles son of Zoes, a naval architect who built a *triakonteres* and *eikoseres* (a "thirty" and a "twenty" galley). For an explanation of the terms see esp. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971) 137-40; see also R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982) 137-38; W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (Cambridge, 1930) 129-41. On Pyrgoteles see H. Hauben, *RDAC* (1987) 221. On the importance of Paphos for the Ptolemaic naval program see W. A. Daszewski, *RDAC* (1987) 171-75. The inscription is dated palaeographically to the second quarter of the third century B.C. and, hence, may be ascribed to Ptolemy Philadelphos. This identification finds strong support in Athenaeus 5.203d-e, who specifically refers to the fact that Philadelphos was the largest shipowner of his day and that, among other ships, he owned two *triakontereis* and one *eikoseres*. At the same time it is well to recall that the Ptolemaic Arsinoes on Cyprus (and generally elsewhere) were harbors (see Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960] 155f.). In fact Strabo specifies (14.6.3) that ARSINOE near Palaipaphos had an anchorage, and ARSINOE near Salamis a harbor. Finally, the large number of dedications to Arsinoe Philadelphos found on Cyprus indicates clearly her prominence there (Mitford, *ABSA* [1961] 7-9, nos. 12-14, and commentary). Taken together, the available evidence suggests that the three Cypriot Arsinoes were founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and named for his wife and sister. In general for the Ptolemaic navy and Cyprus see Hauben, 213-26.

2. For the inscription referring to a **gymnasiarch**, see Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1897) no. 47; and the restorations of Mitford, *Archiv f. Papyrus*. 13 (1938) 29. For the **decree honoring Theodoros** see *OGIS* 155 (= Mitford, *OAth.* 1 [1953] 138, no. 11 = *SEG* XIII.589); Bagnall, 64; and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2: 75 and n. 4.

3. For the **location** of Arsinoe between Soloi and Paphos see Hierokles 706.10; the Ravenna Geographer 5 20.14 (ed. Schnetz, p. 98); Constant. Porphy. *De thema*. 1.15 (*Pat. Gr.*, vol. 113); *Not. Ep.* 3.148, 10.765; see also Pliny *NH* 5.130; Ptol. 5. 13.4; *Stadiasmus* 309 (= *GGM*, 1: 503); for Marion see *Stadiasmus* 233 (= *GGM*, 1: 491); Diod. 19.59.1; Scylax 103 (= *GGM*, 1: 78). For the location of Arsinoe northeast of the modern Polis Chrysochous see Childs, 121-23 and map; E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 11 (Stockholm, 1935) 18-82; Hill, 186; *PECS* s.v. "Arsinoe." On the erroneous identification of Arsinoe Marion with Famagusta (see, for example, *Oriens Christianus* 2.1065; J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* [London, 1901] 318) see H. Delehay, *AB* 26 (1907) 286; Hill, 269 nn. 2 and 3.

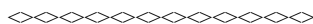
A dedicatory inscription set up by Aristokrates, an Ἀρσινεύς, which Mitford dated palaeographically to the last decade of Ptolemy II Philadelphos or the first of Ptolemy III Euergetes I, was found near the village of Kouklia

(ancient Palaipaphos); see T. B. Mitford, *ABSA* 56 (1961) 11, no. 23 (= *Mnemosyne* [1938] 103-4; I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *Pros. Ptol. Cyprus*, 41 n. 113. Mitford suggested the inscription referred to Arsinoe Marion. In fact there is nothing to indicate which Cypriot Arsinoe we are concerned with. Note, however, that the stone was found in the vicinity of the presumed site of ARSINOE near Palaipaphos.

There is no basis for positing a fourth Cypriot Arsinoe (in addition to Marion, near Palaipaphos and near Salamis) at Arsos (see Hogarth, *Devia Cypria* [London, 1889] 42 n. 1; contra, Hill, 184 n. 5).

Arsinoe Near Palaipaphos

Strabo (14.6.3) mentions an Arsinoe that had an anchorage, a temple, and a sacred precinct on the west coast of Cyprus near Cape Zephyrion, between Paphos and Palaipaphos. Ptolemy II Philadelphos probably founded it and named it for his wife and sister, Arsinoe II.¹ The precise location is not known.²



In general see E. Oberhummer, *Zeit. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 25 (1890) 235-36; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 11"; Longega, *Arsinoe II*, 118.

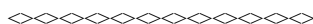
1. For the probable identification of **Ptolemy II Philadelphos as the founder** see the discussion in ARSINOE Marion.

2. D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 41-42, suggested that the **location** of Arsinoe was on the bay of Cape Zephyrion where there are "faint traces of an ancient site"; see also G. F. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 1: 184 and n. 5; W. H. Engel, *Kypros* (Berlin, 1841) 97 and 137.

For a dedicatory inscription set up by Aristokrates, an Ἀριστοκράτης, and found near the village of Kouklia (the ancient Palaipaphos) see T. B. Mitford, *ABSA* 56 (1961) 11 n. 23; and ARSINOE Marion.

Arsinoe Near Salamis

Strabo (14.6.3) mentions an Arsinoe, a city and a harbor, on the southeast coast of Cyprus between Salamis and Leukolla. The founder was probably Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and the foundation most likely was named for his wife and sister, Arsinoe II.¹ It is possible that Arsinoe near Salamis was recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list.² It was probably located on the site of the modern Famagusta.³

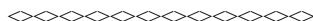


In general see E. Oberhummer, *Zeit. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 25 (1890) 466; *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 10"; Longega, *Arsinoe II*, 117-18.

1. For the probable identification of **Ptolemy II Philadelphos as the founder** see the discussion in ARSINOE Marion.
2. The first preserved lines of the Delphic *theorodokoi* list record a group of cities on Cyprus (Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 4, col. I, l.9). Plassart restored line 9 as ἐν [Ἀμ]α[θ]οῦν[τι] (p. 4). Based on the available evidence it would appear that the *theoroi* began their itinerary at Salamis and then followed a counterclockwise route around the island (Karpasia, Chytroi, Keryneia, Lapethos, Soloi, Tamassos, Ledroi, [Ar]s[in]oe/[Am]a[th]ous). For the *theoroi* to have visited Amathous after Ledroi would have involved some minor retracing of steps. On the other hand, if the restoration of "Arsinoe" for l. 9 is accepted, we must ask, which one? Watkin ("The Development of Cities in Cyprus," 419-20) assumes it would have been ARSINOE Marion. This would have involved, as he admits, a major detour for the *theoroi*. A demur would not have been necessary, however, if they had gone from Ledroi to Arsinoe near Salamis. Furthermore, as Watkin notes (419), the next recognized destination was Arados on the Syrian coast. Arsinoe near Salamis would have provided an appropriate departure point for the crossing.
3. For the **location** at Famagusta see G. F. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I: 11 and 186; D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 42 n. 1 (on the east coast south of Famagusta).

Arsinoe on Keos

The identification of an Arsinoe on Keos is based solely on epigraphic evidence. Among the inscriptions from Magnesia on the Maeander published in 1900 was one dated to around 210 B.C. that mentioned the Ἀρσινώεις among cities of the islands.¹ In 1906 P. Graindor published a decree of Karthaia (a town on the island of Keos) from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphos that honored an *epistates* in Arsinoe, Hieron son of Timokrates, who had assisted Karthaia.² Hence Graindor suggested—quite correctly—that there had been an Arsinoe on Keos. Furthermore, he reasoned that because of its excellent harbor, Koresia on the northwest coast was probably the town that was refounded as an Arsinoe. The fact that Hieron came to Arsinoe with the *strategos* Patroklos suggests activity connected with the Chremonidean War.³ We do not know when Koresia was renamed, though it is reasonable to assume this happened during the war and, hence, that Ptolemy II renamed it in honor of Queen Arsinoe II.⁴



In general see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 146-75; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 141-45; Huss, *Aussen.*, 227; J. F. Cherry and J. L. Davis, *ABSA* 86 [1991] 9-28.

1. *I. Mag.* 50 = *Syll.*³ 562. The editor of *I. Mag.* 50, Kern, following Hiller von Gaertringen, identified the city with Arsinoe Methana in the Peloponnese. Dittenberger was sceptical of this and suggested it was one of the cities of the islands.

2. For the **decree of Karthaia** (*IG* XII.5.1061) and Graindor's suggestion about the identification of Koresia with Arsinoe see *BCH* 30 (1906) 95-99 and *Musée belge* (1921) 121-24. There were four towns on Keos: Karthaia, Ioulis, Poiessa, and Koresia. As the first two are named along with Arsinoe in *I. Mag.* 50 (ll. 78-80), they obviously cannot have been renamed. Of the other two, Koresia with its fine harbor is generally accepted as Arsinoe; see especially Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 146-75; Launey, *REA* 47 (1945) 39; J. L. Caskey, *Studies Vanderpool*, Hesp. Suppl. 19 (Princeton, 1982) 15; Cherry and Davis, 11ff. For the less likely choice of Poiessa see, for example, G. Daux, below and *BCH* 81 (1957) 393-95 (a useful review of earlier opinions on pp. 394-95); Tarn, *CAH* VII: 707 (extended refutation by J. and L. Robert, in *BE* [1969] 85; L. Robert, in *Essays Welles*, 200 n. 155). See also Longega, *Arsinoe II*, 118.

Tscherikower's entry (7) was written in ignorance of *IG* XII.5.1061 and Graindor's suggestion; hence it is of little use (see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12:153 n. 1). On the *epistates* Hieron see Bagnall, 141-42.

3. On the **expedition of Patroklos** see Launey, *REA* (1945) 33-45. On **Hieron** see Bagnall, 142. For another possible Ptolemaic official, Kleinias, at Arsinoe see Bagnall, 142-43; also L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12: 153-55; id., *Essays Welles*, 200 n. 155. On Ptolemaic naval bases in the Aegean and in Greece see Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12: 155-59. Launey (*REA* [1945] 39), Robert (*Hellenica* 11-12: 155), and Bagnall (142) suggest that the new name was bestowed during the Chremonidean War.

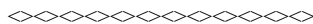
4. Koresia is recorded in a partly restored line of the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (col. 1.38). Plassart (*BCH* [1921] 5) read for col. I. 37-38 of the list: ... O———/[ε]ϣ Κ[α]ρ[θ]α[ι]α but nevertheless continued to maintain the identification of Poiessa-Arsinoe (*BCH* 89 [1965] 660).

The appearance of Koresia in the *theorodokoi* list is awkward. While the date of the list is not definitely known, the most probable reconstruction would place it in the period 230-220 B.C.; see the discussion and references in ANTIGONEIA Mantinea. How, then, are we to explain the appearance of "Arsinoe" in *I. Mag.* 50, which is dated to c. 210 B.C.? Three possibilities have been proposed: (1) Arsinoe was the renamed Poiessa (G. Daux; see above and note 2 for compelling objections to this identification); (2) the Arsinoe in *I. Mag.* 50 refers to another Arsinoe, possibly in Crete (L. G. Mendoni, *Κεα* I [Athens, 1988] 820 n. 5; note,

however, as Cherry and Davis objected [11 n. 3], that of the sixteen identifiable names preserved in the list at the end of *I. Mag.* 50 "all are in the Aegean islands and none is Cretan"; there is force to this objection, but it is *ex silentio*; and, of course, as Cherry and Davis readily observed, Cretan Arsinoes *are* known); (3) the *theorodokoi* list may have used the original name, Koresia, rather than the new, official name, Arsinoe (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12: 168). Robert correctly points out that the original, local toponyms often persisted after a renaming. For example, we have evidence of this at ANTIGONEIA Mantinea and at APAMEIA Kelainai. This last remains the most likely explanation for the situation at Keos.

Arsinoe Rhithymna

The evidence for the refounding of Rhithymna on the north coast of Crete as an Arsinoe is numismatic. G. Le Rider has demonstrated that a series of coins with a head of Athena on the obverse and on the reverse, two dolphins, and the legend AP I, is similar in type (in one case also in die) to a series of Rhithymna.¹ As the name Rhithymna is attested epigraphically at the beginning of the Chremonidean War, also in 235 or 234 B.C. and 223/2 B.C., this leaves three time periods in which the town might have been renamed: in the 270s, c. 265-235, or after c. 220 B.C.² There is no firm evidence to indicate in which of the three periods this happened; undoubtedly the founder was either Ptolemy II Philadelphos or Ptolemy IV Philopator. Each of these kings, it will be recalled, was married to an Arsinoe. However, Philadelphos' energetic activity elsewhere in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean suggests that here too he may have founded this Arsinoe.³ Despite the fact that it had an autonomous coinage, it is at Rhithymna that the largest concentration of Ptolemaic bronzes on Crete, mostly of the third century B.C., has been found.⁴ Like the other Ptolemaic Arsinoe foundations this one, too, was a harbor town. Arsinoe Rhithymna was located at the site of the modern Rethymnon.⁵



In general see G. Le Rider, *Essays S. Robinson*, 229-40; id., *Monnaies crétoises*, 240-45 and map at end; Bagnall, *Ptol Poss.*, 119, 201; Huss, *Aussen.*, 154-56.

1. For the **identification of Arsinoe and Rhithymna** see, in addition to Le Rider, P. Fauré, *Kretika Chronika* 13 (1959) 181 and n. 23. Le Rider attributes to Arsinoe Rhithymna coins 7-13 in Svoronos, *Numismatique*, 31-32, (note that Svoronos himself commented [30] on the similarity of nos. 7-13 to the bronzes of Rhithymna; he did not, however, suggest that Rhithymna was renamed; note also that no. 12 does not have a legend); see also, for example, Mionnet, 2: 263, no. 40; Leake, *Num. Hell.*, "Aegean Sea," 4, no. 2; *BMC Crete*, 13, nos. 5-6; Wroth, *NC* (1884) 15, no. 2. For Rhithymna coins with a head of Athena

on the obverse and two dolphins on the reverse see, for example, *BMC Crete*, 78, nos. 3 and 5; also *SNG (Cop) Argolis-Aegean Islands* 556-57. In support of his identification of Rhithymna and Arsinoe Le Rider also pointed out that six Arsinoe coins—a fifth of the known examples—are in the Rethymnon museum and are undoubtedly local finds (*Essays S. Robinson*, 232). Heinen (*Unter.*, 148 n. 232) and Huss (*Aussen.*, 154) both correctly question the strength of this point. Le Rider (238-39) dated the earliest of the Rhithymna series to c. 250-225 B.C. and the Arsinoe series to after the beginning, if not after the end, of it; contra, Huss, *Aussen.*, 155 n. 136.

2. For the name Rhithymna at the beginning of the Chremonidean War see *I. Cret.* I: 247/8, no. 4, l. 41; Le Rider, *Essays*, 234 and n. 2, 236. For the appearance of the name in 235 or 234 B.C. see *I. Délos* 313 c.10. See also *I. Milet* 38p.9, 38z.1, 4, 7, 8. In addition, the name Rhithymna is found on the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 19, col. III.116), which is dated to c. 230-220 B.C.; for the date of the list see the discussion in ANTIGONEIA Mantinea. See also M. Guarducci, *I. Cret.* II: 268-69, who collects the available evidence for Rhithymna.

3. Le Rider suggests (*Essays S. Robinson*, 239) Ptolemy IV was the **founder**, Bagnall is noncommittal but also leans toward Philopator (119 and 201). In favor of Philopator is the fact that he was interested in Crete and that, among other things, he began building the walls of Gortyna (Strabo 10.4. 11). Huss (155) and Fauré (op. cit.) prefer Ptolemy II.

4. The concentration of **Ptolemaic bronzes in and around Rhithymna**: Bagnall suggests it resulted from the presence there of the garrison that was paid in Ptolemaic currency (*Ptol. Poss*, 201); cf. Le Rider (*Essays S. Robinson*, 236), who comments only on the large number of Egyptians in Crete.

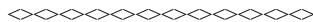
5. For **other Ptolemaic Arsinoes being harbor towns** see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 156-57; Le Rider, 233 n. 7.

For the **location** of Arsinoe Rhithymna at the site of Rethymnon see Le Rider, 232; cf. G. Manganaro, *Studi Levi*, 2: 50 ("prossima alla costa libica, laddove arrivava la *chora* di Rhithymna").

There exist two other ancient references to an Arsinoe in Crete: Stephanos s.v. "Arsinoe 9"; *I. Mag.* 21 (= *GDI* 5152). For "Arsinoe 9" Stephanos writes Ἀρσινόου. The most likely suggestion places Stephanos' Arsinoe in eastern Crete in the territory of Lyktos; see ARSINOE Lyktou. If this is so, then Stephanos cannot be referring to the refounded Rhithymna, and we must conclude that there were two Arsinoes on Crete (Tscherikower, of course, does not list Arsinoe Rhithymna). The second reference, *I. Mag.* 21, is an inscription of Magnesia on the Maeander that records eight cities in Crete, among which is an Arsinoe (l. 8). As the list is not in geographical order, it is not possible to know where to locate this city (Le Rider, *Essays S. Robinson*, 229; id., *Monnaies crétoises*, 242).

Berenike on Chios

According to Appian (*Mith.* 46-47), in 86 B.C. Mithridates Eupator, through the agency of one of his generals, deported the inhabitants of the city of Chios.¹ Memnon tells us (*FGrH* 434 F23) that Mithridates then distributed the land to Pontic settlers he brought in. Now Plutarch says (*Luc.* 18) that one of the king's wives was a Chian woman named Berenike. Finally, in his list of cities named Berenike, Stephanos (s.v.) gives a fourth that he says was previously called Chios. From this we may conclude that the main city of the island was renamed Berenike in honor of one of Mithridates' wives. The new name is not attested in any extant numismatic or epigraphic sources, nor is it likely that it lasted for a long time. The Roman capture of the city in the following year will doubtless have ended the brief flirtation with the name.



In general see E Koepp, *RhM* 39 (1884) 215-16; Tscherikower, 8; and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 155 n. 3.

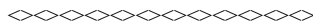
1. For other evidence on Mithridates' action against Chios see Ath. 6.266e-f, quoting Nicolaus (*FGrH* 90 F95); Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 38); *Syll.*³ 785.13f. For the retaking of the city by the Romans see Magie, *RRAM*, 226-27, 234, and 1112.

A. Westermann in his edition of Stephanos (Leipzig, 1839) read **Χίος**. On the basis of this reading Droysen suggested that Tios, the Black Sea harbor town on the border between Bithynia and Paphlagonia, was renamed Berenike by Ptolemy II Philadelphos (*Hist.*, 2: 707, 3: 262 n. 1 and 265; see also Meyer, *Gesch. des König. Pontos*, 45 n. 2). But the reading "Chios" is supported by a superior manuscript tradition (see Meineke's edition of Stephanos) and is to be preferred.

VII
The Troad

Katoikia of the Aigosages

In the course of his campaigns in 218 B.C. Attalos I made use of Galatian mercenaries from Thrace, the Aigosages. When their service proved no longer satisfactory he decided to take them back to where they had crossed and promised to give them a place suitable for settlement (πρὸς κατοικίαν, Polyb. 5.78.5). He apparently settled them in the Troad region whence they were subsequently expelled by the inhabitants of Alexandreia Troas (Polyb. 5.111). We do not know the precise location of their settlement.



On the **Aigosages** see Launey, *Recherches*, 509-10; Hansen *Attalids*², 41-42. On the campaign of Attalos I in 218 B.C. see Holleaux, *Ét.*, 2: 16-42; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 185-98; Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Prusias 1," 1091.

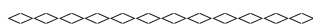
Alexandreia Troas (Antigoneia)

At some point after 311 B.C. Antigonos Monophthalmos founded Antigoneia in the Troad on the site of the former Sigia (Strabo 13.1.33, 47, 52). The towns included in the synoecism were Kebren and Skepsis (Strabo 13.1.33) and probably Larisa, Kolonai, Hamaxitos, and Neandreia as well (Strabo 13.1.47, 52).¹ Quite possibly the founding took place at about the same time as the establishment of the Federation of the Troad, whose center was the temple of Athena at Ilion.² There is no extant numismatic evidence that can be definitely attributed to Antigoneia and only two inscriptions (one of which is restored) that may possibly refer to it.³

After the battle of Ipsos (301 B.C.) this area came under the control of Lysimachos, and the town name was changed to Alexandreia (Pliny *NH* 5.124). Strabo says (13.1.26, 47) that Alexandreia included, among other towns, Larisa, Kolonai, Chrysa, Hamaxitos, Kebren, and Neandreia; he adds (13.1.52) that Lysimachos allowed the Skepsians to leave the synoecism. Later, in the third century B.C., probably under Antiochos I, Kebren probably gained its freedom and was renamed Antioch.⁴ Even with the defection of Skepsis and Kebren the territory of Alexandreia was quite large; it included all the coastal region south of Ilion to Cape Lekton. Furthermore, the fact that it had the only real harbor on the west coast of the Troad enhanced the importance of Alexandreia. At the site of the city itself there is evidence for a circuit wall that, it has been estimated, enclosed an area of approximately one thousand acres.⁵ The earliest coins with the legend Α Ε are bronze pieces similar in type to—and in imitation of—those of Hamaxitos and Neandreia. These apparently began with the renaming of the city in 301 B.C. In addition, Lysimachos opened up

a royal mint at Alexandreia that appears to have produced coins with his name continuously from 297/6 down to his death.⁶

Alexandreia Troas was located on the west coast of the Troad at the site of the modern Eski Stambul.⁷



In general see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 141-44, 233-40; Tscherikower, 16; Magie, *RRAM* 923; L. Robert, *ENG*, 5-16, and *MAT*; Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, 78ff.; Cook, *The Troad*, 198-204, 364, and passim; and Wehrli, *Antig.*, 86-87.

1. **The towns included in the synoecism:** Cook notes correctly that Strabo explicitly mentions only Kebren and Skepsis as being in the original synoecism of Antigoneia (*ABSA* 83 [1988 14 n. 23]). Nevertheless he suggests that Strabo's discussion (13.1.33; also 47 and 52) implies that the other towns were also included in Antigoneia. Since Strabo explicitly lists Skepsis as one of the towns involved and since it was still independent in 311/0 B.C. (*OGIS* 5 = *RC* 1, the letter of Antigonos to Skepsis), Antigoneia could not have been founded before that date. Although there is no explicit supporting evidence, Robert suggests that Biryitis was also included in the synoecism (*ENG*, 31 and n. 1). Cook (356-57), on the basis of the evidence of bronze coins of Biryitis, which were probably minted after the end of the fourth century, i.e., after the synoecism, rejects this view.

2. For the possible connection between the establishment of the **Federation of the Troad** and the founding of Antigoneia see, for example, A. Brückner, in W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (Athens, 1902) 2: 577-79; Bellinger, *ANS MN* 7 (1957) 46; id., *Troy: The Coins*, 3; Robert, *MAT*, 21 n. 2; Cook, 364 Cf., on the other hand, Droysen (*Hist.*, 1: 783-85) and Magie (*RRAM*, 66), who believe that Alexander began the Federation. On the Federation see ILION.

3. For a rare bronze with the name "Alexander" that Bellinger suggests may be "the first product of the mint later to be Alexandria Troas" see *Troy: The Coins*, 78 and n. 3. For the **epigraphic references to Antigoneia** see *Syll.*³ 348 (an Eretrian decree honoring three Mends of Demetrios Poliorketes = *IG* XII.9.210, 1. 16: [Ἀντιγονεῖς τὸν ἐκ Τρωῆας; see also Holleaux, *Ét.*, 1: 36 n. 1). It is not clear to which Antigoneia *Syll.*³ 348 refers. At least five Antigoneias come to mind: the four Hellespontine Antigoneias (the later ALEXANDREIA Troas, ANTIGONEIA in Mysia, ANTIGONEIA near Daskyleion, and Antigoneia in Bithynia, which Lysimachos later refounded as NIKAIA) and the later Antioch on the Orontes. Clearly one of the Hellespontine cities is most likely the one referred to in the Eretrian decree. Robert (*MAT*, 68) suggested—on weak grounds—this was Antigoneia in the Troad: (a) he noted that the name of one of the persons honored, Hippodamos, is also found at Ilion in 77 B.C. (*I. Ilion* 77.2); (b) he restored the same name on a coin of Ilion (*Troy: The Coins*, 26, no. T58; *nota bene* that the dating of the coin is not secure: it may date

either to the period 188-133 B.C. or to post 133 B.C.; see Bellinger's comment on p. 26); (c) he called attention to the fact that two or three Trojan heroes were called Hippodamos. On the other hand, Diodorus says (20.111.3) that in 302 B.C. Demetrios was campaigning in the Hellespont and recovered a number of cities, among them Lampsakos and Parion. Demetrios' presence in this region raises the possibility that the Antigoneians honored by the Eretrians came from either Antigoneia in Mysia or near Daskyleion.

4. On the question of **the status of Kebren in the third century B.C.** see Cook, 338-44; Robert, *ENG*, 16-23; and ANTIOCH Kebren. For the possibility that Larisa also withdrew from the synoecism see PTOLEMAIS Larisa. For the coinage of Skepsis after it left the synoecism see J. H. Kagan, *ANS MN* 29 (1984) 11-24. From the mention of Larisa and Hamaxitos in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, which was dated to the early second century B.C. (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 8, col. I D, ll. 18-19) Robert suggested that at the time these two towns were independent of Alexandreia (*ENG*, 34-35). Note, however, that the *theorodokoi* list is now dated to c. 230-220 B.C. (for the dating see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea). Cook objects (221 n. 2) that Strabo, depending on Demetrius of Skepsis (first half of the second century B.C.), speaks of these towns (and, incidentally, of Kebren as well) as being in the synoecism of Alexandreia (13-1.47 and 52). Of course it is also possible that the towns had withdrawn from the synoecism at various times during the third century B.C. and then, subsequently, had rejoined Alexandreia; see also ANTIOCH Kebren. I am not convinced by Cook's other objection that inclusion in the *theorodokoi* list means only that the towns were stopping places for the *theoroi*, not necessarily that they were poleis. On the opposing tendencies of polis integration and disintegration in the Hellenistic world see Robert, *ENG*, 35-36; Wehrli, 87.

5. On the **territory** of Alexandreia see Cook, 196-202. For a description of the site see Cook, 198-202; Leaf, 236-40 (plan made in 1786 on p. 237, photographs, pls. XIII and XIV A). For the **circuit wall** see Leaf, 236. On the modern confusion of the wall at Ilion (as described by Strabo 13.1.26) and the one at Alexandreia, see ILION.

6. For **coins of Alexandreia** assigned to the period of Lysimachos' reign see, for example, *BMC Troas*, 9, nos. 1-6; *SNG (Cop) Troas* 65-67; Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, 81, nos. A21-A24; on the similarity of these coins to coins of Hamaxitos and Neandreia see W. Wroth, in *BMC Troas*, xiv; Bellinger, 81. A coin of Neandreia overstruck with A E shows that coins of towns absorbed continued to circulate even after the name of the city had been changed from Antigoneia to Alexandreia (D. Sestini, *Descrizione delle medaglie antiche greche del museo Hedervariano II* [Florence, 1828] 139, no. 2). For the **ethnic** A E AN PE N on Alexandreian coinage of the late second century B.C. see, for example, Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, 91, nos. A123ff.

For **coins of Lysimachos' mint at Alexandreia** see, for example, Bellinger, 79-80, nos. A2-A20; M. Thompson, in *Essays S. Robinson*, 176-77. Under Seleukos I and Antiochos I Alexandreia struck coins with the name and type of Alexander

(Bellinger, 82, nos. A25-27 = Price, *Alexander and Philip*, 235, nos. 1588-90). The **Seleucids also maintained a royal mint** at Alexandria. The earliest Seleucid coins date from the reign of Antiochos II (Newell, *WSM*, 332-46; Houghton, *CSE*, 58-59).

7. **Alexandria was also known as τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ** (App. *Syr.* 29). In describing the same operations between Antiochos III and the Romans in the 190s, Livy mentions three cities: Smyrna, Lampsakos, and Alexandria Troas (35.42.2; at 37.35.2 he gives the cities in the same order and also adds Lysimacheia), while Appian (*Syr.* 29) refers to Smyrna, Lampsakos, and Alexandria on the Granikos (Tschirikower, 16 n. 30; Tarn, *Alexander*, 2:240). The parallel is clear.

Tarn explains (*Alexander*, 2:240) that the phrase τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ should be translated "of the Granikos" and means that after his victory there Alexander promised to build a city at the site of Alexandria just as he later promised to rebuild ILION. This "promise," as Tarn himself admits, is unrecorded (240). Tarn's claim that Alexander founded Alexandria Troas is based on a late tradition recorded only in Stephanos (s.v. "Alexandria 2") and pseudo-Callisthenes; see for example, the Greek version (3.35), the Armenian (English translation by A. M. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes* [New York, 1969] P. 159, sec. 285), and the Hebrew (English translation by I.J. Kazis, *The Book of the Gestes of Alexander of Macedon* [Cambridge, 1962] p. 158, sec. 130), which was, in turn, based on a Latin translation of the tenth century A.D., *Historia de Preliis*, by the archpresbyter Leo of Naples. The Syriac version attributes "Alexandria in the land of Gelenikos" to Alexander (English translation by E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, Bring the Syriac Version of Pseudo-Callisthes* [Cambridge, 1889] p. 142, 3.24). Tarn is quite right to bring the information in pseudo-Callisthenes to our attention. Nevertheless pseudo-Callisthenes' "Life of Alexander" is late, even if it was based on an earlier version. Furthermore it is a historical romance, not history. Thus we are left with the information in Stephanos, which is not, in itself, a fully reliable source. Hence I do not find Tarn's claim convincing. Berve (*Das Alexanderreich* [Munich, 1926]), incidentally, did not make use of these later lists, nor did he consider Alexandria Troas to be a foundation of Alexander.

For the **location** of Alexandria Troas see Cook, map on p. 190.

Antioch Kebren

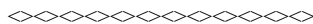
The town of Kebren underwent a series of changes in the Hellenistic age. Antigonos included it in his new foundation of Antigoneia. After the battle of Ipsos Lysimachos took over control of this region and refounded Antigoneia as Alexandria (Strabo 13.1.26,33). Later on, perhaps under Antiochos I, Kebren was probably refounded as an Antioch. The evidence for the refounding is numismatic.¹

The appearance of the head of Apollo on the obverse and the ram's head on the reverse—the traditional type of Kebren—on some rare coins, together with

the legend ANTIOXE N, prompted Imhoof-Blumer to suggest that Kebren was renamed Antioch. Furthermore, noting the appearance of the letters B and K on the obverse of some of these coins, Robert hypothesized that they referred to Birytis and Kebren. He also pointed out that on coins with B and K the symbol of the club (the reverse type of Birytis) was set next to the ram's head of Kebren. Therefore he concluded that Kebren and Birytis were united in a *Sympoliteia* or synoecism and together were included in the territory of the new Antioch.

We do not know how long the name "Antioch" persisted. Undoubtedly it ceased with the withdrawal of the Seleucids, if not before. In any event, an inscription from Assos, dated palaeographically to the third or second century B.C., twice mentions Kebren.²

Kebren was located on the Çal Dag. The identification was made on the basis of numerous coins of Kebren found there.³ A precise identification of the site of the Hellenistic settlement of Antioch Kebren has not yet been made.



In general see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 171-73; Tscherikower, 16; L. Robert, *ENG*, 16-36; Orth, *König. Macht.*, 143 n. 13; Cook, *The Troad*, 327-44.

1. For **coins** with the head of Apollo on the obverse and a ram's head with the legend ANTIOXE N (or abbreviation) on the reverse, see, for example, Mionnet, Suppl. 4:184, no. 9 (classed with Kephallonia); H. P. Borrell, *NC* 6 (1844) 192, no. 2; W. H. Waddington, *RN* (1858) 162 no. 7; Imhoof-Blumer, *ZfN* 3 (1876) 305-7, nos. 1-4; id., *KLM.*, 41, no. 1; id., *RSN* 19 (1913) 30-31, nos. 79-81; *Inv. Wadd.* 1123-24; *BMC Troas*, 46, nos. 37-40; Hirsch, *Sam. Rhousopoulos* 3445-46; de Dompierre de Chaufepié, *RBN* (1907) 131; *SNG (Cop) Troas* 270-75. See also the discussion by Robert, 16-19. Cf., for example, coins of Kebren with a head of Apollo on the obverse and a ram on the reverse: *BMC Troas*, 45, nos. 23-36; *SNG (Cop) Troas* 263-69.

For coins with the letters B and K see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *ZfN* (1876) 306, no. 3; id., *KLM.*, 1: 41, no. 1; id., *RSN* 19 (1913) 30-31, nos. 79-81; *SNG (Cop) Troas* 272-73. On the identification of Birytis and Kebren with the letters B and K see Imhoof-Blumer (*KLM.*, 41, no. 1), who suggested the K stood for Kebren but could not identify the B; see also Robert, *ENG*, 25-26, 30-31; Cook, 353.

Heichelheim suggested that three coins with the head of a Seleucid king and a cornucopia on the obverse and a double owl and corn ear in exergue with the legend ANTIOXE N on the reverse belong to Kebren (*Hesperia* 13 [1944] 361-63). L. Robert, however, rightly pointed out that this type was not found on any known coins of Kebren. He suggested that there may have been another Antioch in northwest Asia Minor, possibly at Miletoupolis, and that the coins may have come from there (*Hellenica* 8 [1949] 212 n. 3; *ENG*, 23-24); see further ANTIOCH in Mysia and AGATHOKLEIA.

2. For the **inscription from Assos** that mentions Kebren see J. R. S. Sterrett, *PAS* 1 (1885) 7, no. 4 (= *I Assos* 4); Robert, *ENG*, 33. For the mention of Kebren in a Sibylline oracle see J. Geffcken, ed., *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig, 1902) 3 343 (probably late Hellenistic). L. Robert saw another reference to Kebren in a restoration he proposed for ll. 20-21 of col. I.D of the Delphic *theorodokoi* list: [Ἐ]ρε[σῶι] / [ἐν Μιτυλ]ήν[αι] on the island of Lesbos for the same lines (Robert, *BCH* 106 [1982] 330 n. 70; cf. Cook, op. cit., 342-43; id., *ABSA* 83 [1988] 17-19).

The numismatic evidence and the epigraphic evidence of Assos that I have quoted suggest that Kebren gained its freedom from Alexandria in the course of the third century B.C. and was—briefly—renamed Antioch. This is, at first glance, in conflict with the literary testimony of Strabo, who expressly states (13.1.33) that although Skepsis withdrew from the new city of Alexandria Troas, Kebren did not (Σκηπίους ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐπὶ τρέφαντος Λυσιμάχου). Furthermore Strabo, writing in the first century A.D. (and using the research of Demetrius of Skepsis, who wrote in the early second century B.C.) describes Kebren as then being in the synoecism of Alexandria (13.1.47).

Cook, following Strabo's account and pointing to (a) the lack of archaeological evidence on the Çal Dag for a Hellenistic city, (b) the absence of any reference elsewhere in the Hellenistic world to an Antioch (Kebren) or its citizens or to an independent city of Kebren, and (c) the lack of any coins of the Antiochenes in the Troad doubted that Kebren was ever reestablished as a *city* once it had been absorbed in Alexandria Troas by Lysimachos (*The Troad*, 338-44; *ABSA* 83 [1988] 17-19). However, on the basis of three Alexandria Troas coins found at Pinarbasi * near the Çal Dag and the evidence of the Assos inscription, Cook suggested that even after the synoecism Kebren continued to exist as a *village* in the territory of Alexandria. The village was not at the old site; Cook speculated it may have been near Pinarbasi* (contra, L. Robert, *ENG*, 16-31; id., *BCH* 106 [1982] 322-23 n. 23).

Strabo's statement (13.1.33) indicates that at the time Skepsis withdrew from the synoecism Kebren remained. This happened in the lifetime of Lysimachos (ἐπὶ τρέφαντος Λυσιμάχου). There is nothing in Strabo to exclude the possibility that at some later date—under Antiochos I—Kebren also withdrew (Robert, *ENG*, 21). Strabo's further comment (13.1.47) that Kebren belonged to the synoecism of Alexandria may simply mean that by the second century B.C. Kebren had rejoined Alexandria Troas. Finally, the absence of any reference elsewhere in the Hellenistic world to Antioch (Kebren) or Antiochenes is not extraordinary: the refounding of Rhithymna as an ARSINOE, for example, is known only from local, civic coinage; neither Arsinoe nor its citizens are mentioned elsewhere in the extant evidence. The absence of coins of the Antiochenes in the Troad is possibly bothersome, but it is "negative evidence," as Cook says (*ABSA* 83 [1988] 18-19).

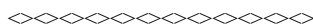
3. The discovery and identification of the **Çal Dag as the site of Kebren** was made by E Calvert, who published his findings in *Arch. Journal* 22 (1865) 53-57 (description of the site, including the remains of a circuit wall; according to Calvert, of seventy-one coins found at the site itself and the immediate vicinity, twenty-five were of Kebren); further on the location see Cook, 327-40, map on p. 273, and literature cited on p. 327 n. 2; for a photograph see Cook, pl. 59a.

As for the **location of Antioch**, Cook surmised "it was a settlement of exiles at a distance from their old home" (344). He noted the absence of Antioch coins from the Çal Dag and, in fact, from the Troad. The provenience of the Antioch coinage, it should be noted, is apparently not known (Cook, 338 n. % following Robert). Cook suggested that a dedication of Roman date from the vicinity of Kyzikos to Dionysos Kebrenios might "offer a clue" to the location of Antioch (344 n. 1); contra, L. Robert, *BCH* 106 (1982) 322-23 n. 23, who suggested that Antioch may have been centered at Birytis rather than at Kebren. Note, however, that the location of Birytis is not secure: L. Robert has argued it was close to Kebren (*ENG*, 25-30; *MAT*, 108-9; cf. *BCH* 106 [1982] 323 n. 23). Cook (356-57) would look for it "in the northwest Troad in the close vicinity of Ilion."

Gargara

According to Strabo (13.1.58), "the kings" increased the depleted population of Gargara by transferring colonists from Miletropolis after they had devastated the latter city. Unfortunately Strabo does not specify who "the kings" were.¹ It is reasonable to suppose, however, that he was referring in this instance to the Attalid royal house. In any event, Strabo says the result of the population transfer was to reduce the Gargarans to "semi-barbarians." We may note in passing a prominent citizen of Gargara: Malousios, who made significant benefactions to the Federation of the Troad at ILION at the end of the fourth century B.C.²

The precise location of Gargara is not yet known. According to Stephanos (s.v. "Gargara") and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. "Gargaros"), Old Gargara was on the "peak of Ida"; the *Etymologicum Magnum* adds that the inhabitants left this site because of the cold and moved to the plain. Pliny says (*NH* 5.122) *intus mons Gargara eodemque nomine oppidum*. Cook has suggested that Old Gargara was five to six kilometers inland from the south coast of the Troad at Koca Kaya and that the resettled Gargara was below it toward the coast.³



In general see J. T. Clarke, *AJA* 4 (1888) 191-315; W. Judeich, *JÖAI* 4 (1901) 111-25; Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Gargara"; Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 258-62; Meritt et al., *ATL*, 1: 477-78; L. Robert, *MAT*, passim; Cook, *The Troad*, 250-60.

1. Leaf assumed (151) that by "**the kings**" Strabo meant the Successors of Alexander; Hansen assumed (*Attalids*², 170; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 560) he meant the Attalids. Strabo, incidentally, says (13.1.14) that Parion expropriated— with the help of the Attalids—some territory of Priapos. Strabo used the expression *οἱ βασιλεῖς* in at least two other places. At 13.1.128, in talking about Dardanos, he says "the kings" often transplanted it to Abydos. And at 14.2.25 he says "the kings" made improvements at STRATONIKEIA in Caria. In none of these instances does Strabo identify the kings.

2. For the **Malousios inscription** see *Syll.*³ 330 (= *I. Ilion* 1). For another Gargaran benefactor of Ilion see Brückner, in Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 451, no. XI.

For the **coinage** of Gargara (late fifth and fourth century, second and first century B.C.) see, for example, *BMC Troas*, 52-53; *SNG (Cop) Troas* 316-33; *SNG* (von A) 1508-12. See also L. Robert, *MAT*, 109; id., *ENG*, 32.

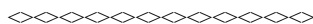
3. On the **location** of Gargara see Leaf, 258-61; Cook, 256-57. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (VIII.3) places Gargara—the importance of which is indicated on the map by two towers—on the road from the Smintheion and Assos to Antandros and Adramyttion. When **the move from Old Gargara to Gargara** took place is not clear. Leaf, relying on an epigram by Aratus of Soloi (*Anth. Pal.* 11.437: *λεγων*), comments that in the third century B.C. Gargara was still "perched on its hill." He says "this confirms it was only brought down to the coast under Pergamene rule" (262). However, the epigram could apply just as easily to either site. And, according to Cook (259), pottery found at the two sites (assuming they are correctly identified) suggests a date in the second half of the fourth century B.C. for the move. At the very least we must distinguish between the removal of the town to its new site and the transfer of the Miletopolitan population. What the connection was—if any—between these two undertakings is not clear.

Ilion

According to Strabo, Ilion (Troy) was a "village" with a small temple of Athena when Alexander arrived there in 334 B.C. (13.1.16). However, even as a village it had at least some civic structure: for example, in the mid-fourth century it voted a proxeny decree for an Athenian (*Syll.*³ 188 = *I. Ilion* 23).¹ In any event, Alexander decorated the temple with votive offerings, called Ilion a "polis," gave orders to improve it with buildings, and judged it free and exempt from tribute. A tribe named Alexandris, which still existed in the first century A.D. (*I. Ilion* 122), may give evidence of the bond between the king and the city and the cultic veneration of him, perhaps as city founder.² Alexander had little time or opportunity to make good on his promise, and three years after his visit Lykourgos, with rhetorical exaggeration, referred to the town as "uninhabited" (*Leoc.* 62.).³ It lay with Alexander's successors to bring some of his plans to fruition.

Antigonos Monophthalmos probably founded the Federation of the Troad, whose center was the temple of Athena at Ilion.⁴ Although Strabo says Lysimachos built the temple (13.1.26), it is probable that the building had already begun under Antigonos: the inscription containing six decrees that honor Malousios of Gargara for his benefactions to the sanctuary and the member cities of the Federation and dated to c. 306/5 B.C. is evidence for construction activity under Antigonos. Nevertheless, according to Strabo, Lysimachos was also active: he built a circuit wall of forty stades and transferred the populations of old and decaying towns in the vicinity to the new Ilion. In addition, roof tiles dating to the Hellenistic period and stamped Ι I have been discovered at Ilion.⁵

Inscriptions from the early third century B.C. give evidence for, among other things, decrees passed by the *boule* and *demos*, for *strategoi*, gymnasiarchs, the division of the population into tribes, and for a statute against tyranny and oligarchy.⁶ As part of a cult of Seleukos I the gymnasiarch offered monthly sacrifices at an altar dedicated to the king. In addition, a quadrennial festival was held in the month of Seleukeios. Separately, there was a priest of Antiochos III.⁷ The earliest coinage is dated to the period of Lysimachos.⁸



In general see P. Haubold, *De Rebus Iliensium* (Leipzig, 1888) 13-38; A. Brückner, in Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (Athens, 1902) 576-85; Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 141-48; Tscherikower, 17-18; Magie, *RRAM*, 869-70, 923, and passim; A. R. Bellinger, *ANS MN 7* (1957) 43-49; id., *Troy: The Coins*, 1-16; L. Robert, *MAT*; Cook, *The Troad*, 100-106 and passim; Frisch, *I. Ilion*, 59ff.; Orth, *König. Macht*, 43ff.

1. On Ilion of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. see Brückner, 572-76.

2. For the **tribes** Attalis and Panthoïs, in addition to Alexandris, at Ilion see *CIG* 3615-17 (= *I. Ilion*, 121-23); on the worship of Alexander see Habicht, *Gott.*², 21-25; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 213. N. Jones (*Public Organization*, 300) noted that the tribe Panthoïs probably referred to the Trojan elder PanthoÏs. Following a suggestion of Frisch (*I. Ilion*, p. 225), Jones hypothesized that the tribe Alexandris alluded to the Trojan Pads (Alexander) rather than to the Macedonian king. Support for this interpretation may be seen in the discovery in Theater A at Ilion of a marble block with the inscription ΗΙ Ο (C. B. Rose, *Studia Troica* 3 [1993] 105). The most likely restoration would refer to Deiphobos, Priam's son, or possibly a tribe named for him. Other examples of tribal names in theaters can be seen at HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia and Stobi (J. Wiseman, *Stobi: A Guide to the Excavations* [Belgrade, 1973] 71). On the other hand, the fact that Alexander the Great made so many benefactions to Ilion and the pride that cities took in finding a connection, real or imagined, with the Macedonian king raise the possibility that the tribe was named for him rather than for the Trojan hero.

3. With regard to Lykourgos' description of Ilion as "uninhabited," Bellinger correctly pointed out (*Troy: The Coins*, 2 n. 14) that this is "rhetorical exaggeration; nevertheless it would not have been used of a city in a notable period of rebuilding."

4. On the **Federation of the Troad** see Holleaux, *Ét.*, 1: 289-300; L. Robert, 15-41; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 102ff. For Antigonos as founder of the Federation see Haubold, 62f; Brückner, 577-78; Robert, 21 n. 2; cf. Droysen (*Hist.*, 1: 783-85, 2: 659), who believed Alexander established it. The inscription honoring Malousios (*Syll.*³ 330 = *I. Ilion* 1), which is the first notice of the Federation, is dated to c. 306/5 B.C. by the fact that in decree I (l. 9) Antigonos is referred to by name only, while in decree II (l. 24) he is simply called "the king." Presumably the first decree was drawn up just before 306/5 B.C., and the second shortly after. Cf. E. Verkinderen, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 247-69, who disputes the identification of Antigonos with "the king." Reversing the order of the inscription, he argues—interestingly, but not persuasively—that "the king" is Alexander and that the inscription should be dated to 334 B.C. For the various names of the Federation and its members see Magic, 869-70; Robert, 15f.

The controversy over the **date of the Athena temple and its sculptural decoration** is an old one. Strabo (13.1.26; cf. Diod. 18.4.5-6) attributed it to Lysimachos. However, doubts have been expressed about his reliability because of the possibility that he conflated information about Ilion and ALEXANDREIA Troas; on which see the latter. Schliemann, for example, followed Strabo and attributed the temple to Lysimachos (*Troja* [Leipzig, 1884] 224). On the other hand, an architrave block from the temple that bears Augustus' (partly restored) title (*I. Ilion* 84) raises the possibility that he built or restored it; see, for example, E. W. Goethert (in Goethert and Schleif, *Der Athenatempel von Ilion* [Berlin, 1962] 34-42). In general see B. M. Holden, *The Metopes of the Temple of Athena at Ilion* (Northampton, Mass., 1964) esp. 1-5, 29-31; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1964) 424; H. Jucker, *AA* (1969) 248-56; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (Madison, Wis., 1990) 1: 150-54, 199-200; C. B. Rose, *Studia Troica* 2 (1992) 45-46.

5. Strabo does not indicate which towns were included in **Lysimachos' synoecism**. Those that might have been absorbed include *Ἀλίων χώρα*, Skamandreia, Sigeion, Achilleion, Thymbra, Glykeia, Kenchreai, and villages of the Simois valley (L. Robert, *ENG*, 8 n. 2 and references). Cook's conjecture includes Sigeion, Biryti, Gentinos, and, probably, Achilleion (364 and map on p. 365; Cook also speculates that Skamandreia was later "attached to Ilion in a sympolity"). Later, in 188 B.C., Rome added Rhoiteion and Gergis to Ilion (Livy 38.39.10). It is not clear whether Gergis (*RC* 10.6 = *I. Ilion* 33.23 = *OGIS* 221.23) did (so Dittenberger commenting on *OGIS* 221 followed by Welles commenting on *RC* 10) or did not (so Droysen, *Hist.*, 1: 782) belong to Ilion c. 274 B.C., when Antiochos I gave some royal land to Aristodikides. *RC* 10.6 says only that land from property adjacent to Gergis or Skepsis was to be made available to Aristodikides. The land given to him was then to be joined to Ilion or Skepsis. If Gergis did belong to Ilion

at the time, we may assume that it had been freed in the interim. On Gergis see also GERGITHA.

Strabo's account of the new wall that was built by Lysimachos (13.1.26) is a major crux, for in the next section (13.1.27) he says that in the third century B.C. Ilion was an unwallled village whose homes lacked tiled roofs. It is possible that many of the towns that had been included in Lysimachos' synoecism broke away not long after the founding. Nevertheless, Strabo's claim that Ilion reverted to an unwallled village is inconsistent with other evidence, both literary and archaeological: (a) Polybius (5.111.2), who says that the city resisted a siege by Gauls in 216 B.C., (b) Livy (37.37.2), who describes how the Scipios encamped on open, flat ground under the walls of Ilion in 190 B.C., and (c) the archaeological evidence for a wall dating from the early Hellenistic period.

For a succinct statement of the problem of the forty-stade wall and references see Magie, 923; Bellinger, *ANS MN* 7 (1957) 44-48. Briefly, Grote, in his *History of Greece* (London, 1888) 1: 297 n. 1, objected that Strabo was inconsistent; at 13.1.26 he says Lysimachos provided Ilion with a forty-stade wall, but at 13.1.27, following Hegesianax and Demetrius of Skepsis, he describes it as "unwallled" at the time of the Galatian invasion of 278 B.C., and as a *χωμόπολις* in 190 B.C. Grote therefore suggested that at 13.1.26 Strabo "really meant to speak only of the improvements brought about by Lysimachos in *Alexandreia Troas*"; that he never meant to ascribe to Lysimachos any improvements in *Ilion*," and accordingly he emended the text of Strabo. In support of Grote, Dörpfeld (207) pointed out that Hellenistic Ilion was not big enough to have occupied an area surrounded by a forty-stade wall. Finally, Leaf pointed out (142-44) that "there was no trace whatever of any great wall at Ilion" but that *Alexandreia Troas* had a wall of forty stades. Thus he also followed Grote's suggestion and, in support of this, provided his own textual emendation. Contra, Brückner, 582; Tscherikower, 17-18; L. Robert, *ENG*, 7-8; see also R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 241-42. Now in addition to the philological arguments against the proposed emendations (noted by L. Robert, *ENG*, 7 and n. 4), the discovery by Blegen of a Hellenistic wall at Ilion—even if it was less than forty stades (*AJA* 39 [1935] 26, 564; 41 [1937] 594)—suggests that Lysimachos did in fact build a wall at Ilion.

For **roof tiles** stamped I I found at Ilion see C. B. Rose, *Studia Troica* 3 (1993) 100-103; cf. the stamped roof tile found at LYSIMACHEIA in Aetolia and other examples cited there.

6. For the **boule**, **demos**, and **strategoi** of Ilion in the early third century B.C. see, for example, *I. Ilion* 33 (= *RC* 10-13, the Aristodikides inscription, c. 274 B.C.) and 34 (= *OGIS* 220; 275-269 B.C. [?]); for the gymnasiarch see *I. Ilion* 31 (= *OGIS* 212; for the attribution to Seleukos II rather than Seleukos I, cf. Orth, *König. Macht.*, 72-73; E. Piejko, *Gnomon* 52 [1980] 258 and n. 9); for **tribes** see, in addition to the citations mentioned in note 2, *I. Ilion* 24.13 (c. 300 B.C.), 34.20, 67.2 (third or second century B.C.), 25.30 (= *OGIS* 218, probably beginning of the third century B.C.), 52.19, and 53.15 (both second century B.C.), and the heavily restored *I. Ilion*

31.15-17. For the tribes at Ilion see also N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 298-300. For the law against tyranny and oligarchy see *I. Ilion* 25 and Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, 4 and n. 22. *I. Ilion* 32 (= *OGIS* 219), which records a decree of Ilion in honor of "King Antiochos son of King Seleukos," probably refers to Antiochos III and not, as previously believed, to Antiochos I; see the discussion of E. Piejko, *Arch. f. Papyrus*. 37 (1991) 9-50 (contra, Orth, *König. Macht.*, 61-72; Mastrocinque, *Manipolazione*, 67ff.). The fragmentary *RC* 42, which records a letter to Ilion, was undoubtedly sent by Antiochos III; see the commentary of Welles and Piejko (*Arch. f. Papyrus*. [1991] 25). In general see the evidence collected by Frisch in *I Ilion* 24-25, 31-45.

7. For the **cults of Seleukos I and Antiochos III** at Ilion see *I. Ilion* 31 and 32. For the reattribution of *I. Ilion* 32 to Antiochos III see above, note 6. With the cult of Antiochos III at Ilion one should compare the evidence now available for cultic worship of him and Queen Laodike at Teos (P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 [1965] 34-36), at Herakleia by Latmos in 197 (M. Wörle, *Chiron* 18 [1988] 422-23), at IASOS (G. Pugliese-Carratelli, *Annuario* 45-46 [1967-1968] 445ff., no. 2 = *I. Iasos* 4.1-50; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1971] 621; Gauthier, *Sardes II*: 66-67; and IASOS), and of Laodike at SARDIS; see also Habicht, *Gott.*², 83-85; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 172-83; id., *Essays Welles*, 175-211. These civic cults should be distinguished from the royal cult for Antiochos III and Laodike (see *RC* 36-37; L. Robert, *Hellmika* 7 [1949] 5-22; id., *CRAI* [1967] 281-96).

For the **month Seleukeios** (or Seleukeon; see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 174 n. 4) see *I. Ilion* 31.11-12 (ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ Σελευκεῖ[ω]).

8. For the earliest **coinage** of Ilion under Lysimachos see Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, 14-16; id., *ANS MN* (1957) 45-49; cf. von Fritze, who thought the earliest coins were issued in connection with Alexander's declaration of his intent to improve Ilion (in Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 502) and Brückner, who suggested the time of his death (577). Wroth believed the earliest coins were post 300 B.C. (*BMC Troas*, xxv-xxvi), and Leaf thought they were not earlier than 189 B.C. (146). The Seleucids maintained a royal mint at Ilion; see Newell, *WSM*, 332; Houghton, *CSE*, 59-60; Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, 17-21. For the **ethnic I** IEI see, for example, *I. Ilion* 2.48 (third century B.C.).

Suetonius (*Claud.* 25.3) mentions an incident in which the Roman senate and people wrote to a King Seleukos urging him to exempt Ilion from all tribute. Tscherikower (18 n. 40) accepted this as evidence for Ilion being a city in the third century B.C. However, the historicity of the affair has been questioned. Holleaux, for example, thought the letter was a Roman fabrication (*Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques* [Paris, 1921] 46-58; see also Niese, *GMS*, 2: 153 n. 4, 281; E. Weber, *Wiener Studien* 85 [1972] 217f.), while Magie suggested it was fabricated by the Ilions (*Studies Buckler*, 161 and n. 1). Those arguing in favor of the letter's authenticity have included J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *JRS* 44 (1954) 32f., and Bengtson, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte* (Munich, 1967) 81 n. 2. In general see Orth, *König. Macht.*, 73.

For a fragmentary inscription of Ilion in honor of King Seleukos (probably Seleukos II) see Brückner, in Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 2: 447, no. 1 (= *I. Ilion* 35). For a fragmentary inscription in honor of [τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν βασιλέων], i.e., apparently Laodike, Seleukos II, and Antiochos Hierax see *I. Ilion* 36 and *Troja und Ilion*, 2: 464, no. 17.

On the **location** of Ilion see Cook, *The Troad*, 92-100.

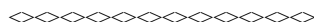
Ptolemais Larisa

In his book on the Troad published in 1973, J. M. Cook mentioned the discovery at Liman Tepe—the likely site of the ancient Larisa—of a coin that had the head of Apollo on the obverse and on the reverse, an amphora or crater with a bird on the groundline and the legend [T]O E[MAIE N].¹ Cook noted that other coins of this type are known and, though ascribed to PTOLEMAIS Lebedos, still seemed to be "homeless." He further remarked on the similarity of the coin to those of Larisa in the Troad but commented that "it would be a bold man who would claim this coin as evidence of a third-century refoundation of Larisa under the Ptolemies."

L. Robert has since made the claim that Larisa was renamed Ptolemais for a time. He based this conclusion on the similarity of coin types and the find location at Liman Tepe. Furthermore he argued that coins with the ethnic TO EMAIE N or TO E and an amphora but without a magistrate's name, previously grouped with other Ptolemais foundations, should be classed with Ptolemais Larisa.²

The Ptolemies probably first gained control of the Hellespont during the Third Syrian War (246-141 B.C.).³ In the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, now dated to c. 230-220 B.C., the name Larisa appears.⁴ Furthermore, by the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator most of the Troad had slipped from Ptolemaic control. Hence, if Larisa was renamed Ptolemais, it would presumably have been for a short period in the decade after the Third Syrian War. The founder, therefore, would have been Ptolemy III Euergetes I.

Larisa was a port on the coast of the Troad, south of Alexandreia Troas.⁵



In general see Cook, *The Troad*, 219-21; L. and J. Robert, *JS* (1976) 175 n. 87; L. Robert, *BGH* 106 (1982) 319-33.

1. For **the coin discovered at Liman Tepe** see Cook, *The Troad*, 219-21. For the **locating of Larisa at Liman Tepe** see below. On Larisa see, besides Cook, Robert, *ENG*, 36-68; for coinage of Larisa with an amphora on the reverse see Cook, 220-21; L. Robert, *ENG*, 47-57. For coins with the ethnic TO EMAIE N written in full or TO E (rather than TO, on which

see PTOLEMAIS Lebedos) and an amphora see examples cited in PTOLEMAIS Lebedos, note 2, and discussion there. These coins have been assigned to various cities, among them PTOLEMAIS Lebedos, PTOLEMAIS in Pamphylia, and PTOLEMAIS in Carla. For the attribution of these coins to Larisa in the Troad see L. and J. Robert, *JS* (1976) 175 n. 87; L. Robert, *BCH* 106 (1982) 319-31.

Larisa had been included in ALEXANDREIA Troas, which was founded by Lysimachos (Strabo 13.1.47). Hence the founding of Ptolemais would have entailed the withdrawal of Larisa from the synoecism. Presumably Larisa was later reabsorbed in Alexandria: Strabo, writing in the early part of the first century A.D. but relying on Demetrius of Skepsis, who lived in the first half of the second century B.C., described Larisa as being in the synoecism of Alexandria (13.1.47).

2. Cook objected to the Roberts' claim that Larisa was refounded as a Ptolemais (see articles cited above, "In general") on two grounds: (a) in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list Larisa is listed under its old name, whereas Lebedos is still listed as PTOLEMAIS, and (b) Larisa lies between ALEXANDREIA Troas and Hamaxitos, and "it is generally agreed that Hamaxitos was incorporated from the beginning in the synoecism" (*ABSA* 83 [1988] 15). To the first point we may reply that the fact that Lebedos in Ionia is listed as "Ptolemais" does not necessarily reflect on the situation in the Troad. It is possible that at the time of the *theorodokoi* list, now dated to c. 230-220 B.C. (see below, note 4), Larisa had slipped away from Ptolemaic control; on the duration of Ptolemaic control in the Troad see below, note 3. Regarding the second point, the situation created by an independent Ptolemais interposing itself between Alexandria and Hamaxitos (assuming Hamaxitos is correctly located; see Cook, *ABSA* 83 [1988] 15) is awkward but not unexampled: the Polish corridor separating Germany and East Prussia after World War I immediately comes to mind.

3. In the Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54.14-15) Ptolemy III claimed the **Hellespont** as one of the areas he conquered during the Third Syrian War. Huss is of the opinion that by the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator the Ptolemies no longer controlled any city in the Troad (*Aussen.*, 209). However, Polybius (5-34.7) indicates that under Philopator the Ptolemies still held the most important cities, places, and harbors "all along the coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont and the places around Lysimacheia." What the Ptolemies actually controlled in the Hellespont at this time is not dear. In any event it did not include Lampsakos, Alexandria Troas, and Ilion; these three cities had in 217 B.C. already been friendly with Attalos I for some time and remained so afterward (Polyb. 5.78.6). See also Beloch, *GG²*, 4.2: 346; Bagnail, *Ptol. Poss.*, 159-62; and Robert, *BCH* 106 (1982) 327-30.

4. For Larisa in the **theorodokoi** list see A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 (1921) 8, col. I.D, l. 19, and p. 48; also L. Robert, *ENG*, 34-39. For the date of the list see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea. I am sceptical of Gook's claim (*The Troad*, 221 n. 2; *ABSA* 83 [1988] 9-12) that the appearance of a toponym in the *theorodokoi* list indicates merely stopping places for the *theoroi* rather than independent cities

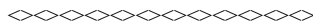
that were officially receiving the invitation of the *theoroi* (Robert, *ENG*, 34-36; *BCH* 106 [1982] 330-31).

5. For a full discussion of the evidence for the location of Larisa see Robert, *FNG*, 36-64; for the identification of Larisa with Liman Tepe see Cook, 218-20, map on p. 190; Robert, *BCH* 106 (1982) 320, 329, and n. 67.

VIII
Mysia and Aeolis

Agathokleia

Louis Robert has suggested that coins with the legend A A, A A , or A A O and dated to 300 B.C. belong not to Agathopolis in Thrace but rather to a previously undetected Agathokleia or Agathopolis in Mysia. The settlement would have been named for Lysimachos' son Agathokles. Pointing to a similarity in coin types, Robert has also suggested (a) that Agathokleia was the refounded Miletoupolis and (b) that in turn it was later renamed Antioch. In the absence of confirming evidence we must consider these suggestions regarding Agathokleia as speculative.



In general see L. Robert, *RPh* 33 (1959) 172-79; id., *HSCP* 81 (1977) 12; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1969) 85; AGATHOPOLIS in Thrace and ANTIOCH in Mysia.

Regarding **Agathokles**, J. and L. Robert pointed out that since Lysimachos named cities for himself and other members of his family (e.g., LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, NIKAI A, EURYDIKEIA, and ARSINOE Ephesos) it is reasonable to expect a city was also named for his son (*BE* [1969] 85). The Roberts also claimed that the male head on the coins is that of Agathokles, "as founder."

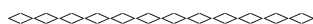
For the **numismatic evidence** see, for example, H. P. Borrell, *NC* 4 (1841-1842) 1-2; and AGATHOPOLIS. For a bronze coin mistakenly given as silver by Head, *HN*², 258 see H. Gaebler, *ZfN* 34 (1924) 310 Robert (*RPh* [1959] 175-78) denied the attribution of the coins to the Thracian Agathopolis for the following reasons: (a) if Agathopolis was a Thracian coastal town in antiquity, it is incomprehensible that no evidence is extant for it in any of the ancient geographers or explorers—an *argumentum ex silentio*, as Robert admits; (b) the coin types (obv.: young male with fillet, rev.: owl or double owl, laurel or caduceus, with the legend A A, etc.) are unique for cities of the Thracian Chersonese or the coast of Bulgaria; (c) the coins published by Borrell come from two different collections from Smyrna; and (d) no Agathopolis coins have been found in Bulgarian collections.

In support of his removal of the Agathopolis coins to Mysia, L. Robert referred to the article published by Gaebler (op. cit.) in 1924. There Gaebler mentioned a coin with the head of a young man bound with a fillet—stylistically the same as that of the Agathopolis coinage—on the obverse and on the reverse, the *protome* of a winged horse and the legend A A (previously this had been read as IN). Gaebler pointed out that the reverse type was also to be seen on coins of Lampsakos in Mysia. As a result this particular coin had previously been classed with Linos, a Mysian coastal town near Lampsakos. Robert, however, seized on the new reading of the legend and used this as the basis for transferring the Agathopolis coins to Mysia. He also pointed out that the double owl on the reverse that is found on coins of Agathopolis is also the most frequently used reverse type on coins of Miletoupolis in Mysia; see J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1960) 236 and (1969)

85. For coins of Miletoupolis with an owl or double owl on the reverse see, for example, *BMC Mysia*, 91, nos. 1-2. For the similarity of the coin types—the double owl—of Miletoupolis, Agathokleia, and Antioch see L. Robert, *ENG*, 24; id., *RPh* (1959) 178 and n. 8; and ANTIOCH in Mysia.

Antigoneia

Our only evidence for Antigoneia is Stephanos (s.v. "Antigoneia"). He says it was a "fortress" (φρούριον) of the Kyzikene, fifty stades from the "Western Sea."¹ In the lack of other information it is not possible to say whether Antigoneia was simply a fortress or whether in fact it developed into a town or polis. Billows has suggested that Antigonos Monophthalmos founded the four Hellespontine ANTIGONEIAS (Kyzikene, Alexandria Troas, near Daskyleion, and Nikaia) to control the area after the rebellion of Phoinix in 310 and, perhaps, to counter Lysimachos' new Thracian settlement of LYSIMACHEIA.² We do not know the precise location of Antigoneia.³



In general see Radet, *De Coloniis*, 11; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 114; Tscherikower, 18; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 82; Billows, *Antigonos*, 298-99.

1. The phrase "**Western Sea**" is a problem. In Strabo (13.1.5) it refers to the Aegean and the "outer Hellespont" (the latter phrase apparently refers to the far northern part of the open Aegean; Strabo at 13.1.19 speaks of Kolonai on the west coast of the Troad as being on the "outer Hellespontine Sea"; see the discussion in Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 50-52); but there is no available evidence to indicate that Kyzikene territory ever extended to within fifty stades of the "outer Hellespont" (see Hasluck, 114). Radet suggested that the phrase "Western Sea" referred to the Propontis (*De Coloniis*, 11; followed by Tscherikower, 18).

2. On the **strategic significance of the four Antigoneias** see Billows, 304-5.

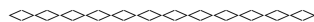
3. There is no extant evidence to indicate firmly the location of Antigoneia. Relying on the figure of fifty stades, Radet suggested that Antigoneia was located south of Kyzikos, between it and Lake Manyas (Kus * Gölü), at the site of the modern village of Debleki (*De Coloniis*, 11, followed by Wehrli). Relying on the same figure of fifty stades, Billows, on the other hand, has suggested it was located at the site of the village of Erdek on the southwest coast of the Kyzikene peninsula (29a-99).

A decree of Eretria honors three Antigoneians who were friends of Demetrios Poliorketes (*Syll.*³348). Unfortunately there is no indication which Antigoneia this was. However, we do know that in 302 B.C. Demetrios was campaigning in the Hellespont. At that time, according to Diodorus, he recovered Lampsakos, Parion, and a number of other cities that had "changed sides" (20.111.3). Thus if Antigonos

Monophthalmos did found the Kyzikene Antigoneia, then it is at least possible that the three persons honored by the Eretrians were from this city. See further ALEXANDREIA Troas.

Antioch

On the basis of numismatic evidence Louis Robert has posited the existence of another Antioch in northeast Asia Minor in addition to Antioch Kebren. Pointing to a similarity in type of the coins of Miletoupolis, Agathokleia, and Antioch, Robert has suggested that Miletoupolis was refounded first as Agathokleia and later as Antioch.¹ Confirmation for the existence of this Antioch and of its relation to Miletoupolis and Agathokleia must await further corroborative evidence.



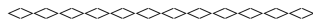
In general see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 212 n. 3; id., *ENG*, 23-24; id., *RPh* (1959) 178; id., *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 556 n. 5; id., *BCH Suppl.* 1 (1973) 445; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1969) 85; and AGATHOKLEIA.

1. In 1949 L. Robert suggested there was another Antioch in northwest Asia Minor in addition to Antioch Kebren (*Hellenica* 7:211 n. 3). Two years later he suggested (*ENG*, 23-24) that some coins with a diademed head on the obverse and a double owl with the legend ANTIOXEN on the reverse, previously attributed by Heichelheim to ANTIOCH Kebren (*Hesperia* 13 [1944] 361-63), might be attributed to Miletoupolis in Mysia. The latter had as its most frequent reverse type the double owl. Thus Robert tentatively presented the hypothesis that it was Miletoupolis that had been refounded as an Antioch. Furthermore the coinage of his hypothetical AGATHOKLEIA in Mysia also had as one of its main reverse types an owl or double owl. L. Robert noticed this similarity and described Miletoupolis as "qui fut sans doute un temps une Antiocheia et peut-être auparavant une Agathocleia" (*ATAM*, 89 n. 572; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1969] 85; contra, E. Schwertheim, *I. Kyzikos* II: p. 117 and n. 118). For coins of Miletoupolis with an owl or double owl see, for example, *BMC Mysia*, 91, nos. 1-2. For the coinage of Agathokleia see AGATHOKLEIA. For L. Robert's arguments for removing the coins of AGATHOPOLIS in Thrace to Agathokleia in Mysia see articles cited and *RPh* (1959) 175-78.

Apollonia

According to Strabo (13.4.4) Apollonia was located on an elevated site east of Pergamon. Both Ramsay and Tschirikower suggested that Strabo was referring to an Attalid refoundation. This is probably not so. Xenophon also

mentions an Apollonia in the same region (*Ahab.* 7.8.15), and it is likely that he and Strabo were writing about the same city.¹ Furthermore an Attalid colony named for Queen Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I, would undoubtedly have been called that (cf. APOLLONIS in Lydia) and not Apollonia.² Therefore it is probable that the name Apollonia predated the arrival of the Attalids.

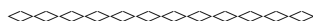


1. For Apollonia see also Pliny *NH* 5.126; Stephanos (s.v. "Apollonia 8"); and Waddington, *Voyage num.*, 125-28. For the claim that the Apollonia recorded by Strabo was an Attalid colony see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 126; Tscherikower, 20. On the identification of the Apollonia mentioned in Strabo and Xenophon see Hirschreid, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 17"; E. Thraemer, *Pergamos* (Leipzig, 1888) 199-202; Magie, *RRAM*, 979; Hansen, *Attalids*², 176.

2. For the distinction between **Apollonia** and **Apolloils** see L. Robert, *REA* 36 (1934) 525-26; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2:239 and n. 2; and APOLLONIA on the Maeander.

Gergitha

Strabo says (13.1.70) "near the source [of the Kaikos River] is a village, Gergitha, to which Attalos transferred the people from the Troad when he destroyed their place (τὸ χωριον)." This is our sole piece of substantive evidence for the colony called Gergitha. We do not know for certain who the founder was, the identity of the *chorion* whence the settlers came,¹ or the location of the new colony. A provisional reconstruction would suggest that Attalos I founded the colony after his expedition of 218 B.C.² The new foundation of Gergitha was possibly located at a village named Gertze (Yirce) in the middle Kaikos valley.³



In general see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 102-6, 345; Tscherikower, 19; Magie, *RRAM*, 741-42; Hansen, *Attalids*², 42, 175; Cook, *The Troad* 347-51.

1. Two possibilities have been suggested for **the place whence the colonists came**: Gergithion in the territory of Lampsakos (Strabo 13.1.19) and Gergis near Ilion. The problem of identifying Gergis and indicating its relation to Gergithion is compounded by (1) Strabo's failure to indicate at 13.1.70 which *chorion* Attalos destroyed in order to found the new Gergitha, (2) his confusion in the account of Gergithion in the Troad (13.1.19), and (3) his omission of any reference to Gergis in the Troad (for Gergis and Gergithion see, for example, Stephanos s.v. "Gergis"; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21-22; Livy 38.39.10; *NH*²545; and *RC* 10.6; see also Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 105; Magie, 741; Cook, 347-51; on the confusion in Strabo see Leaf, *ABSA* 18 [1911-1912] 286-92; id., *Strabo on the Troad*, 102-6).

On the question of whether Gergis or Gergithion was the *chorion* destroyed by Attalos see L. Robert, *MAT*, 112; Cook, 347-51. In fact one should recall that Gerg-toponyms are quite widespread in western Asia Minor. Hence the name Gergitha may not necessarily derive from Gergithion or Gergis.

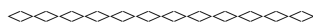
2. For the **founding of the colony** by Attalos I after 218 B.C. see Hansen, 175. Tscherikower (19) and Radet (*La Lydie*, 306) suggest that the same monarch established the colony after his victory over the Gauls in the area of the sources of the Kaikos c. 238/7 B.C. (for the date see Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 198). But as Hansen points out (42 n. 83) Attalos had no relations with the Troad at this early time. Niese (*GMS*, 3:64 n. 3) believed the founder was Attalos II. Magie's passing suggestion (742) that at 13.1.19 "Attalos" may be a mistake for "Antiochos" is unlikely.

3. For the **location** of the new Gergitha, Radet suggests Ghelembek (*La Lydie*, 306); Philippson (*Reisen*, 1: 67-68) and von Diest (*Von Perg.*, 17) hypothesize it was Gertze (Yirce) which could be a survival of the ancient name.

At the village of Yirce a fragmentary Hellenistic honorific inscription has been found (H. Taeuber, *AST* 7 [1989] 219; see also Cl. Brixhe and A. Panayotou, *BE* [1991] 464). The only word that can be read is the ethnic **Μακεδόν[α]** of the honoree.

Lysimacheia

In his enumeration of towns of Aeolis that no longer existed in his day, Pliny mentions Lysimacheia between Kanai and Atamea (*NH* 5.122). This is all that is known about Lysimacheia. The location of Kanai and Atamea on the Aeolic coast opposite the southern part of Lesbos suggests that Lysimacheia was likewise in this region. Presumably the founder was Lysimachos.

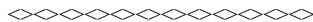


For Atamea see Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Atarneus 2"; Smith, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Atarneus"; Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 327-28. For Kanai see Smith s.v. "Canae"; Oldfather, *RE* s.v. "Kanai"; Leaf, 335-37. In an apparent attempt to locate Lysimacheia, Tscherikower (20 n. 53) calls attention to the fact that in the section preceding the one under discussion (i.e., *NH* 5.121) Pliny mentions an Attaleia among a number of Aeolian cities inland from Kyme and Myrina. However, this is based on a variant reading. As Tscherikower admits, the more likely reading is "Itale"; see the Teubner text (ed. C. Mayhoff [1906; reprint, Stuttgart, 1967]). Schuchhardt (*Alt. v. Perg.* 1: 118) tentatively suggested that Lysimacheia was on the Kanai Peninsula, possibly at the modern Hatıplar.

For a coin of Lysimacheia found in the vicinity of Halileli in the Troad see Cook, *The Troad*, 65. There is no indication whether the coin is from this Lysimacheia or—more probably—from the one in Thrace.

Mysian Katoikiai

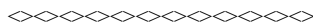
In recounting the campaign of Attalos I in 218 B.C. Polybius describes how the king advanced on *οἱ τῶν Μυσῶν κατοικίαι* (5.77.7). These were not necessarily, as previously believed, Mysian military colonies. L. Robert has demonstrated that in Polybius the term *katoikia* designates villages or settlements, not military colonies.



See L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 191-94, who discusses the question in detail and also reviews the literature; see also Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 5.77.7. On the Mysians see Launey, *Recherches*, 436-49.

Pergamon

There was a settlement at Pergamon before the Hellenistic period.¹ However, Tscherikower rightly includes it in his list of foundations for two reasons: (1) two similar Pergamene inscriptions of the mid-first century B.C. for Mithradates son of Menodotos honor him as a new founder (*κτίστης*) of the city after Pergamos and Philetairos, and (2) Philetairos took a very active role in building up his new capital.² There is extensive evidence for Pergamene cults in honor of the ruling family.³ The worship of Herakles played an important role in Pergamon, as it did in a number of other Attalid foundations.⁴ The presence of Macedonians is attested by the Pergamene decree after the death of Attalos III (*OGIS* 338.14).⁵ The coinage minted under the Attalids included both bronze municipal issues, royal bronzes in the name of Philetairos, and royal tetradrachms with the portrait of Philetairos.⁶ For a short period at the end of the third century and beginning of the second century B.C., posthumous Alexanders were also issued.⁷ The Alexander and Philetairos coins, which were struck on the Attic weight standard, were ultimately replaced after the Treaty of Apameia by lighter weight cistophori.⁸



In general see Magie, *RRAM*, 3ff. and 725ff.; Hansen, *Attalids*², 234-84; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 159-77.

1. For Xenophon's sojourn at Pergamon in 399 B.C. see *Hell.* 3.1-6 and *Anab.* 7.8.8 and 23. For the restoration by the satrap Orontes of the Pergamenes to their city on the acropolis (which, earlier, they had apparently been forced to leave) see *I. Perg.* 613A (= *OGIS* 264a). *I. Perg.* 5 (= Michel, *Recueil* 18 = *OGIS* 265), a treaty between Pergamon and Temnos, may date from the period of either Lysimachos'

or Philetairos' hegemony (see Fränkel's commentary on *I. Perg.* 5; Magie, 726). The *ethnic* is ΕΡ ΑΜΗΝ Ν (*OGIS* 265.7).

2. For **the inscriptions honoring Mithradates son of Menodotos** see H. Hepding, *AM* 34 (1909) 330 (= L. Robert, in *Studies Buckler*, 230 = *IGR* IV.1682) and 331 (= Hepding, *AM* 35 [1910] 471, no. 55). On the identification of Mithradates see Magie, 1259. Tscherikower credits Philetairos with the building of the temple of Demeter (20). To this Hansen adds the temple of Athena, the earliest palace, the square structure on the summit, which was probably where the treasure of Lysimachos was stored, plus various fortifications (see pp. 17-19 and 237-39). For the gymnasium at Pergamon see Hansen, 253-59 and passim.

3. Evidence for **cults**: statues (*agalmata*) of and sacrifices in the gymnasium for members of the ruling family (*OGIS* 764.20, 39); sacrifices to Eumenes I (*OGIS* 267.33-35; Habicht, *Gott.*², 124-25); altars dedicated to Attalos I (*I. Perg.* 43-45); an *agalma* of Attalos III in the temple of Asklepios Soter, where Attalos was now to be *synnaos* with the god; and an equestrian statue (*eikon*) next to the altar of Zeus Soter; daily sacrifices to (or for) the king and annual processions to the *temenos* of Asklepios and the king (*I. Perg.* 246 = *OGIS* 332, a decree of Pergamon welcoming Attalos III on his return from an expedition; so L. Robert, *BCH* 108 [1984] 472-89; see also A. D. Nock, *HSCP* 41 [1930] 22-24; Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 20; Gauthier, *Les cités grecques*, 47); the month of Eumeneios (*I. Perg.* 249.2). In general see Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 145-58; Hansen, *Attalids*², 453-70.

The names of at least fifteen **tribes** are attested. Among the tribal names were Athenais, Apollonias, Asklepias, Attalis, Diodoris, Eumeneia(ea), Thebais, and Philetairis (see H. von Prott and W. Kolbe, *AM* 27 [1902] 106-33, nos. 113-60; W. Kolbe, *AM* 32 [1907] 415-69, nos. 272-405; P. Jacobsthal, *AM* 33 [1908] 384-400, nos. 6-23; H. Hepding, *AM* 35 [1910] 422-36, nos. 11-19). The organization of the Pergamene population by tribes is clearly seen in *I. Perg.* 246.40-41 (= *OGIS* 332). In general see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 353-55.

4. On the **worship of Herakles** at Pergamon see L. Robert, *RPh* (1984) 7-18; see also the veneration of Herakles at MERNOUTPHYTA and APOLLONIS. For the grant of citizenship to the *katoikoi* of the Pergamene *chora* on the death of Attalos III see *OGIS* 338 (= *I. Perg.* 249); Griffith, *Mercenaries*, 177ff.; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 176-77; cf. MAGNESIA near Sipylos.

5. As the Attalids had little direct access to Macedonian troops, it is unlikely they settled the **Macedonians in Pergamon**; see further NAKRASON. The very interesting attempt of K. J. Rigsby (*TAPA* 118 [1988] 130-37) to assign *OGIS* 338 to Stratonikeia of Indeipedia is not likely; see P. Gauthier, *BE* (1989) 279; and STRATONIKEIA in Lydia.

6. For **bronze municipal coins of Pergamon** see Hansen, *Attalids*², 217; and, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Mysia* 359-402. For the **royal bronzes issued in the name of Philetairos** see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Mysia* 340-58. For **Philetairos tetradrachms** see U. Westermark, *Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon* (Stockholm, 1961). The only one of Philetairos' successors to mint

tetradrachms with his own portrait was Eumenes II, and only two examples are known: see Westermark, in *LAGOM: Festschrift für Peter Berghaus* (Münster, 1981) 19-23; R. Bauslaugh, *ANS MN* 27 (1982) 39-51; H. Nicolet-Pierre, in *KME*, 203ff..

7. For the **posthumous Alexanders** see E. S. Kleiner, *ANS MN* 17 (1971) 96-104, 114-25; C. Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie*, 41-44, 46; O. Mørkholm, in *Studies Mildenberg*, 185. Kleiner dated the Alexanders between 202/1 and 189/8 B.C.; Boehringer, followed by Mørkholm, dated the beginning of the coinage to c. 220-210 B.C. The latter dating is preferable.

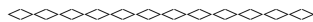
8. The minting of coins with the portrait of Philetairos probably continued at least into the 180s B.C. and overlapped with the earliest cistophori; see, for example, G. Le Rider, *JS* (1989) 169-72; R. Bauslaugh, *NC* (1990) 60-61; H. Nicolet-Pierre, in *KME*, 209-12 (the latter suggests that the minting of coins with the Philetairos portrait continued to the 150s). On the problem of dating the introduction of the cistophori see STRATONIKEIA in Lydia. For the **cistophori** of Pergamon see Kleiner-Noe, *ECC*, 22-40. Kleiner has suggested that the cistophori of SARDIS, SYNNAIDA, and APAMEIA were also minted at Pergamon (*ECC*, 80, 120-21; id., *ANS MN* 25 [1980] 48-52; contra, Mørkholm, *ANS MN* 24 [1979] 50-58, followed by Le Rider, *BCH* 114 [1990] 683-701, esp. 686-89, 701, and *BCH* 115 [1991] 367); Kleiner's suggestion received support from Bauslaugh's demonstration that a cistophorus of Adramyttion was die-linked to *ECC* series 6 of Pergamon (*NC* [1990] 48).

I should mention here a fragmentary inscription of the second century B.C. found at Pergamon, which deals with the affairs of an Attalid military colony that was apparently near the capital (*I. Perg.* 158 = *RC* 51; see also *RC* 16). Very briefly, the inscription mentions different size allotments; it distinguishes between vine and cleared land and records the tax rate for each type. The document indicates that some plots of land were sold outright to the settlers and that childless colonists could bequeath their allotments upon payment of the inheritance taxes. The inscription also deals with the maintenance of the temples and the gymnasium. On this important document see Welles, *AJA* 42 (1938) 248 (on cleared land) and his commentary on *RC* 51; Hansen, *Attalids*², 233; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 57-59; T. Ihnken, *I. Mag. Sipylos*, 125-26; B. Virgilio, *SCO* 32 (1982) 136-40.

B. Virgilio has argued that there was a military colony at Pergamon (*Studi ellenistici* 1 [1984] 34-36). He points to Strabo 13.4.2, who, in discussing the achievements of Eumenes II, remarks: τοσόνδε κατοικίαν τοῦ Περγᾶμου τὴν νῦν οὖσαν ἐκεῖνος προσεφύλαξε. Virgilio claimed that the use of the term *katoikia* along with the evidence of *RC* 51 and *OGIS* 338 provides information for the existence of a military colony at Pergamon. However, in Strabo the term *katoikia* is used generally to describe a settlement or town. It is not used specifically to refer to a military colony (see, in general, L. Robert, *BCH* 109 [1985] 481-84; cf. id., *Ét. anat.*, 191-94).

Philetaireia by Ida

The agreement between Eumenes I and the mercenaries who had mutinied mentions two places where the soldiers were stationed: Philetaireia and ATTALEIA.¹ We do not know the precise location of Philetaireia, only that it was at the foot of Mount Ida.² The founder was probably Eumenes I.³



In general see Tscherikower, 18; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 23-25; Schalles, *Unter-suchungen*, 31-33.

1. For the **agreement between Eumenes I and the mercenaries** see *I. Perg.* 13 (= *OGIS* 266 = *Staats.* III. 481 and references, p. 149); see also the discussion in Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 23-26; B. Virgilio, *SCO* 32 (1982) 97-140, esp. 109-15.

2. Magie suggests the **location** of Philetaireia was on the eastern side of the Ida range, since the western side was probably under the control of Skepsis at the time (*RRAM*, 734); Allen (*Attalid Kingdom*, 23) places it "somewhat north of the Adramyttene Gulf, in the south-east of the Troad"; see also Virgilio, 113 (between Antandros and Adramyttion), who emphasizes its strategic importance in controlling access from the Troad to Mysia.

3. For the suggestion that Philetairos was the **founder** of Philetaireia by Ida see Allen, *ABSA* 66 (1971) 3; id., *Attalid Kingdom*, 24 (followed by Schalles, *Untersuchungen*, 32). Briefly, Allen argues as follows: Eumenes I ascended the throne in 263 B.C. Since his agreement with the mercenaries at Philetaireia and Attaleia used Seleucid dating, it had to have been written before the battle of Sardis; this battle must date to the period between 263 and 261 (Antiochos I's death). Hence Allen concludes that these two settlements were begun before Eumenes' accession. This conclusion does not, however, necessarily follow. It will be recalled that Philetairos followed a general policy of avoiding conflict with the Seleucids. One wonders if the establishment of a military colony would not have been considered provocative by the Seleucids. Eumenes I followed a much more aggressive policy vis-à-vis the Seleucids. It is quite possible, therefore, that Eumenes founded Philetaireia and Attaleia as well very early in his reign, i.e., in the period between his accession and the battle of Sardis. For Eumenes I as the possible founder see, for example, Tscherikower, 18; Hoffmann, *RE* s.v. "Philetairos," 2161; Hansen, *Attalids*², 22; and below.

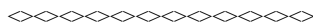
The town name Philetaireia is found three times in *I. Perg.* 13. Once the town is called simply Philetaireia (l. 2) and twice it has the qualifying **Ἰδαία** (ll. 20, 55). The name Philetaireia (without "by Ida") is also found in two other Attalid inscriptions. The first, a dedication made by Diogenes the son of Epikles, mentions a Eumeneion (*I. Perg.* 240 = *OGIS* 336). **A problem arises regarding the relationship of the Philetaireia mentioned in the**

agreement between Eumenes and the mercenaries (*I. Perg.* 13) and the Philetaireia mentioned in the Diogenes dedication (*I. Perg.* 240). A number of scholars have assumed that they are one and the same town. Hence they have seen the existence of a Eumeneion as proof that Eumenes was considered the founder (*ktistes*) of Philetaireia by Ida (see, for example, Fränkel's commentary on *I. Perg.* 13.2; G. Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo* [Rome, 1906] 14-15; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 97-99; Tscherikower, 18).

However, another Pergamene inscription (*IGR* IV.292 = H. Hepding, *AM* 32 [1907] 245-47; see the commentary on pp. 254-55) records a decree passed in 69 B.C. or before (on the date see the important discussion of C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 4 [1974] 183-205; see also J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1974] 466) honoring the gymnasiarch Diodoros Paspáros. It mentions a procession (ll. 40-43) that was to go from Pergamon to Diodoros' *temenos*, the Diodoreion, in Philetaireia on the dedication day. Clearly *this* Philetaireia was either in or very close to Pergamon and must be distinguished from Philetaireia by Ida, which was more than a day's march away (L. Robert, *REA* [1934] 524; Boehringer and Krauss, *Alt. v. Perg.* IX: 89-90; Hansen, *Attalids*², 22 and n. 48, 235 n. 2, and 464; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 23 n. 49; Virgilio, 112; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 246-47). Since the Eumeneion mentioned in the Diogenes inscription could have been located in Philetaireia near or in Pergamon rather than in Philetaireia by Ida, its existence cannot serve as evidence for positing the *ktistes* of the latter town. Schalles, in fact, suggested that the Eumeneion was a *temenos* for a posthumous cult of the deified Eumenes II (*Untersuchungen*, 32). On the administrative relationship of the Philetaireia of the Diodoros inscription with Pergamon see Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 23 n. 49; Virgilio, 112.

"Poemaneni Macedones Asculacae"

In his enumeration of towns and peoples in Mysia Pliny mentions the "Poemaneni Macedones Asculacae" (*NH* 5.123). Based on Pliny, one could assign the "Macedones" either to "Poemaneni" or to "Asculacae." Most scholars punctuate without comment between Poemaneni and Macedones Asculacae. However, Radet and Tscherikower have called attention to two entries in Stephanos, "Poimanenon" and "Poimen."¹ Under the second, Stephanos mentions a mountain, Poimenion, in Macedonia. Under the first he refers to Poimanenon as a *polis* or *phourion* and *chorion* of Kyzikos. It is possible, therefore, that Poimanenon was founded as a Macedonian colony. If, as Stephanos suggests, it had once been a part of Kyzikos, we know from an inscription that in 80/79 B.C. it had become independent.² The precise location of Poimanenon has not yet been fixed. Most probably the fortress was at Eski Manyas, south of the Kus * (Manyas) Göli. The village was probably northwest of the fortress, at Alexa.³



In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 715-16; Hasluck, *JHS* 26 (1906) 23-29; id., *Cyzicus*, 115-23; Tscherikower, 18-19.

1. Scholars who punctuate Pliny *NH* 5.123 "**Poemaneni, Macedones Asculacae**" include Droysen, 715-16; Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Asculacae"; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 119; and L. Robert, *VAM*², 192 n. 1. Jones, *CERP*², 44, suggests the possibility of emending Pliny's text to read "Macedones a Scylaca," the Macedonians from Skylake, the Pelasgian community on the coast of Kyzikos. For the punctuation "**Poemaneni Macedones, Asculacae**" see Radet, *De Coloniis*, 10; Tscherikower, 18-19; see also Hasluck, *JHS* (1906) 27 n. 18; id., *Cyzicus*, 115 n. 5.

2. For **Poimanenon as an independent community** in 80/79 B.C. see *OGIS* 443 (= *IGR* IV.196); Jones, *CERP*², 87. **Coinage** of Poimanenon from the first century B.C. to the second/third-century, A.D. survives; see, for example, *BMC Mysia*, 175, nos. 1-4; *SNG* (von A) 7521-23.

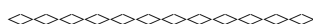
3. For the **location** of Poimanenon see Hasluck (*JHS* [1906] 23-25 and *Cyzicus*, 115-23), who suggests that the fortress (Byzantine) and the village (Roman) were two separate places, at Eski Manyas and Alexa; cf. Ramsay, *HGAM*, 157-58. An inscription from Gönen (west of the Kus * Göltü) has the fragmentary reading Π[ο]μ[αν]ην[ων] (H. G. Lolling, *AM* 9 [1884] 35); but, as Hasluck points out, this probably indicates only that the territory of the Poimaneni extended to Gönen (*JHS* [1906] 24). Furthermore, Hasluck notes that Aristides (50. 1-6, ed. B. Keil [Berlin, 1908] pp. 426-27) distinguishes the springs on the Aisepos ("certainly" at Gönen) from the temple of Asklepios at Poimanenon, which lay "on his way thither." Poimanenon is listed as Phemenio, on the road from Kyzikos to Pergamon, in the *Tab. Peut.* VIII.2 and is often mentioned in the Byzantine lists; see, for example, Hierokles 662.12 and *Not. Ep.* 1.133, 2.152, etc.

IX
Ionia

Arsinoe Ephesos

Around 294 B.C. control of Ephesos passed from Demetrios Poliorketes to Lysimachos.¹ It appears that shortly after this Lysimachos renamed it Arsinoe after his wife and began building a new city.² As the old site no longer provided access to the sea (due to the silting of the Kayster River), Lysimachos rebuilt the city at a new location to the southeast, in the area between the Bülbüldag and the Panayirdag. He also built a wall of over nine kilometers to enclose the city³ and—probably at the same time—reconstituted the *gerousia*.⁴ The Ephesians were reluctant to move (Strabo 14.1.21) probably because the new site was located in an area that included archaic graves. Nevertheless Lysimachos was able, by a ruse, to move the inhabitants;⁵ in addition he brought other settlers from Kolophon and Lebedos. It was also at this time, apparently, that the coastal town of Phygela was incorporated into Ephesos.⁶ In 104 A.D., Gaius Vibius Salutaris dedicated a series of statues at Ephesos, including one of Lysimachos. All the other statues were of divinities. This suggests that Lysimachos was considered the hero-founder of the city and that there was probably a cult devoted to him during his lifetime.⁷

There was a royal mint at Arsinoe that produced some staters and tetradrachms, but mainly drachms.⁸ The city name occurs as "Arsinoe" in the literary and occasionally as "Arsinoeia" in the epigraphic evidence; on local coins it is usually abbreviated AP I.⁹ The importance of the city is emphasized by the discovery there of the remains of a monumental statue of Lysimachos.¹⁰ Arsinoe was residing in the city in 281 B.C. (Polyaenus 8.57). The city name "Arsinoe" lasted only until 281 B.C., when Lysimachos was defeated by Seleukos Nikator at Korupedion. Thereafter Ephesos alternated between Seleucid and Ptolemaic control until, in 188 B.C., it came into Attalid hands.¹¹ The remains of Ephesos are adjacent to the modern town of Selçuk.



In general see Tscherikower, 25; J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, Hesperia Suppl. 6 (Princeton, 1941) 9-20; D. Knibbe, et al., *RE* Suppl. XII, s.v. "Ephesos," 248-364 and 1588-1704; Magie, *RRAM*, 888, 898, 920-21; V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, *PECS* s.v. "Ephesos"; Longega, *Arsinoe II*, 30-33; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 50-54. I have not seen the dissertation by T. E. Black on the history of Ephesos from 334 to 27 B.C. (cited by Magie, 885 n. 84).

1. For **Lysimachos' capture of Ephesos** see Frontin. *Str.* 3.3-7 and Polyaenus 5.19; the latter says that it was actually the general Lykos who took the city. Hünerwadel (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Königs Lysimachos von Thrakien* [Zurich, 1900] 68) dated the capture to 286 B.C. However, it is far more likely that Lysimachos took Ephesos, at the latest, in 294 B.C.: in that year, according to Plutarch

(*Demetr.* 35.3), while Demetrios was campaigning in Laconia he learned that Lysimachos had taken "his Asian cities." Lysimachos left Asia shortly thereafter, because from 294 to 289 B.C. he was in Thrace (Geyer, *RE* s.v. "Lysimachos 1," 12). Furthermore the city already had the name "Arsinoeia" by 289 B.C. (*Milet* 1.2.10.24 = *Syll.*³ 368.I, the Milesian copy of a decree of the Ionian Koinon in honor of Hippostratos, dated 289/8 B.C.). See further, Mastrocinque, 50-51; J. and L. Robert, *Claros*, 77-80.

2. Both Strabo (14.1.21) and Stephanos (s.v. "Ephesos") say that **Lysimachos named the new city in honor of his wife** (see also Polyaeus 8.57). Eustathius incorrectly thought it was named for Lysimachos' daughter (*Comment.* to Dionys. Perieg. 828 = *GGM*, 2: 363; on this error see Longega, 31 and n. 88). On Lysimachos as founder see also the restored inscription from the time of Commodus (*I. Ephesos* 26.2 = *GIBM* 483B.2 = Oliver, no. 12.2: **Βασυλέα**).

3. On the **silting of the Kayster River** see Strabo 14.1.24; Pliny, *NH* 2.201, 204, and 5.115; A. Philippson, *Milet* III.5: 26-31; Magie, 888 n. 89. For the new wall see Strabo 14.1.21. For an Ephesian decree honoring a certain Athenis who *περί τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν χρήσιμος γεγένηται τῇ πόλει* see J. Keil, *JÖAI* 16 (1913) p. 237, III.c = Maier, *Gr. Mauer.*, 1: no. 72 = *I. Ephesos* 1441; see also *Gr. Mauer.*, 1: no. 71. Remains of the Lysimachean wall can be seen on both the Bülbüldag and the Panayirdag. For a plan of the remains see *RE* Suppl. XII: 1593-94. For photographs (and description) of the wall see Keri, *JÖAI* 15 (1912) Beiblatt 183-200; and E. Lessing and W. Oberleitner, *Ephesos* (Vienna, 1978) 88; see also A. McNicoll, "The Development of Urban Defences in Hellenistic Asia Minor," in *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, ed. P. J. Ucko et al. (London, 1972) 788-89. For a sketch map of the various settlements that stood at Ephesos, see Keil, *Ephesos Ein Führer*⁵ (Vienna, 1964) 13.

4. Strabo ascribes four undertakings to Lysimachos: renaming the city, rebuilding the walls, moving the population, and reconstituting the *gerousia* (14.1.21; on the question of the nature of the reconstituting, see Oliver, 13-18). **When the *gerousia* was reorganized is not clear.** One would assume from Strabo's narrative that all the changes happened at around the same time, and I have shown above that this was probably c. 294 B.C. On the other hand, an Ephesian inscription (Oliver, no. 1 = *Syll.*³ 353 = *I. Ephesos* 1449) conferring citizenship on Euphronios (on which see L. Robert, *RPh* [1967] 15-16 n. 5) mentions an embassy sent by the *gerousia* to Prepelaos (for the *gerousia* in another, fragmentary inscription see *GIBM*, 3: 470). The latter, a general of Kassandros, captured Ephesos in 302 and held it until Demetrios retook the city the following year (Diod. 20.107 and 111). The question is whether the inscription dates to that period, when we know Prepelaos was at Ephesos (so D. van Berchem, *MH* 37 [1980] 25-27), or to the period around 294 B.C., when, presumably, Prepelaos could have returned following the second capture of the city by Lysimachos (see further, Oliver, 18-20). Habicht notes that the Hellenistic evidence for the *gerousia* is confined to the early

third century B.C. Pointing out that we again encounter the *gerousia* for the first time in 104 A.D.—which is when we find Salutaris dedicating a statue of Lysimachos—he suggests that the reintroduction of the *gerousia* and the founder cult may have occurred together (*Gott.*², 40-41). On Salutaris see G. M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos* (London and New York, 1991).

5. For the evidence of **archaic graves at the new site** see H. Vetters, *AS* 28 (1978) 20 and 29 (1979) 195. Strabo says (14.1.21) that in order to force the Ephesians to abandon their old site Lysimachos waited for a heavy rain and then blocked up the drainage channels; the subsequent flooding made the people happy to leave. (Stephanos s.v. "Ephesos" mentions the destruction caused by flooding but indicates it was a natural disaster. He also quotes an epigram [*Anth. Pal.* 9.424] of Duris of Elaia that describes it as a natural disaster; see Reitzenstein, *RE* s.v. "Duris 2").

6. For the **transfer of the Ephesians as well as the Lebedians and Kolo-phonians** see Paus. 1.9.7 and 7.3.4-5; Strabo 14. 1.21; Stephanos s.v. "Ephesos"; Eust. *Comment.* to Dionys. Perleg. 828; see also KOLOPHON and PTOLEMAIS Lebedos.

The new site was strategically a better location (Alzinger, *RE* Suppl. XII: 1596). For the **incorporation of Phygela** see *I. Ephesos* 1408 (= D. Knibbe, *JÖAI* 46 [1961] Beiblatt 19-20) and L. Robert (*RPh* 41 [1967] 36-40; see also J. and L. Robert, *Claros*, 80-81), who dates the incorporation to the beginning of the third century B.C., when Ephesos was refounded; contra, Knibbe, *RE* Suppl. XII, s.v. "Ephesos," 270, who suggests a date in the late second century B.C. On the "destruction" of Kolophon and the form this could have taken see KOLOPHON.

7. For the **founder cult** of Lysimachos see *I. Ephesos* 29 (= *OGIS* 480 [Greek] and *CIL* III.14195⁶[Latin]); K. Scott, *TAPA* 62 (1931) 104; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 255-56; Habicht, *Gott.*² 40-41. Habicht reasonably suggests that the cult was confined to Lysimachos' lifetime. Undoubtedly the Seleucids would hardly have been inclined to encourage—or initiate—it.

8. For the **royal mint** at Arsinoe see M. Thompson, in *Essays S. Robinson*, 177. For **coins with the abbreviation ΑΡΣΙ** see, for example, H. E. Borrell, *NC* 2 (1839-1840) 171-76 (Borrell restored to Ephesos various coins wrongly attributed to Arsinoe in Cilicia and Cyrenaica); L. Müller, *Die Münzen des thracischen Königs Lysimachus* (Copenhagen, 1858) 80; B. V. Head, *Coins of Ephesus* (London, 1880) 43-44; *BMC Ionia*, 55-56, nos. 71-74; *Inv. Wadd.* 1648-49; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 50-51, nos. 14-17; id., *Ant. gr Münz.*, 34, nos. 94-95; *SNG* (Cop) *Ionia* 258-59; *SNG* (von A) 1840; Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 613, no. 104. On the coinage see also *RE* Suppl. XII: 321-22. For Ephesian **cistophori of the second century B.C.** see Kleiner-Noe, *ECC*, 41-59; Adams, *Hist.* 29 (1980) 311-14.

9. For the spelling ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀρσινοέων (J. Keil, *JÖAI* 35 [1943] Beiblatt 101, no. 1, a decree of the city); see also ARSINOE in Aetolia. The ethnic was normally

Ἀρσινόων (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960] 162-63; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1979] 426; contra, Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* [Göttingen, 1978] 114 n. 162). On the short life of the name "Arsinoe" see Strabo 14.1 21, who comments that in spite of the change, the old name (i.e., Ephesos) prevailed.

10. For the **statue of Lysimachos** see E. Atalay and S. Türkoglu, *JÖAI* 50 (1972-1975) Beiblatt 123-50. See also S. M. Burstein, *AncW* 14 (1986) 20 and n. 9, who plausibly suggests that Arsinoe Ephesos was Lysimachos' Asiatic capital.

I might mention **the mausoleum at Belevi**, 16 km northeast of Ephesos. It is not securely dated and probably underwent a number of building phases. A suggested dating of the early phase to the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century B.C. has prompted the hypothesis that Lysimachos commissioned the work (C. Praschniker, in *Das Mausoleum von Belevi*, *Forschungen von Ephesos* 6 [Vienna, 1979] 109-20, esp. 117-18; H. S. Lund, *Lysimachus* [London and New York, 1992] 177). Of course Lysimachos was buried in Thrace (App *Syr* 64; Paus. 1.10.4-5; and LYSIMACHEIA). If the tomb's occupant *was* a royal dignitary, one might think of Antiochos II, who died in 246 at Ephesos (see, for example, J. Keil, *JÖAI* 28 [1933] Beiblatt 40; W. Hoepfner, *AM* 84 [1969] 180).

11. For the **later history of Hellenistic Ephesos** see *RE* Suppl. XII: 257-59, as well as Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 170-71, and Hansen, *Attalids*² passim. For evidence of a gymnasium in Attalid Ephesos see J. Keil, *Anz. Wien* (1951) 331-36.

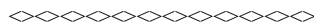
Eurydikeia Smyrna

After its destruction by Alyattes in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Smyrna was reduced, in the words of Strabo (14.1.37), to a "village-like" existence. Local tradition—as reflected in Pausanias, Pliny, Aelius Aristides, and the numismatic evidence—looked upon Alexander the Great as the founder of the new city of Smyrna.¹ What he did, if anything, is not clear. On the other hand, Strabo, writing a century or more earlier than any of the above authors, omitted mention of Alexander; rather, he said that Antigonos Monophthalmos reassembled (ἀνέγειρεν) the village community, and after him Lysimachos did likewise (14.1.37).² From this we may conclude that Antigonos initiated the synoecism that produced the new Smyrna and that Lysimachos continued it.

The evidence for the name "Eurydikeia" is wholly numismatic;³ the name is nowhere found in the literary or extant epigraphic evidence. Nevertheless it is clear that Lysimachos was naming Smyrna for his daughter, Eurydike, just as he renamed Ephesos "Arsinoe" for his wife. We do not know when the name was first used; at any rate it probably was dropped after 287 B.C., the year in which Eurydike was imprisoned by her father (Justin 16.2.4). A few fragmentary outcroppings of a wall attributable to Lysimachos

have survived.⁴ For a brief period under Lysimachos there was a royal mint at Smyrna.⁵

The old city was located on a small peninsula on the northeast coast of the Gulf of Smyrna at the site of the town of Bayrakli; the new city was built across the gulf on Mount Pagos.⁶



In general see Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, esp. 94-104; Tscherikower, 24-25; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 255; and for Old Smyrna, J. M. Cook, *ABSA* (1958-1959) 1-34.

1. Although Strabo's claim that Smyrna existed "village-like" after its capture by the Lydians is essentially correct, the figure of four hundred years that he gives as the time span for this is too long; see Cook, 31 and n. 85. **For Alexander as founder** of Smyrna see Paus. 7.5.1; Aelius Aristides 20.7, 20, and 21.4 (ed. Keil); and Pliny *NH* 5.118. Pausanias (7.5.2-3) tells the delightful story of Alexander falling asleep under a plane tree and of Nemeses appearing to him and telling him to refound the city. He also adds that the Smyrnaians thereupon sought the advice of Apollo at Klaros who answered: "Three times blest and four times will those be who will inhabit Pagos beyond the sacred Meles." H. W. Pleket recognized the words "sacred Meles" in a fragmentary inscription that probably dated to the second century A.D. and that was said to come from Smyrna (*The Greek Inscriptions in the "Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" at Leyden* [Leiden, 1958] 75-76, no. 62 = *I. Smyrna* 647). J. M. Cook subsequently noticed that the first line of the fragment probably described the next two lines as an oracle and that the text of the oracle was to be restored in the next two lines (*CR* 75 [1961] 7-8; see also C. Habicht, *Cl. Ant.* 3 [1984] 46). For coins of Imperial date (Marcus Aurelius, Gordian, and Philip) showing two Nemeses appearing to the sleeping Alexander see, for example, Mionnet, 3: 231, nos. 1296-97; 250, nos. 1410-11; id., Suppl. 6: 343, no. 1707; *BMC Ionia*, 279, no. 346; 294, no. 442; *SNG* (von A) 2231; see also Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 217-18. Cadoux (95-97) noted several possible grounds that could be alleged for treating the story relating to Alexander and Smyrna as legendary. Among other things he pointed out (*a*) the lateness of the evidence and (*b*) the fact that Strabo attributed the new foundation to Antigonos and Lysimachos, not Alexander. Nevertheless he doubted "whether these difficulties make the legendary character of the story (the existence of which has in any case to be accounted for) more probable than its substantial truthfulness" and suggested that Alexander "seriously initiated the project of a restoration, but was prevented by circumstances from executing it." Cook pointed out that the evidence of the black-glazed pottery from the uppermost level at Old Smyrna suggests that habitation there ended within Alexander's lifetime and "offers strong support to the local tradition which attributes the foundation to Alexander himself" (34). He also said that the lack of street drainage mentioned by Strabo (14.1.37) "might

possibly be argued as showing that Smyrna was an earlier foundation than the new cities of the diadochs" (34 n. 103). Hence he suggests that the new city may date to 334 B.C. He notes correctly, however, that "default of excavation in early Hellenistic levels" at the new Smyrna makes it impossible to fix a date for the foundation (34). N. Demand speculates (*Urban Relocation*, 156-63) that, as he did at Ilion, Alexander may have suggested moving the city and made appropriate promises but left the actual work to Antigonos. There is, however, nothing to indicate whether Antigonos undertook this project while Alexander was alive. Furthermore, in the case of Antigoneia (the later Alexandreia) Troas we know that Antigonos founded it after 311 B.C. Regarding the type of synoecism involved in the refounding of Smyrna, Kahrstedt points out (*RE* s.v. "Synoikismos," 1442,) it was probably that of an existing political union creating a city *Zentrum* rather than a combining of poleis.

2. Wehrli does not include Smyrna among the **foundations of Antigonos** because he considers Smyrna to have regained the status of polis by the early fourth century B.C. (*Antig.* 92, following Bickerman's review of Tscherikower in *Gnomon* 4 [1928] 351-52). The evidence adduced by Bickerman and Wehrli is *Syll.*³ 136, an Athenian inscription of 387/6 B.C. that mentions Smyrna (l. 19), and a silver tetradrachm that may possibly be assigned to the early fourth century (H. Weber, in *Corolla Numismatica* [Oxford, 1906] 298-99, pl. 15, no. 6; see also *HN*², 591-92; K. Regling, *ZfN* 33 [1922] 65, no. 2). But the inscription shows that by this time Smyrna was a flourishing town, not necessarily a polis. The coin, though bearing the legend ἐν τῇ Ὀμῆρος ἡν, and this hardly proves that Smyrna was a polis in the mid-fourth century! For the involvement of some Smyrnaians in the Kolophonian resistance to Lysimachos, probably c. 295/294 B.C., see Paus. 7-3.4 and KOLOPHON.

3. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries **coins with a covered head turned to the right and on the reverse a tripod (and occasionally a bee) with the legend ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΕΑΝ** were ascribed to various locations: thus, (a) Kassandreia: Mionnet, Suppl. 3:77-78, nos. 475-76 (Pallene); Borrell, *NC* 3 (1841) 135-37 (Borrell identified the Eurydike as the daughter of Lysimachos and also noted the similarity in the portrait style between the Eurydikeia coin and that of Arsinoe Ephesos [136]; cf. below); Leake, *Num. Hell.*, "European Greece," 53; *BMC Macedonia*, 75, nos. 1-3; (b) Elis: Mionnet, 2: 202, nos. 4-5; Pellerin, *Recueil de médailles* (Paris, 1763) 1: 116; Sestini, *Classes générales geographiae numismaticae* (Paris, 1797) 2: 47; (c) Ephesos or vicinity: von Sallet, *Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* (Berlin, 1889) 2: 88, nos. 1-4 (von Sallet based his suggestion upon the discovery at Ephesos of a Eurydikeia coin with a bee on it); *BMC Ionia*, 56, nos. 75-77. Imhoof-Blumer first demonstrated that Smyrna had been temporarily renamed Eurydikeia and

that the above-listed coins actually belonged with it; see *JÖAI* 8 (1905) 229-30 and *Gr. R. Münz.*, 66-69, nos. 1-4 (Imhoof-Blumer pointed to the tripod, occasionally with a bee, that is found both on coins of Smyrna from the time of Lysimachos and on coins of Eurydikeia; see *Gr. R. Münz.*, 68 and nos. 1, 2). For other examples see J. G. Milne, *NC* (1923) 7, nos. 5-8; *SNG* (Cop) *Ionia* 1105-7; *SNG* (von A) 2159; and L. Robert, *ENG*, 204 n. 5; id., *BCH* 106 [1982] 322. Both *SNG* Cop and von A, following Milne (pp. 3-5), assign the Eurydikeia coinage to 288-281 B.C. This dating should be modified for two reasons: (a) Milne arrived at the upper date by reference to Ephesos, which he believed was renamed at that time (p. 4). However, it is now clear that Ephesos received its new name probably in 294 but in any event before 289 B.C.; see ARSINOE Ephesos. (b) The name Eurydikeia was probably dropped after Eurydike was imprisoned by her father in 287 B.C.

4. For the surviving bits of **the wall attributed to Lysimachos** see Cadoux, 102f. *IG* II² 663 records an Athenian honorific decree of 285 B.C. for Artemidoros the son of Apollodoros. The inscription also mentions "King Lysimachos" (l. 18 and restored in l. 3). A. C. Johnson (*AJA* 18 [1914] 173) suggested restoring Artemidoros' demotic in line 17 as [Σμυρναῖον]. Furthermore, pointing to the fact that the names Artemidoros and Apollodoros appear on Smyrnaian coins of the second century, Johnson also suggested that Artemidoros may have persuaded Lysimachos to refound Smyrna. However, Artemidoros was almost certainly a citizen of Perinthos, not Smyrna: (2. Habicht (*Chiron* 2 [1972] 107-9) has called attention to a decree from Hellenistic Ephesos (*GIBM* 464) that honored an Artemidoros, a citizen of Perinthos who was the son of Apollodoros. As Habicht points out, the fact that the name, the patronymic, and the time period are the same in both inscriptions indicates we are dealing with the same person.

For Smyrna in the third and second centuries B.C. see Cadoux, 105-48; on Seleucid dynastic names for Smyrnaian months see L. Robert, *REA* (1936) 24-28; on the cult of the Seleucids see Habicht, *Gott.*², 99-102.

5. For the **Lysimachean royal mint at Smyrna** see Thompson, *Essays S. Robinson*, 180-81.

6. For the **site** of Old and New Smyrna see Cook, 1-8 (map on p. 6).

There was an important fortress defending the approach to Smyrna at Bel-kahve, approximately 11 km east of the city. Two honorific inscriptions put up by the garrison there and dating from the time of Aristonikos' revolt are extant; see A. Seylaz and J. Keri, *JÖAI* 28 (1933) Beiblatt 121-24; G. Bean, *Anadolu Arastirmalan* * 1 (1955) 43-45; L. Robert, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 588-89; J. and L. Robert, *JS* (1976) 202-4.

Kolophon

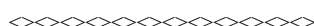
Kolophon was an old Greek city that had been a member of the Athenian Empire in the fifth century. A decree of the *demos* of Kolophon, dating from 311-306 B.C., orders the construction of a wall to enlarge the city by

enclosing both Kolophon and an abandoned site (the *παλαιὰ πόλις*) adjacent to Kolophon. Appended to the decree is a list of those subscribing to a loan raised for building the wall. The remains of the wall have been dated, on the basis of appearance, to the end of the fourth century B.C.¹ While Antigonos Monophthalmos is not specifically mentioned in connection with this project, it is quite possible, as some scholars have suggested, that he played a "behind-the-scenes" role in bringing it about. In any event, the opening lines of the decree (11. 5-6) mention that Antigonos confirmed Alexander's recognition of Kolophon's freedom.²

The decree ordering the construction of the wall is also important because it provides useful information about the mechanism for founding a city.³ Responsibility lay essentially with a ten-man commission that was charged with (1) planning the walls, (2) choosing an architect and determining his salary, (3) raising funds from outside sources (*χρήματα ξενικά*), (4) overseeing the placement of roads and building lots as well as the sale (or lease) of these, and (5) planning an agora and workshops as well as other public buildings. A religious ceremony, headed by a priest of Apollo together with the other priests, priestesses, the *prytanis*, the council, and the persons appointed in the decree, preceded the formal initiation of the project. From other inscriptions of this period we learn that at this time Kolophon and the port of Notion were united in a *sympoliteia*.⁴

After Ipsos, Kolophon fell to Lysimachos. Pausanias (1.9.7) says that Lysimachos destroyed it (and Lebedos) and transferred the population to his new foundation of Arsinoe Ephesos. In other passages he describes Kolophon as "deserted" (7.3-4) and Lebedos as "ruined" (7.3.5) as a result of Lysimachos' actions. Pausanias also says (7.3.4) that the Kolophonians (and the Smyrnaians) fought a battle against Lysimachos. Although he does not give a date for this, it is reasonable to assume that the battle came about from resistance to Lysimachos' plans; if so, it will have taken place somewhere around 294 B.C.⁵ We do not have any further information about Kolophon until after the arrival of the Seleucids in 281 B.C. Kolophon was minting coinage as early as the late sixth century B.C. and continued to mint in the Hellenistic period.⁶

The remains of Kolophon are to be found at the village of Degirmendere, approximately sixty-five kilometers south of Izmir.⁷



In general see L. B. Holland, *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 91-171; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 90-92; Demand, *Urban Relocation*, 161-62.

1. For **the decree ordering the construction of the wall** see B. D. Meritt, *AJP* 56 (1935) 358-72 no. I (= Maier, *Gr. Mauer.*, 1: no. 69, with bibliography and commentary). Meritt dated the decree to 334 B.C., i.e., immediately after

Alexander's conquest (p. 371). However, L. Robert has demonstrated that the decree most probably belongs to the period 311-306 B.C. (*RPh* [1936] 158-61; see also A. Wilhelm, in *Studies Buckler*, 350-51). Another very fragmentary inscription (Meritt, 372-77, no. II = Maier, *Gr. Mauer.*, 1: no. 70) mentions the sum of thirty talents in regard to the building of the wall (presumably the Antigonid one, ll. 74 and 84). It is unclear whether this was the total cost of the project (see Maier, *Gr. Mauer.*, 1: 235; Wilhelm, 358). For a description of the remains of the wall see C. Schuchhardt, *AM* 11 (1886) 402-7, who noted its similarity to the wall of Ephesos and dated it to the time of Lysimachos; see also L. B. Holland, *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 170 (map of site on p. 92) and ARSINOE Ephesos. For the expression *παλαιὰ πόλις* was a "long ledge of rock to the north of the acropolis" (170-71). Picard thought (*Ephèse et Claros* [Paris, 1922] 635) that the wall enclosed Kolophon and Notion (Kolophon by the Sea). But Robert correctly pointed out that the distance between the two sites—13 km—rendered this unlikely (*RPh* [1936] 158 n. 6). While the term *palaia polis* refers to an abandoned site near Kolophon, the expression *archaia polis* was used by the Kolophonians to describe the city itself as opposed to Kolophon by the Sea, which was another name for Notion; *I. Mag.* 53-75-79. See A. Frickenhaus, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 118 (1909) 17-33; L. Robert, *RPh* (1936) 158 n. 6.

2. Wilhelm thought that the *ἀπαρχὴ ἀγαθὰ* announced to the Athenians by a Kolophonian embassy in 306/5 B.C. (*IG* II² 470b.6-7) referred to **Antigonos' confirmation of Kolophon's freedom** (*Studies Buckler*, 345-50). He also suggested that there was a connection between the building of the wall and the confirmation of the city's freedom and that Antigonos encouraged the enlargement of the city (350-51; see also Wehrli, 90).

3. For **information about founding a colony or city** see also *RC* 3-4 and 51; W.F. Stinespring, "The Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1932); Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 19-25; JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia; LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, and ARSINOE in Cilicia.

4. For the *sympoliteia* of Kolophon and Notion see Meritt, 377-79, no. III; L. Robert, *RPh* (1936) 166; Wehrli, 91.

5. On the **destruction of Kolophon and Lebedos** see Wilhelm, in *Studies Buckler*, 364-65, J. and L. Robert, *Claros*, 82-83. Knibbe (*RE* Suppl. XII, s.v. "Ephesos," 256) and Magic (*RRAM*, 80, 898; see also C. Fredrich, *AM* 25 [1900] 105) have argued that since there is evidence for the existence of both cities later in the third century B.C., the destruction and depopulation cannot have been as complete as Pausanias describes. Knibbe and Magic are quite correct that there/s evidence for the existence of Kolophon under the Seleucids, i.e., in the period after 281 B.C.: a fragmentary inscription from the city records the name of the tribe Seleuk[is] (Meritt, 380-81, no. VI); the same tribe is also attested in a decree from Klaros dated to the latter part of the second century B.C. (J. and L. Robert, *Claros*, "Décret pour

Ménippos," p. 66, col. III 21). Furthermore as a result of the American excavation of 1922 at Kolophon nine bronzes of Antiochos II that had been struck at Sardis were discovered (Holland, *Hesperia* 13 [1944] 143; Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 604-8, 617, nos. 127-35). There is also evidence for an Antiocheia festival at Kolophon (P. Frisch, *ZPE* 13 [1974] 112-16 and 15 [1974] 98). Finally, at some point in the third century B.C., Kolophon received an embassy from Priene (*I. Priene* 57). As for Lebedos, its representatives appear in a decree of Ionian cities in honor of Antiochos I (*OGIS* 222.47 = *I. Erythrai u. Klazomenai* 504). On the other hand, at Kolophon the American excavation did find evidence for destruction and/or desertion at the end of the fourth century (Holland, 169; Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 305-6; unfortunately the expedition could not continue beyond 1922 because of the unsettled conditions at the time). The fact that both cities existed later in the third century says nothing about the nature or extent of Lysimachos' actions against them. It is, after all, quite conceivable that, as Pausanias says, Lysimachos *did* destroy and depopulate them and that they were later refounded. Of course the "destruction" of a city could take a number of forms: the physical destruction of the acropolis or buildings in the city, the demolition of parts or all of its walls, or the deprivation of its rights as an independent, corporate body, i.e., the reduction of it to the status of a village; see L. Robert, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 597-98. Pausanias' narrative (and the archaeological evidence in the case of Kolophon) suggests the destruction of Kolophon and Lebedos was of the former variety and that it involved a general depopulation.

The decree for Meinippos noted above twice mentions the existence of a Prepelaion (J. and L. Robert, *Claros*, pp. 63-64, col. I.23, 36). This has prompted the Roberts to suggest that after Ipsos Kassandros' general, Prepelaos, entered into the service of his ally, Lysimachos (on Prepelaos see Olshausen, *Prosopographie*, 9-11 n. 4, and ARSINOE Ephesos). They further suggest that in this capacity Prepelaos intervened with the king in order to rebuild Kolophon after its recent destruction (*Claros*, 77-84). This is, of course, only a hypothesis. However, it does explain the existence of the Prepelaion, a sanctuary that probably held the tomb of Prepelaos and could have been consecrated to him as the new founder of Kolophon; cf. PYRRHEION.

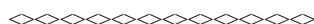
Pausanias says (7.3.4) that the graves of the Kolophonians and Smyrnaians who died fighting Lysimachos were on the side of the road to Klaros. In fact two tombs on this road have been discovered (Schuchhardt, *AM* 11 [1886] 414-15). Schuchhardt suggested these were graves of men killed in Lysimachos' operations in the area in 302 B.C. If so, they would not likely be the tombs of Kolophonians, since at that time, according to Diod. 20.107.5, Kolophon did not resist Kassandros' general, Prepelaos; see Magie, *RRAM*, 916, 920-21.

6. For **coinage** of Kolophon in the Hellenistic period see, for example, *SNG* (Von A) 2010-17; J. G. Milne, *Kolophon and Its Coinage: A Study*, ANS NNM 96 (New York, 1941) 5-9, 63-81, nos. 101-79; Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 303-31, 602-8. The usual **ethnic** is KO O NI N (for example, *BMC Ionia*, 40, no. 38).

7. On the **location and site of Kolophon and Notion** see Bean, *AT*², 151-60

Priene

The old city of Priene was probably relocated (and refounded) in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. It is not possible, however, to specify whether a Hekatomnid or Alexander the Great refounded it.¹ At the very least it is clear that Alexander took a significant interest in the city. Among other things, he dedicated the temple of Athena Polias and granted freedom and autonomy to the Prienians in the port city of Naulochon. The Prienians reciprocated this beneficence: the existence of an Alexandreion in the second half of the second century B.C. indicates that at the time there was a cult of Alexander in Priene.² The new Priene was located near the modern Güllübahçe.



1. **There is no direct evidence to support the contention that Alexander refounded Priene.** Rather it is a hypothesis based on the lack of evidence, literary or epigraphic, for the city in the period c. 390 to c. 350 B.C. Furthermore the excavators T. Wiegand and H. Schrader found nothing at the refounded site they believed could be dated to the pre-Hellenistic period (*Priene* [Berlin, 1904] 35, 45); see also Habicht, *Gott.*², 18 n. 9; D. van Berchem, *MH* 27 (1970) 198-205; both Habicht and van Berchem cite a Munich dissertation by A. Asboeck, *Die Staatswesen von Priene in hellenistischer Zeit* (1913) 1-4; see also Bean, *AT*², 161-78; *PECS* s.v. "Priene." *Nota bene* that the site of old Priene has not been identified. While the hypothesis regarding the relocation has won nearly universal support (see, for example, Bean, *op. cit.*; Hornblower, *Mausolus* [Oxford, 1982] 323ff.; contra, see Demand, below), the question of whether this was the work of the Hekatomnids or Alexander remains open.

In a recent study Hornblower has noted (*Mausolus*, 323-30) among other things that (a) in an Argive *theorodokoi* list of the 330s of Ionian cities (P. Charneaux, *BCH* 90 [1966] 157) "at the point where Priene's name should be, that of Naulochon is inscribed instead" (327) and (b) a coin of the mid-fourth century similar in type to Naulochon coinage has the initials IIP rather than **NAT**, the normal abbreviation on Naulochon coinage of this period (K. Regling, *Die Münzen von Priene* [Berlin, 1927] 47, no. 47); see also van Berchem, 200-201. Hornblower argues that both phenomena can be explained if we assume that between the 390s and the 330s Priene effectively did not exist and was replaced by Naulochon, its harbor city. But this argument is *ex silentio*, as Hornblower admits (327; cf. S. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 105 [1985] 88-89). Hornblower also brings positive considerations in favor of Alexander (328): (a) he may have refounded Smyrna and Alinda, so a refoundation of Priene would not be implausible; (b) his special interest in Priene is clear from

his dedication of the Athena Polias temple (*I. Priene* 156 = A.J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks* [Norman, Okla., 1980] 143). There was a local tradition at Smyrna for Alexander as founder, but it is all late (see Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, 95-97; and EURYDIKEIA Smyrna). In fact, Strabo ascribes the founding of (Eurydikeia) Smyrna to Antigonos Monophthalmos and Lysimachos (14.1.37). As for Alinda, its refounding as an Alexandreia, while likely, is not definite, nor is the founder known (see ALEXANDREIA by Latmos). Suggestions also include the Carian queen Ada, Lysimachos, and Antigonos Monophthalmos. In any event it is well to recall that there is no settlement in Asia Minor that can unequivocally be ascribed to Alexander; see further, Appendix II. With regard to **the date of the Athena temple**, J. C. Carter originally suggested that construction began in the mid-fourth century B.C. and that Alexander merely completed it (*The Sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene* [London, 1983] 25-31; see also P. Hellström and T. Thieme, *Labraunda* I.3: *The Temple of Zeus* [Stockholm, 1982] 45-56, who, on the basis of similarities between the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, the temple of Zeus at Labraunda, and the Athena temple at Priene, likewise suggested that the latter dated to the mid-fourth century). In 1988, relying especially on C. V. Crowther's down-dating of *I. Priene* 3 (decree in honor of Megabyzos) from c. 334/3 B.C. to the 290s, he suggested the temple "was completed after a pause of fifty years in the 290's" (*Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin* 1988 [Mainz, 1990] 133-34).

A date in the mid-fourth century for the relocation has also been suggested. Thus, Hiller von Gaertringen suggested it was Athens that supported the refounding, soon after Mausolos' death (*I. Priene*, XI, 10 [commentary on no. 5.19], and 204), while Bean and Cook thought it was the Hekatomnids (*ABSA* 52 [1957] 141). Finally N. Demand has argued against relocation, i.e., that the city had never ceased to exist (*Phoenix* 40 [1986] 35-44 and *Urban Relocation*, 140-46).

2. For the **grant of freedom to the Prienians and the dedication of the Athena temple** see *I. Priene* 1, 156; A.J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks*, 142-68. For the **Alexandreion** see *I. Priene* 108.75; Habicht, *Gott.*², 17-18; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 213-14. There is nothing to indicate this was a founder cult. For the role of Alexander and Lysimachos in the refounded city see S. Sherwin-White, *JHS* (1985) 69-88.

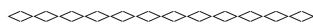
Ptolemais Lebedos

Lebedos attracted the attention of a number of Hellenistic rulers. At the end of the fourth century B.C. (probably between 306 and 302 B.C.) Antigonos wanted to transfer its inhabitants to Teos in an attempt to unite the two cities. In the process Lebedian homes were to be razed. The plan was not completed. Later on (c. 290 B.C.) Lysimachos transferred Lebedians and Kolophonians to Arsinoe, his refoundation of Ephesos.¹

A Ptolemais in Ionia and its identification with Lebedos are nowhere attested in the literary evidence. The earliest indication of its existence was numismatic. Waddington assigned coins of Ptolemais to Lebedos, though he did not give his reasons for so doing. In 1902 Dieudonné showed conclusively that certain coins with the legend ΤΟ may be ascribed to Lebedos.² Dieudonné was apparently unaware of the publication in 1900 of *I. Mag.* 53, a Magnesian inscription of the late third century B.C. that mentioned "Ptolemaians who were previously called Lebedians" (ll. 79-81). Then in 1946 L. Robert published a fragment of a Delphic *theorodokoi* list that probably dates to between 230-220 B.C. and records a Ptolemais between Ephesos and Teos.³

There is at present no extant evidence to pinpoint when the name Ptolemais was first imposed. Furthermore we do not know when the Ptolemies first got control of Lebedos nor if possession was continuous until the end of the third century. The city joined other Ionian towns in honoring Antiochos I in 266 B.C. or soon after that (*OGIS* 222). And inasmuch as Ptolemy II Philadelphos lost control of Ionia during the Second Syrian War, it is probable that Ptolemy III Euergetes I, who reconquered southern Ionia during the Third Syrian War, was the founder rather than his father. If this is correct, then it is likely that the portraits of the king and queen on coins of Ptolemais are those of Ptolemy III and Berenike II rather than of Philadelphos and Arsinoe II. The discovery at Lebedos of a fragment of an inscription that names Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenike II lends support to the claim that he founded Ptolemais. Presumably the name change did not last beyond 197 B.C., when Antiochos III captured Ephesos (*FGrH* 260 F46). In any event an inscription discovered in the Heraion at Samos and dated to the early second century records a decree of "the Lebedians."⁴

Lebedos was located near the village of Urkmez on the Kisik (formerly Xingi) peninsula, thirty-six kilometers northwest of Ephesos.⁵



In general see A. Dieudonné, *JIAN* 5 (1092) 44-60; J. N. Svoronos, *JIAN* 5 (1902) 61-70; Tscherikower, 25; L. Robert, *BCH* 70 (1946) 516-19; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 169-70, 207-8; Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 249-57.

1. For **the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos** see *RC* 3-4; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 87-89. Pausanias says that in the process of transferring people to ARSINOE Ephesos Lysimachos "destroyed" Lebedos and Kolophon (1.9.7). In another passage (7.3.5) he describes Lebedos as "ruined" following Lysimachos' actions. The likelihood is that the transfer involved most, if not all, of the population. On the "**destruction**" of a city and the various forms this could take see KOLOPHON. The **refounding of Ephesos** took place before 289 B.C. and possibly as early as 294; see Magie, *RRAM*, 920-21; and ARSINOE Ephesos.

2. For the **identification of Ptolemais and Lebedos** see the important discussion of L. Robert in *BCH* 70 (1946) 516-19; and Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 249-57. For Waddington's classification of coins of Ptolemais with Lebedos see *Inv. Wadd.* 1710-14. For the article of Dieudonné see *JLAN* 5 (1902) 45-60; also in the same journal see Svoronos's comments, 61-70. Dieudonné's identification was based, in the main, on two arguments: Korabos, one of the magistrates whose name appears on coins of Ptolemais, is also found on those of Hellenistic Lebedos (cf., for example, *SAG* [von A] 2027 and *Inv. Wadd.* 1711; Dieudonné's claim [54] that the name Korabos is found only at Lebedos is no longer correct; see L. Robert, *BCH* 106 [1982] 324). And Athena, who is frequently represented on Lebedian coins, often appears on the coinage of Ptolemais (*JLAN* 5 [1902] 53-57). It is necessary to distinguish between (a) coins with TO EMAIE N, TO EMAI, or TO E without a magistrate's name but with an amphora (and, occasionally, a bird) and (b) coins with the abbreviation TO, a magistrate's name, and a portrait of a king or queen. Waddington classified both kinds with Lebedos, though Dieudonné noted there was no firm argument for assigning group a to Lebedos (*JLAN* 5 [1902] 51-53; see also K. Regling, in Tschirikower, 30 n. 109, who was doubtful about the attribution of the group a coins to Lebedos; Svoronos's attempt to assign group a coins to Lebedos [*JLAN* 5 (1902) 69] was correctly rejected by Holleaux, *Ét.*, 4: 324 n. 1; note that *Inv. Wadd.* 1714, Dieudonné, *JLAN* 5 [1902] 45-46, no. 1, *HN*² 580, Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.*, 515, no. 5, *SAG* [Cop] *Ionia* 790, and *SNG* [von A] 2026—all group a—are incorrectly assigned to Lebedos). For other possible cities to which group a coins have been attributed see PTOLEMAIS Larisa, PTOLEMAIS in Caria, and PTOLEMAIS in Pamphylia. L. Robert has demonstrated that only group b coins are to be assigned to Lebedos (*BCH* 70 [1946] 516-19; see also *BCH* 106 [1982] 324-26). For examples of group b coins see Mionnet, 3: 140, no. 588; 6: 574, no. 176; *ZfN* 6 (1879) 241; *Inv. Wadd.* 1710-13; Dieudonné, *JLAN* 5 (1902) 46-48, nos. 2-3; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.*, 514-15, nos. 1-4; id., *Gr. Münz.*, 689-90, nos. 468-73; *SNG* (Cop) *Ionia* 788-89; and the catalogue in Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 547-48, nos. 18-29. For coins of uncertain attribution with the legend TO see Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 19 (1913) 81-83, nos. 232-33; L. Robert, *BCH* 70 (1946) 518, no. 1; id., *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 190; id., *BCH* (1982) 324, no. 32.

While it is clear that Ptolemais produced autonomous bronzes, the claim by Svoronos (*JLAN* 5 [1902] 61-70) that royal portrait tetradrachms were also produced there has been generally rejected; see, for example, Kinns, "Coinage of Ionia," 254; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 207-8.

3. The **connection between the Ptolemais of the coinage and of I. Mag.** 53 was first made by Regling in *JIAN* 6 (1903) 173. Haussoullier suggested that *I. Mag.* 53 should be dated to between 205/4 and 201/o B.C. (*Ét. Milet.*, 147). For the fragment of the **Delphic theorodokoi list** see L. Robert, *BCH* 70 (1946) 512; on the date see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea. G. Daux tentatively suggested (*REG* 62 [1949] 16 and no. 2) restoring 1. 17 of the theorodokoi list: [ἐν Λεβ]εδοῖς.

This is awkward because in l. 11 we clearly read [ἐν Διὶς 'Ι]ερωῖ.

4. On the difficulty of specifying **the duration of the Ptolemaic presence at Lebedos** see Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 169-70; Huss, *Aussen.*, 207. For the discovery by B. Ögün of the **fragment of an inscription that names Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenike** see P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) 114 n. 141. Svoronos believed Philadelphos was the founder of Ptolemais (*JLAN* 5 [1902] 68). He suggested that most of the portraits on the bronzes of Ptolemais are of Philadelphos and Arsinoe (68-69; though Svoronos did believe that one tetradrachm at least had Euergetes on it [69]; see also *HN*² 580; *SNG* [Cop] *Ionia* 788-89). This identification has been generally—and correctly—rejected in favor of Ptolemy III Euergetes I and Berenike II. Kinns ("Coinage of Ionia," 253-55), for example, pointed out that a coin of Marathos in Phoenicia that served as part of the basis for Svoronos's identification (*JLAN* 5 [1902] 67) was misdated by him. The coin in question is dated 34. Svoronos took this to be based on a Ptolemaic (*sic*) era beginning in 312/311 B.C. Thus he dated the coin to 279/8 B.C. and identified the queen as Arsinoe II. However, Seyrig has demonstrated that the era on the coins of Marathos is the same as that in use at Arados, which began in 260/59 (*RN* [1964] 45-47); thus the coin is to be dated to 227/6. Furthermore, Kinns notes that the portrait cannot be a posthumous one of Arsinoe II because the tokens of her deification, the scepter behind the head and the horn at the ear, are lacking. For the identification of the king and queen as Ptolemy III and Berenike II see, in addition to Kinns, Dieudonné (*JLAN* 5 [1902] 58-60), Imhoof-Blumer (*Gr. Münz.*, 689-90), Magie (*RRAM*, 930).

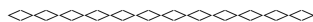
For **the Lebedian inscription from Samos** see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 204-13; on the dating see p. 209.

5. On the **location** of Lebedos see Bean, *AT*², 118-22.

X
Lydia

Adrouta

Adrouta was probably not a Hellenistic colony. An honorific inscription dated to 24/3 B.C. was set up by οἱ κάτοικοι ἐν Ἀδρούτοις. The stele was found in a bridge in the village of Mahmud Aga Köy (Naryndjaly), which is approximately ten kilometers southeast of Alasehir *, the site of Philadelphieia.¹ The term *katoikoi* indicates the inhabitants of a village or a settlement and not necessarily of a colony.² In the area of Adrouta a gravestone with the names of a father and son, called "Macedonians," was found.³ It is not known whether these Macedonians were from Adrouta.



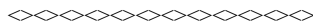
1. For the **honorific inscription** see KP III.46. Keil and von Premerstein note (p. 16) that since the stele was found in the bridge, it was possibly brought there for this purpose; hence the location of Adrouta cannot be definitely fixed. This Adrouta should be distinguished from the Lydian Adrotta παραθαλάττιον mentioned by Stephanos (s.v.). Regarding the latter, Keil and von Premerstein suggest that Stephanos was using Lydia in the wider sense to include the coastal region of Aeolis and Ionia (KP III, p. 35). See also PHILADELPHIEIA.

2. On the term *katoikos* see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 191-94.

3. For **the gravestone of the Macedonians** see KP III.47; Hermann and Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsaltertümer*⁶, 200 n.15; J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 23; Magic, *RRAM*, 982-83.

Agatheira

An honorific inscription set up by a group of Macedonian colonists was copied by J. and L. Robert in Halitpasakoy* (the ancient Hyrkanis). For the name of the colony the Roberts read ἐξ Ἀγαθειῶν Μακεδ[ό]νες.¹ Although the exact date has disappeared in a lacuna, the name of King Eumenes has survived in the first line. This would place the inscription in the period 188-159 B.C. Like the other Macedonian colonies in Lydia, it was probably founded by the Seleucids and passed down to the Attalids.² Other than assuming it was in the vicinity of Halitpasakoy* we do not know the precise location of Agatheira.³



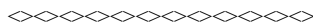
1. For the **honorific inscription** see J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 22-23; P. Herrmann, *EA* 7 (1986) 17-18; id., *TAM* V.2.1307.

2. For the likelihood that the **Macedonian colony at Agatheira was originally Seleucid** see the discussion in NAKRASON.

3. Although the colony was located in the vicinity of HYRKANIS, we do not know what relation, if any, there was between the two. For another settlement close to Hyrkanis see LASNEDDA. Halitpasakoy * (formerly called Papazli) is northeast of Manisa (see J. and L. Robert, 21).

Akrasos

We know of the existence of Akrasos from Hierokles and the *Notitiae Episcopatum* as well as from epigraphic and numismatic evidence.¹ The coinage is all of Imperial date. On the basis of the restoration [Νά]κρασον. If there had been a Macedonian colony at Akrasos, it probably would have been founded by the Seleucids.² Although the precise location is not certain, it would appear likely that it was at or near Ilyaslar*.³



In general see L. Robert, *VAM*², 71-76; Magie, *RRAM*, 979-80.

1. For the **literary references** to Akrasos see Hierokles 670.7 and, in the *Notitiae*, see 1.158, 2.178, etc. For the **epigraphic evidence** see *IGR* IV.1163 (= *CIL* III.7190); Radet, *BCH* 11 (1887) 176 and 477 n. 54; *OGIS* 290; and an unedited inscription mentioned by Robert (*VAM*², 73 n. 8); except for *OGIS* 290 all the evidence is of Imperial date. For **coins** of Akrasos (with the **ethnic** ΑΚΡΑΙΤΩΝ as also found on the inscriptions) see, for example, Mionnet, 4: 1-5, nos. 1-6, 8-23 (for no. 7 Mionnet originally gave the ethnic ΑΚΡΑΙΤΩΝ; he later suggested that the coin should in fact be assigned to Nakrason [Suppl. 7: 312, note a]); see also *BMC Lydia*, 9-16, nos. 1-40; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 42-43, nos. 1-4; *Inv. Wadd.* 4848-59; *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 1-13; *SNG (von A)* 2881-92. For a coin of Akrasos with the legend ΚΑΙΚΟ see below.

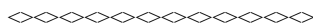
2. For the possibility that either restoration—[Νά]κρασον— may be appropriate for *OGIS* 290 see Herrmann and Polatkan, *SAWW* 265, 20 and n. 16; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1970] 512; and NAKRASON. On the **confusion of Nakrason and Akrasos** by a number of scholars in the nineteenth century see NAKRASON. Launey (*Recherches*, 339) believed the Macedonian colony at Akrasos was a Seleucid foundation. Hansen suggested that the **founder** was Antiochos I (*Attalids*², 174). For the probability that the Macedonian colony was Seleucid in origin see the discussion in NAKRASON.

3. There are a number of general indications of the **location** of Akrasos: a coin of the town from the time of Commodus has a river god and the legend ΚΑΙΚΟ

(Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 23 [1923] 293, no. 297; incorrectly read as **Μαχ[εδ]ών**, apparently found near Ilyaslar *, cannot definitely be assigned to any particular colony (*BCH* [1887] 477, no. 54; see also Magie, 979; L. Robert, *VAM*², 71ff.). In sum, the available evidence points to a location in the upper Kaikos valley. Waddington suggested Akrasos was located either at Kirkagaç or Gelembe (*Voyage num.*, 60). Radet (*BCH* [1887] 176 and *La Lydie*, 307), Imhoof-Blumer (*Lyd. Stadt.*, 42), and R. Kiepert (*FOA* VIII, p. 4) (see also Magie, 980) all believed it was at Ilyaslar*, southeast of Kirkagaç, while J. and L. Robert theorized that Ilyaslar* was the site of Nakrasos and that Akrasos was northeast of it (*BE* [1970] 512). See also NAKRASON.

-Aleia

An inscription copied at Gelembe records a dedication made by **στρατιῶται** returning from an expedition to the Chersonese and Thrace "in the fifteenth year." These were most likely the soldiers who took part in the European expedition sent out by Attalos II in 145 B.C. Robert has suggested, therefore, that these men were Attalid military colonists living at -aleia.¹ We cannot identify the founder. The precise location of -aleia is not known. Sestini, who saw the stone at Gelembe in the late eighteenth century, said that it had been brought from Sindrie which—according to him—was six hours away. The only town that distance from Gelembe is Sındırgı in the Makestos (Simav) River valley south of Bigadiç. It is likely—as Robert has suggested—that the colony was located in this region.



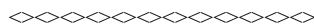
In general see L. Robert, *VAM*², 76-78; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 87-88.

n For the dedicatory inscription see *GIBM* 4.2.1001 (= LW III.1766 = *OGIS* 330 = *CIG* 3568). F. Piejko's suggested restoration (*Classica et Mediaevalia* 39 [1988] 94) of the beginning of the text, *οι ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται* (*OGIS* 211). On the Attalid expedition to Thrace see Hansen, *Attalids*², 139.

Suggestions regarding possible restorations for -aleia have run the gamut, both morphologically and geographically. Sestini thought it was Pakaleia (see *CIG* 3568; I have not seen Sestini's original publication, *Viaggi ed opuscoli diversi* [Berlin, 1807] 136). Waddington believed the reading was *παρὰλειας*, and hence that the soldiers came from the coastal region of Ionia and Caria and were on their way back to Thrace (LW III. 1766 and pp. 259-60). Writing in 1907 Radet hypothesized that Paraleia was really Parableia near Mugla in southeast Caria (*Rev. Hist.* 95 [1907] 154). Earlier, in 1897, Radet had suggested that the soldiers were from Pakaleia, the plain east of Amorion in Phrygia (*La Lydie*, 35 n. 3). However, the name of this plain was Pankaleia, not Pakaleia, and it is known only from the Byzantine period (Ramsay, *HGAM*, 231; L. Robert, *VAM*², 77 n. 6). Marshall believed the soldiers were from Nakaleia (which he claimed is a variant spelling for "Nakoleia") in Phrygia (*GIBM* 4.2: pp. 147-48, following Boeckh's commentary on *CIG* 3568; see also E. Thraemer, *Pergamos*, 251-52). A.-J. Reinach, on the other hand, thought the soldiers were colonists settled in Thrace and the Chersonese in 183 B.C. (the fifteenth year of Eumenes II; *RA* [1909] 62); contra, Robert, *VAM*², 77 n. 4, who questions what they were doing setting up a dedication in the Makestos valley.

Antioch

Stephanos (s.v. "Antiocheia 2,") records an Antioch in Lydia named for Antiochos IV Epiphanes. As Droysen noted, Antiochos IV could not have named the city. The Peace of Apameia in 188 B.C. permanently removed Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains from Seleucid control.



See Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 724-25, who pointed to ARSINOE in Aetolia and suggested it assumed the toponym in honor of Arsinoe II, the wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. In a parallel fashion he suggested a free city of Lydia might have taken the name Antioch in honor of Antiochos IV. Note that Stephanos (s.vv. "Antiocheia 13" and "Tarsos") also erroneously ascribed ANTIOCH on the Kydnos to Antiochos IV.

Apollonia on the Maeander (Tripolis)

We can trace three names for the city known to us in the Hellenistic period as Apollonia: Apollonia, Antoniopolis, and Tripolis. Unlike the later names for the town, there is no literary evidence for the name Apollonia. In fact its earlier existence as an Apollonia was suggested for the first time in 1896 by Imhoof-Blumer. His evidence was numismatic. He pointed out that the coin type with a horseman (or Amazon) on horseback above the Maeander symbol occurs on certain coins with the legend Α Ο ΝΙΑΤ Ν and on coins of Tripolis under Augustus. In 1914 A. Rehm published an inscription from Miletos, dated to around 200 B.C., which mentions an **Μαίνδρου**.¹ This inscription proves the existence of a city by that name; it does not, however, prove the identification of Apollonia on the Maeander with Tripolis. Nevertheless the identification is highly plausible and may be accepted. It can also be assumed that a coin with the ethnic Α Ο ΝΙΑΤ Ν and the Maeander symbol should be attributed to Apollonia on the Maeander rather than some other like-named city.²

There is no explicit evidence to indicate that Apollonia on the Maeander was an Attalid foundation. The suggestion that it was Attalid is based solely on the city name.³ On the other hand, an inscription recording a decree of "Apollonia" and dated palaeographically to the early third century B.C. (i.e., before the ascendancy of the Attalids) has been attributed to this city. Furthermore, the presence of Ionicisms in the decree suggests Apollonia may have been an old Ionian city rather than a Hellenistic foundation.⁴

Apollonia adopted the name Antoniopolis in honor of the triumvir Marcus Antonius possibly as early as 41 B.C., when Antony was in Asia Minor. After the overthrow of Antony the city took the name Tripolis.⁵

The road from Sardis and Philadelphia to Hierapolis crossed the Maeander at Apollonia. Apollonia was located approximately nineteen kilometers northwest of Hierapolis.⁶



In general Tscherikower, 26; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 37-41; Keri, *RE* s.v. "Tripolis 3"; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 239-42, 256; L. Robert *BCH* 107 (1983) 498-505.

1. On the **identification of Apollonia with Tripolis** see Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 37-39; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 239-42. For the Milesian inscription see *I. Milet* 74.2-3; K. Regling, *Philolog. Woch.* 46 (1926) 430.

2. In the past there has been some confusion over the **attribution of coins with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ**. Coins with that legend and the Maeander pattern on the reverse belong to Apollonia on the Maeander rather

than to one of the other Apollonias of Asia Minor. For example, Waddington (*Voyage num.*, 140, following Mionnet, 3: 331, no. 164) grouped such coins with APOLLONIA in Phrygia. Imhoof-Blumer first reattributed them to APOLLONIA Salbake (*Gr. Münz.*, 667-68, nos. 423-25, followed with strong hesitation by Head, in *BMC Caria*, 54, nos. 1-2); later he changed the attribution to Apollonia on the Maeander (*Lyd. Stadt.*, 37-39; see also J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 238-240, 250, and notes). Similarly, *Inv. Wadd.* 3618, grouped with Apollonia in Phrygia, belongs with Apollonia on the Maeander (so Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.*, 188, no. 1; see also *Gr. R. Münz.*, 136-37, no. 1). In addition, *Weber Coll.* 6418, *Catalogue ... Leopold Walcher de Moltheim* 2380, and J. Scholz, *NZ* 33 (1901) 37, no. 62, all grouped with Apollonia Salbake, belong to Apollonia on the Maeander; also *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 713 (on which see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 256). On the other hand, the Roberts (*La Carie*, 2: 256) rightly object to Head's attempt (*BMC Lydia*, cxlviii) to attribute to Apollonia on the Maeander certain other coins without the Maeander symbol. On the general question of the attribution of Apollonia coins see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 237ff., 245ff.

3. For **Apollonia as an Attalid foundation** see, for example, Tscherikower, 26; Hansen (*Attalids*², 177) attributes it to Attalos II, while Ramsay suggests it was founded by the Attalids to counter the Seleucid Laodikeia (*CBP*, 1: 192-93). J. and L. Robert disputed the connection of the city with the Attalids (*REA* 36 [1934] 525-26 and *La Carie*, 2: 239 n. 2, 241). They point out that there is a confusion between the city names Apollonis and Apollonia. The former, they suggest, was in honor of the wife of Attalos I; the latter, for the god Apollo. With specific regard to Apollonia on the Maeander, they claim that *I. Milet* 74.2-3 shows the city existed prior to the period of Attalid domination in the area.

The Roberts base the latter argument on the dating of *I. Milet* 74 to c. 200 B.C. This dating, however, is tentative. The Roberts' doubts about an Attalid origin for Apollonia on the Maeander were reinforced by the attribution of the Apollonia decree to Apollonia on the Maeander (see below, note 4).

4. For the **decree of Apollonia** see M. Segre, *Athenaeum* 12 (1934) 3-9. It had been attributed to various other Apollonias before L. Moretti suggested it belonged to Apollonia on the Maeander (*Riv. Fil.* 107 [1979] 297-300; see also L. Robert, *BCH* [1983] 500). For Ionicisms in the decree see M. Wörle, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 244 and n. 226. For the suggestion that Apollonia predated the Hellenistic period, see Moretti, 300; L. Robert, *BCH* (1983) 501. Cf. APOLLONIA on the Rhyndakos, which probably also predated the Hellenistic period.

5. Pliny has the **earliest literary reference to Tripolis** (*NH* 5.111); he mentions that it was also known as Antoniopolis, a fact now confirmed by the Flavian *conventus* list (Ἀντωνιοπολεῖται νῦν δὲ Τριπολεῖται, Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 65, col. II.26-27; 83-84). **The coinage of Tripolis** extends from Augustus to the mid-third century A.D. See, for example, *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 714-55; *SNG (von A)* 3301-28; *Inv. Wadd.* 2659-92; *BMC Lydia*, 364-77; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 38-41; id., *Kl. M.*, 188. Tripolis was in the frontier region of Lydia,

Caria, and Phrygia. Both Pliny and Hierokles (669) include it in Lydia. Under the Flavians it was attached to the *conventus* of Apameia (Habicht, op. cit.). Ptolemy (5.2.15) places it in Caria. An inscription (probably of the third century A.D.) that refers to the city as *Μαιωνία Τρίπολις* (*BCH* 8 [1884] 379-80; see also Ramsay, *CBP*, 1: 192-93) indicates that at the time the inhabitants thought of it as Lydian. The inscription was found at the village of Yenice, the ancient Tripolis.

6. For the **location** and site of Apollonia Tripolis see KP III, pp. 51-52; *MAMA* VI, pp. xi-xii; F. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien* (Berlin, 1896) 7-8, pls. I and II (photographs); Robert, *BCH* (1983) 499f.

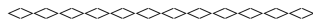
Apollonis

Strabo tells us (13.4.4) that Apollonis was named in honor of the Attalid queen Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I and the mother of Eumenes II and Attalos II.¹ A fragmentary decree (KP II.113) records that the city was established through a synoecism. This was done according to the instructions of Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.) by one of his brothers, who also provided grain and money for the new inhabitants.² Presumably these new inhabitants were drawn partly from the surrounding region. However, the presence of Macedonian names in ephebic lists of Apollonis during the second century B.C. and the Macedonian shield on coins of Apollonis from the same period indicate that military colonists also formed part of the founding population of the new city.³ Some of these colonists may have been at the site before the synoecism. Others may have come from Macedonian military colonies in the neighborhood. Epigraphic evidence of the second century B.C. proves the existence of at least two Macedonian colonies in the vicinity, one at Doidye and one at -espoura. These colonies were probably in the territory of Apollonis. The village of Kamai was also in the vicinity.⁴ Apollonis is one of a number of Attalid colonies in which Herakles was venerated.

The date of the founding of Apollonis is unclear. Most likely it was established on the occasion of, or soon after, the death of Queen Apollonis, which may have occurred as early as 183 or as late as 159 B.C. The synoecism and also the fact that Apollonis minted coins and had ephebes, gymnasiarchs, ephebarchs, and *stephanephoroi* in the second century B.C. indicate that it was a polis at this time.⁵ During Aristonikos' uprising the city came under his control (Strabo 14.1.38). Cistophori from Apollonis dated to the third and fourth years of Aristonikos have been discovered.⁶ Apollonis was among the cities of western Asia Minor that were severely damaged by the earthquake of 17 A.D.⁷

Strabo says that Apollonis was three hundred stadia from Pergamon and the same distance from Sardis (13.4.4). The ruins of Apollonis, including a circuit wall and what may have been a gymnasium, have been fixed at a site

between the villages of Dereköy and Palamut. The latter is approximately ten kilometers west of Akhisar (the modern Thyateira). The identification of the site, first suggested on topographic grounds by Humann and Fontrier, has been confirmed by the discovery in a village near the ruins of a milestone with the inscription Ἀπολλωνίδος μί(λια) Β' and of coins of Apollonis at Palamut.⁸



In general see A. M. Fontrier, *Mous. k. Bibl.* (1886) 61-71 (brief summary by P. Foucart, *BCH* 11 [1887] 85-88); Schuchhardt, *AM* 13 (1888) 15-17; id., *AM* 24 (1899) 153-56 (with A. Conze); in *Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 141-43; KP I, pp. 45-46; Philippson, *Reisen*, 2: 6; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Apollonis"; Tscherikower, 23-24; L. Robert, *VAM²*, 31-37, 246-60; Magie, *RRAM*, 981-82; E. S. G. Robinson, *NC* ser. 6, vol. 14 (1954) 1-8; Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, p. 421; and Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 250.

1 For the collected **testimonia** see *TAM* V.2, pp. 419f. The correct form of the **city name** was Ἀπολλωνιάς (1.159, 2.179, etc.).

For the distinction between the name Apollonis and Apollonia see APOLLONIA in Mysia and references cited there. The **ethnic** appears as Ἀυδίας. Hirschfeld (*RE* s.v. "Apollonis 1") thought the sixteenth was our Apollonis, Waddington (*Voyage num.*, 128) and Robert (*VAM²*, 41-42) connected Apollonis with the tenth, and Moretti suggested (*Riv. Fil.* 107 [1979] 297) the sixteenth was APOLLONIA on the Maeander.

2. Launey (*Recherches*, 338) suggested that a Seleucid colony in the vicinity of Apollonis preceded the founding of the Attalid Apollonis. For the **synoecism** see KP II.113 (= *TAM* V.2.1187) and commentary and Jones *CERP²*, 54. While the city is not named in that part of the inscription that survives, it is a strong probability that it was Apollonis (see KP II, p. 54). It is not clear which brother handled the synoecism (KP II, p. 53; Robert, *VAM²*, 258 n. 1; cf. Hansen, *Attalids²*, 175-76. Line 2 of the inscription reads [ἽΟ] δῆμος

τ[ε ἐξ ἰδίων] χρήματα, KP II.113; cf. *RC* 3-4-11 and p. 27 n. 12).

3. For fragments of **ephebic lists from Apollonis** see KP 1.96 = *TAM* V.2.1203; *BCH* (1887) 86, no. 6 = *TAM* V.2.1204; Reinach, *REG* 3 (1890) 69, no. 22 = *TAM* V.2.1205; and KP 1.97 = *TAM* V.2.1206 (on the last two, which are from the same year, see Derenne, *AC* [1933] 65-67); Robert, *VAM*² 30e = *TAM* V.2.1207; Robert, *VAM*² 30f, and Herrmann, *DAWW* 77-1 (1959) 6-7, no. 3 (= *SEG* XIX.709) = *TAM* V.2.1208; see also *VAM*², 246-48. Cf. the evidence for ephebes at PHILADELPHEIA in Lydia. **Macedonian names in the lists** include "Attalos son of Areidaaios" (*BCH* [1887] 86, no. 6.14, "Prepelaos" (KP 1.96, col. 1.6), and "Botres" (*SEG* XIX.709.7; see also Robert, *VAM*², 249-50). For the suggestion that "Arebe[laos]" in KP 1.96, col. IV.5, may have been a Macedonian or Illyrian name—Drebelaos—see Robert, *VAM*², 251 (Robert suggests that the first letter was a delta rather than an alpha). In KP 1.96, 1.7, "Sadalas," the father of one of the ephebes, would have been the descendant of a Thracian mercenary; see Robert, *VAM*², 33. For the Macedonian shield and the club of Herakles on coins of Apollonis see, for example, Mionnet, 4: 8, no. 39; id., *Suppl.* 7: 317, no. 24; Robert, *VAM*², 33 n. 5; *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia* 16; *SNG* vol. VI (Lewis Collection, Part I) no. 997; in general see L. Robert, *AC* (1935) 163; id., *Coll. Froehner*, 73. On the **importance of Herakles to the Attalids** see also PERGAMON and MERNOPHYTA and L. Robert, *RPh* (1984) 15-16. Cf. the Macedonian shield on the coins of PHILADELPHEIA in Lydia.

4. For **the Macedonian colonies at DOIDYE and-ESPOURA** see *OGIS* 314 (161/160 B.C., found at Palamut) and KP 1.95 (153/152 B.C., found at Dereköy); for another fragmentary inscription from the first year of King Attalos (159/158 B.C.) found at Seyit see KP 1.94. Keil and von Premerstein suggested that the Macedonians of Apollonis may have come from such neighboring colonies (KP II, p. 54; also Robert *VAM*², 33). For the village of **Karnai** see Robert, *VAM*², 17-42; G. Petzl and H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 285-88 (inscription honoring Antoninus Pius set up by [ὁ] δῆμος Ἀπολλωνιδέων τῶν περὶ Καμ[α]ς); and *TAM* V.2, p. 437. J. and L. Robert suggest that in the Hellenistic period Apollonis and Kamai were joined in a *sympoliteia* (*BE* [1979] 426). Schuchhardt at one time thought that Apollonis was originally named Doidye and that the latter was originally founded as a Seleucid colony (*AM* 13 [1888] 15-17, followed by Ramsay, *HGAM*, 126). However, Imhoof-Blumer objected on the grounds that the cistophori of Apollonis that he dated to c. 186 B.C. proved that the city already existed at this time, while the Doidye inscription (*OGIS* 314) indicated that the latter was still in existence in 160 B.C. (*Lyd. Stadt.*, 25-26). Schuchhardt later modified his view

and suggested that Doidye was a smaller fortress approximately 500 meters north of Apollonis (*Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 141-43; see the discussion in the article DOIDYE). On the cistophori and the new proposed dating of them to the third and fourth year of Aristonikos see below. Schuchhardt dated the circuit wall of Apollonis to c. 300 B.C. (*AM* [1888] 2-4). If he is correct, this would mean that Apollonis was established on the site of an earlier town or colony (though probably not Doidye).

5. On the date of **the death of Queen Apollonis** see Robert, *VAM²*, 260 n. 1; H. Van Looy *Anc. Soc.* 7 (1976) 161. The suggestion of Robinson that Attalos II may have founded Apollonis when he was king, i.e., after 160/159 B.C., has been vigorously refuted by Robert (*VAM²*, 257-60 and notes). For evidence on **ephebes**, **ephebarchs**, **gymnasiarchs**, and **stephanephoroi** see the fragments of the ephebic lists cited above, note 3. The remains of what may have been a **gymnasium** have been discovered; see Robert, *VAM²*, 29 n. 1; T. S. MacKay, *PEGS* s.v. "Apollonis."

6. In addition to the **coins** with the Macedonian shield there are other bronze pieces from the second or first century B.C.: e.g., Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 26, no. 1; *BMG Lydia*, 19, nos. 2-4; *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 17-18; *SNG (von A)* 2898-99.

For **cistophori** with the legend Α Ο ΒΑ ΕΥ was the pretender Aristonikos under the name Eumenes III. Previously the coins had been ascribed to the early years of the reign of Eumenes II (Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 26; L. Robert, *VAM* [1937] 34-40; in the second edition of *VAM* [252-54] Robert expressed concurrence with Robinson). Hence the coins may not be used, as was previously done, as evidence for the founding of Apollonis early in the reign of Eumenes II. On the cistophoric coinage see also STRATONIKEIA in Lydia.

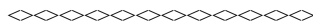
The **Roman coinage** extends from the time of Domitian to Severus Alexander; e.g., *SNG (von A)* 2900-2905.

7. For the cities affected by the **earthquake of 17 A.D.** see Tac. *Ann.* 2.47. The name of Apollonis appears both on the resolution of gratitude voted by the affected cities, which was set up at Sardis (*Sardis* VII.1, 9), and on the statue base of Tiberius at Puteoli (*CIL* X.1624).

8. **Location.** Both in Pliny (*NH* 5. 126) and in the Flavian *conventus* list (Habicht, *JRS* [1975] 65, col. II.2-3) Apollonis is placed in the *conventus* of Pergamon. The identification of the site is discussed by Fontrier in *Mous. k. Bibl.* (1886) 61 and by Foucart in *BCH* (1887) 85. For a description of the site of Apollonis see Schuchhardt, in *Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 141-43, and *AM* (1899) 153-56 (with A. Conze); and Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, pp. 4202-21. For photographs of the circuit wall see Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 142; Robert, *VAM²*, pl. 1. For the **milestone** see KP II.112. Radet and Lechat claimed to have seen coins with the legend Α Ο ΝΙ Ε Ν at Palamut (*BCH* [1887] 393).

Attaleia

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Attaleia") Attaleia was originally called Agroeira or Alloeira. It is generally agreed that this Attaleia, which Stephanos and other Byzantine authors place in Lydia,¹ is the same town as that mentioned in the agreement made between Eumenes I and some soldiers stationed in Attaleia. It is not clear, however, whether Eumenes or his predecessor, Philetairos, founded Attaleia.² We know nothing about the civic organization of Attaleia in Hellenistic times; the soldiers mentioned in the Attaleia agreement were organized under a commanding officer and *hegemones*. Under the Roman Empire the city had a *boule* and *demos* that regularly passed decrees.³ The extant coinage dates only from the second and third centuries A.D.⁴ Attaleia was located near the village of Selçikli.⁵



In general see G. Radet, *BCH* 11 (1887) 168-75; KP II, pp. 60-61; Tscherikower, 22; Magie, *RRAM*, 980; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 23-26; Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, pp. 296-97 (collected *testimonia* on pp. 295ff.).

1 The new *conventus* list from Sardis (C. Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 65, II.7, late first century A.D.) includes Attaleia under Pergamon, as does Pliny (*NH* 5.126). However at sec. 121 Pliny mentions a number of Aeolian cities inland from Kyme and Myrina, among them a certain Itale. A possible emendation has "Attalia"; see the Teubner Pliny (ed. C. Mayhoff [1906; reprint, Stuttgart, 1967]). Hierokles (670.5) and the *Not. Ep.* (1160, etc.), as well as Stephanos, place it in Lydia. Attaleia in Lydia should be distinguished from Attalia on the coast of Mysia opposite Lesbos, which is recorded on the *Tab. Peut.* (VIII.4) and which is probably to be identified with Attea of the same region mentioned by Strabo (13. 1 51; on the complex problem of identifying, locating, and distinguishing this Attea and the one that issued coinage in the second and third centuries A.D. see H. von Fritze, *Ant. Münz. Mysiens*, 114-37; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.*, 16-17; id., *RSN* 21 [1917] 37-39 and 23 [1923] 295; L. Robert, *VAM²*, 171-201, 411-13; id., *MAT*, 97-98). Kiepert suggested that Strabo mistakenly wrote "Attea" for "Attalia" (as it is on the *Tab. Peut.*) and that the town served as a harbor for the Attalids (*FOA* IX, p. 3; see Robert, *VAM²*, 172-74; Büchner, *RE* s.vv. "Attaia 1" and "Attaleia 2." He placed it at Dikeli-Köy).

2. For the **agreement between Eumenes I and the soldiers** stationed at Attaleia see *I. Perg.* 13 (= *OGIS* 266 = *Staats.* III.481 = B. Virgilio, *SCO* 32 [1982] 99ff.). Hansen (*Attalids*², 22) and Magie (980) suggested Eumenes I as the **founder**. They speculated that Eumenes founded it after his victory over Antiochos I at Sardis and named it for his grandfather, i.e., Philetairos' father. Allen (*Attalid Kingdom*, 24, and *ABSA* 66 [1971] 3 and n. 12) suggested that Attaleia was completed *before* the battle of Sardis and, hence, that it was founded by

Philetairos. It is, however, also possible that Eumenes I founded Attaleia in the period between his accession and the battle of Sardis; see further the discussion in PHILETAIREIA.

3. For the **organization of the soldiers** see *I. Perg.* 13.25-26, 58-59. For **decrees passed by the city under the Empire** see, for example, *IGR* IV.1167 and 1168 (= *TAM* V.2.829, 828).

4. On the **coinage** see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 45-46; *SNG* (von A) 2909-12. The **ethnic** on both inscriptions and coins for Attaleia in Lydia is *ATTA EATH* ; for ATTALEIA in Pamphylia it is *ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙΕ* (L. Robert, *BCH* Suppl. 1 [1973] 437; *HN*² 648; see also ATTALEIA in Aetolia). Pliny, however, has "Attalenses" (*NH* 5.126) just as he writes "Panteenses" for "Pantheotae" (see Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 80).

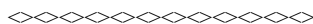
5. In the course of the last century and a half conjectures about the **location** of Attaleia have moved progressively northward. Hamilton believed it was at the site of the present Adala, basing his suggestion on the homonymous names (*Researches*, 1: 43; against this see Radet, *BCH* 11 [1887] 170; Robert, *VAM*², 100-102). Fontrier, relying on an incorrect restoration of an inscription found at Mermere (between Sardis and Thyateira), placed the town there (*Mous. k. Bibl.* 5 [1886] 48f.; contra, Radet, *BCH* [1887] 170-75, 397-98). With the discovery of a decree of Attaleia north of Thyateira Radet was able to suggest that the location was at Gördük Kale (*BCH* [1887] 173-75). Further investigation by Keil and von Premerstein (KP II, pp. 60-61) suggested that the site was at Yaran Tepe, a quarter hour south-southwest of Selçikli, while Schuchhardt (*Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 140, followed by C. Foss, *AS* 37 [1987] 95) suggested a site called Karaman Mezar (now called Koca Mezarlik) southeast of Selçikli. On the location see further Robert, *RA* (1934) 90-91; Virgilio, *SCO* (1982) 115-19; Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, p. 296 (map at end); Foss, 94-99 (map on p. 82).

Attaleia, at the eastern extremity of Eumenes' empire, was located in the fertile upper Lykos Valley (on the identification of the Lykos see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 187 and n. 2). Fertility of the soil was undoubtedly an important factor in choosing the location, as L. Robert has argued (*RA* [1934:] 90-92). However, despite the lack of strategic value of the site itself (Robert, 90-92), one should not overlook the proximity of the site to the Seleucid Thyateira, 13 km to the south (see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 44 n.; Hansen, *Attalids*², 22; also Virgilio, 116-19). Despite their being founded by opposing monarchies the two cities had similar coin types in the second and third centuries A.D. (Head, *BMC Lydia*, xxxvii).

Doidye

An inscription found at Palamut was put up by *οἱ ἐκ Δοιδύης Μακεδόν[ες]* (*OGIS* 314 = *TAM* V.2.1188) in the (Macedonian) month of Peritios in the thirty-seventh year of King Eumenes II (i.e., 161/0 B.C.). This is all that is actually known of the Macedonian colony at Doidye. Although it was probably

a Seleucid colony, we do not know who its founder was nor when it was founded.¹ Its location is also in doubt: most conjectures place it in the region north of ancient Apollonis.²



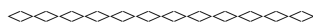
In general see Bürchner, *RE* s.v. "Doidye"; Magic, *RRAM*, 981-82.

1. Schulten thought Seleukos I was the **founder** of Doidye (*Hermes* 32 [1897] 529); Hansen suggested it was Antiochos I (*Attalids*², 174). For the probability that the Macedonian colony at Doidye was Seleucid in origin see the discussion on NAKRASON. For the possibility that the name Doidye may have originated in the European home of the original Macedonian settlers see Schuchhardt, *AM* 13 (1888) 16; but cf. Bürchner (*RE* s.v. "Doidye"), who thought the name might be Carian. See also APOLLONIS and -ESPOURA. At one time Schuchhardt thought that Doidye was the original name of Apollonis and that the latter supplanted it (*AM* [1888] 15-17, followed by Ramsay, *HGAM*, 126). The principal objection raised against this hypothesis was that cistophori of Apollonis were dated to around 186 B.C., while the date of the Doidye inscription (161/0 B.C.) indicated that Doidye coexisted with Apollonis (Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt*, 26). In fact Robinson has since demonstrated conclusively that the cistophori of Apollonis should be dated to the third and fourth years of Aristonikos (*NC* [1954] 1-8). The founding date of Apollonis is not definitely known; most probably it was established between 183 and 159 B.C. See APOLLONIS. Schuchhardt later changed his view and suggested that Doidye was a smaller fortress approximately 500 meters north of Apollonis (*AM* 24 [1899] 154-56, see map on p. 155; id., in *Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 141-43, followed by Hansen, *Attalids*², 176).

2. Suggestions for the **location** of Doidye include Dereköy, approximately 2 km north (Radet, *De Coloniis*, 17), and Jajaköy, 7 km north of Apollonis (Radet, *La Lydie*, map; von Diest, *Von Perg.*, 22; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt*, 26). In any event the fact that the inscription was discovered at Palamut, which is very close to the site of the ancient Apollonis, suggests that Doidye may have been in its territory (see KP I, p. 45; L. Robert, *VAM*², 28).

-Espoura

An inscription found at Dereköy north of Palamut records a dedication made by $\theta\lambda\epsilon\kappa\alpha\ \dot{\iota}\sigma\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ on behalf of their *strategos*, Derdas.¹ It is dated in the seventh year of King Attalos II in the (Macedonian) month of Xandikos. There are no other extant references to this colony. It is probable that originally it was founded as a Seleucid colony.² Presumably it was at or near Dereköy.

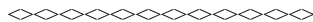


1. For the inscription put up by the Macedonians at -espoura see KP I.95 (*TAM* V.2.1190). Deras is a Macedonian name; see O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen* (Göttingen, 1906) 148, 158-60. The colony at-espoura was probably in the territory of Apollonis (see KP I, p. 45; L. Robert, *VAM*², 32). See also APOLLONIS and DOIDYE.

2. On the likelihood that -espoura was originally founded by the Seleucids see the discussion on NAKRASON.

Eumeneia in Hyrkania

Eumeneia in Hyrkania is mentioned only by Stephanos, who gives the name and no further information. No other extant source refers to it. Droysen suggested it was located in Hyrkania (which was south of the Caspian Sea) and that its founder was Eumenes of Cardia. Tscherikower, however, rightly objected that Eumenes had neither the time nor the means to found a colony. He conjectured that it was located in the Hyrkanian plain of Lydia. Furthermore he suggested the founder was Eumenes II.

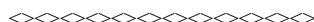


For the citation in Stephanos see "Eumeneia 3." See also Droysen, *Hist.*, 2:750; Tscherikower, 22-23. Hansen (*Attalids*², 176-77) noted that the founding of Eumeneia in the Hyrkanian plain placed it in a region colonized by the Seleucids. Jones believed that "Eumeneia" was in fact a temporary name for Hyrkania (*CERP*², 54, 92, and *Greek City*, 17, 45). There is no evidence to support this supposition (see J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 [1948] 18-19 n. 6).

Gordos

Gordos in eastern Lydia was a strategically important site that attracted the attention of both the Seleucids and, later, the Attalids; the discovery there of a dedication on behalf of Apollonophanes, the physician of Antiochos III, and also a dedication by a *hegemon* of Mysians to King Eumenes II and his family attests to this. It is reasonable to surmise that initially the Seleucids established a settlement at Gordos. An inscription from Gordos from the first century B.C. mentions a *demos* without giving the city's name. If in fact it is Gordos, we should have evidence for the transformation of the (presumed) settlement into a polis.¹ The city was renamed Julia Gordos by one of the Julian emperors. It published decrees in the first century A.D. as *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰουλιέων Γορδηνῶν*

and minted coins of Imperial date with the legend **ΙΟΥΛΑΙΩΝ** OP HN N.² Gordos was located at the present Gördes.³



In general see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 214-16; P. Herrmann, *AAWW* 107 (1970) 92-99; id., (1974) 439-44; id., *TAM* V.1, pp. 224ff.; C. Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 73.

1. For the **dedication on behalf of Apollophanes** see *TAM* V.1.689 (= Herrmann, *AAWW* [1970] 94, no. 1); for the **dedication by the hegemon of Mysians** see *TAM* V.1.690 (= Herrmann, *AAWW* [1970] 98, no. 2). For the inscription mentioning the nameless *demos* see *TAM* V.1700 (= J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 [1948] 89, no. 33). Another inscription dated to soon after 133-130 B.C., which records an honorary decree for the son of Anaximbrotos (H. Malay and G. Petzl, *EA* 3 [1984] 157-65 = *SEG* XXXIV.1198), mentions **Ἀββαίται** (l. 5). While Malay and Petzl have suggested that at the time Gordos was a polis of the Abbaeite Mysians, J. and L. Robert (*BE* [1984] 384) have argued convincingly that the Mysoi at Gordos did not form a polis and that real urbanization at Gordos did not take place until the Flavian period.

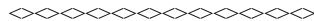
2. For **decrees of the demos of the Julian Gordians** see, for example, *TAM* V.1.687, 702; Herrmann, *AAWW* (1974) 439-44. For the **coinage** see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 90-98, nos. 1-48; further references in L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7: 214 n. 9.

3. For the **location** see *TAM* V.1, p. 225, maps at end and photograph, pl. V.

Hyrkanis

According to Strabo (13.4.13) the Hyrkanian plain took its name from the Hyrkanian colonists settled there by the Persians.¹ Macedonians arrived in the Hellenistic period. The oldest evidence for Macedonians at Hyrkanis is an inscription of the early second century B.C. that records an honorific decree of Amphissa for a Menophantos son of Artemidoros who bore the double ethnic "Macedonian Hyrkanian."² All the other extensive evidence for the double ethnic—both numismatic and epigraphic—dates from the Imperial period.³ We do not know who the founder of the Hellenistic colony was, although we may conjecture he was a Seleucid: a dedication of the third century A.D. from the village of Alibeyli near the site of the colony has been found. It was made to Zeus Seleukeios, who was undoubtedly a god of the Macedonian colonists.⁴ Furthermore THYATEIRA, which was also in northwest Lydia, already had a Macedonian colony by 274 B.C. It is possible, therefore, that Hyrkanis was also founded in the early phase of Seleucid rule in Lydia, perhaps by Antiochos I.

In 17 A.D., along with a number of other cities of western Asia Minor, Hyrkanis suffered from a major earthquake. Tiberius helped rebuild the city. It may have been on this occasion that the inhabitants added the name Caesarea; this name did not persist after Hadrian.⁵ In any event it is not found on the extant coinage, which extends from Trajan until the third century A.D.⁶ Hyrkanis was located at the present Halitpasakoy *.⁷



In general see J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 16-26; KP I, p. 59; Büchner, *RE* s.vv. "Hyrkanion Pedion" and "Hyrkanis"; Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, pp. 464-65. For the *testimonia* see *TAM* V.2, pp. 463ff.

1. Büchner raises the unlikely possibility that by "**Persians**" Strabo meant the Seleucids (*RE* s.v. "Hyrkanion Pedion"). For the Achaemenid colonization of Lydia see N. V. Sekunda, *REA* 87 (1985) 7-29.

2. For the **decree honoring Menophantos** the Μακεδὼν Ἱππάρχης see W. Vollgraff, *BCH* 25 (1901) 234-35 (= *AE* [1908] 159-66). For the Macedonian shield on a Hyrkanian coin see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 122, no. 1; *SNG* (von A) 2977. Concerning the Macedonian shield on coins see L. Robert, *AC* (1935) 163; id., *Coll. Froehner*, 73; id., *ATAM*, 101; J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6: 20.

3. For coins (all of Imperial date) with **the double ethnic MAKEΔONΩΝ ΤΡΚΑΝΩΝ** on inscriptions of Imperial date see, for example, *IGR* IV.1354 (= *BCH* [1887] 91, no. 11: a statue base of Antoninus Pius and *not* Caracalla; see J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6:17 and n. 4). For restorations of the double ethnic in *IGR* IV.1487 (= *CIG* 3181) and *IGR* IV.1514 (= *CIG* 3450 = *LW* III.620 = *Sardis* VII.1, 9) see *Hellenica* 6: 17-18.

4. For the **dedication to Zeus Seleukeios** see *Hellenica* 6:24 (= *SEG* XV.740 = *TAM* V.2.1306). Another dedication to the same god found near Maionia (also in Lydia) was published in KP II.200 (= *TAM* V.1.426); see also the discussion there as well as A. D. Nock, *JHS* 48 (1928) 42; P. Fraser, *CR* 63 (1949) 92-94; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1951) 46.

If Hyrkanis was a Seleucid foundation, it may have been founded in the third century B.C. to counter the Galatian threat (so Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 719). See also coins of Hyrkanis with a river god recumbent, leaning against a shield that may be a Macedonian shield: Mionnet, 4: 63, no. 336 ("femme couchée"); *BMC Lydia*, 126, nos. 24-25; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 84-85, nos. 4-5; *RSN* (1923) 299-300, no. 313; *SNG* (von A) 2977. According to Head, *BMC Lydia*, lxvi, the river god

leaning on a shield perhaps implies that "the Macedonian fortress guarded the approach to the city by the river." Contra, J. and L. Robert (*Hellenica* 6: 20 n. 5) and Bickerman (*IS*, 81-82), who deny Hyrkanis had strategic value.

5. Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.47) mentions the **earthquake of 17 A.D.** For signatories (including a representative of Hyrkanis, l. 4) to a resolution that probably conveyed the gratitude of the affected cities to Tiberius, see *Sardis* VII.1, 9. Hyrkanis is among the fourteen cities recorded and represented on the base of a statue of Tiberius at Puteoli that commemorated his beneficence (*CIL* X.1624). The representation of Hyrkanis has the Macedonian *kausia* as her headgear; see C. Vermeule in *Studies Trell*, 93. For the name **Καίσαρεις Μακεδόνες Ὑρκάνιοι** see *GIBM* 498.7-8 (time of Domitian; for other cities of Asia that took the name "Caesarea" see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 [1946] 76-79).

6. The **coinage has both ethnics: ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ὙΡΚΑΝΙΟΣ** (e.g., *Sardis* VII.1, 9).

7. On the **site and location** of Hyrkanis see Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, pp. 464-65. The identification of Hyrkanis with Halitpasakoy * was made by A. Fontrier (*Mous. k. Bibl.* [1886] 11-21), who discovered there, in addition to archaeological remains, the statue base of Antoninus Pius (see above) and coins of Hyrkanis (see also Foucart, *BCH* [1887] 91-93; J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6: 21; on Halitpasakoy*, the former Papazh, see Herrmann, *SAWW* 265, 43). For the representation of a river god on coins of Hyrkanis see Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 23 (1923) 299-300, no. 313; id., *Lyd. Stadt.*, 83-85, nos. 2, 4-5; *BMC Lydia*, 126, nos. 24-25; *SNG* (von A) 2977 (where von Aulock identifies the river god as the Hermos). A coin of Hyrkanis with a river god and the legend **Ι Α Ο** is described by Muret (who called the city "Hyrkania," *RN* [1883] 385, 401; see also *BMC Lydia*, lxx; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 85 [referring to Radet; see also Head, *BMC Lydia*, lxx], conjectured that it was the modern Kum Çay, the stream north of Halitpasakoy*). For a photograph of Hyrkanis see *Hellenica* 6: pl. III.

Stephanos mentions a EUMENEIA in Hyrkania (s.v. "Eumeneia 3"). Jones claimed this was a temporary name for Hyrkanis. There is no extant evidence to support this suggestion (*CERP*², 54, 92; id., *Greek City*, 17, 45; contra, J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6: 18-19 n. 6). TWO other colonies in the vicinity of Hyrkanis are known: AGATHEIRA and LASNEDDA. Herrmann suggested (*SAWW* 265, 43; see also J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1970] 516) that the latter was in the territory of Hyrkanis. If this is so, it would mean that the territory of Hyrkanis included not only part of the Hyrkanian plain but also the mountainous region to the southeast. However, the dedication set up by the colonists at Lasnedda provides information

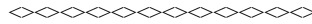
only about its location (at Belenköy); it says nothing about the colony's relation to Hyrkanis. See also THYATEIRA and MERNROUPHYTA.

Jewish Colonies

Around the end of the third century B.C. (probably between 212 and 205 B.C.) Antiochos III sent two thousand Babylonian Jews and their families to settle in the "garrisons and most important places" of Lydia and Phrygia. Our only source of information for this colonization is Josephus, who records the letter sent by the king to Zeuxis ordering the establishment of these settlements (*AJ* 12.148-53). As the letter provides a detailed account of how a colony was founded, I quote it in full.

King Antiochos to Zeuxis, his father, greetings If you are in good health, it is well I am also in good health It is necessary to give my very serious consideration to a revolt that I learn has broken out among the inhabitants of Lydia and Phrygia; and having consulted with my friends as to what should be done, I have decided to convey two thousand Jewish families with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the garrisons and most important places For I believe that because of their piety toward the Deity they will be loyal protectors of our interests; and I know that they are a people whose character was approved by my ancestors, both in regard to their trustworthiness and to their willingness to do what was asked of them I wish, therefore, even if it is difficult, to move them, and since I promised, (I want them) to live under their own laws When you have brought them to the aforementioned places, you will give to each of them a place for building a home as well as land for farming and for viticulture and you will grant a tax exemption often years on the produce of the earth Until such time as they get harvests from the earth let there be measured out to them grain for their attendants Let enough be given to those doing military service so that by receiving concessions from us they will show themselves all the more zealous to our cause And take care of their people, as much as you can, so that they are not bothered by anyone

Other than to say the colonies were set up in Lydia and Phrygia Josephus says nothing about the precise location of any of them.



The scholarship on the letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis is extensive and has been primarily concerned with the question of its authenticity; see, for example, the discussion and bibliography of R. Marcus in the Loeb Josephus, vol. 7, pp. 743-44, 764-66. To his bibliography add the following, who generally accept

its authenticity: Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 492; Bickerman, in *Mélanges Lévy*, 17ff.; Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 287f. and notes; A. Schalit, *JQR* 50 (1960) 292-96. Cf. the recent study by J. Gauger (*Beiträge zur jüdischen Apologetik* [Cologne and Bonn, 1977] 3-151).

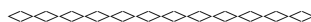
Whether or not it is authentic, the letter remains a valuable source of information for the procedure followed in establishing a colony. For analysis and discussion see Schalit and Gauger, cited above, and Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 5-9. On the Jewish prowess in military affairs during the Hellenistic period, see Josephus (*AJ* 12.119), who comments on the military service the Jews provided the Seleucid kings, and Seleukos Nikator's use of them as colonists; see also Schalit, 297-98; Cohen, *TAPA* 103 (1972) 84 n. 5.

Josephus nowhere specifies which were "the garrisons and most important places." New inscriptional evidence suggests that after the overthrow of Achaïos in 214 B.C., Antiochos III partly destroyed Sardis and then permitted a new *synoikismos*. G. M. A. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum have speculated that SARDIS was one of the "important places" to which the Jews were sent (*Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*, ed. J. A. Saunders [Garden City, N.Y., 1970] 319). This is not likely; see further, SARDIS. For the inscriptions relating to the synoecism, see Gauthier, *Sardes* II: nos. 1 and 3.

A gravestone from Lydia of the third century A.D. mentions *κατοικία* (*IGR* IV.1387 = *TAM* V.1.608 = L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 [1958] 129-36). This toponym is similar in form to village names such as Atoudda, Aloudda, and Klannoudda (Keil and von Premerstein, in *KP* II, p. 7; L. Robert, *VAM*², 282 n. 1) and does not necessarily indicate the existence of a Jewish colony (as has been suggested by Tcherikover, *HCJ*, 502 n. 63, and Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army*, 228 n. 114).

Kadoi

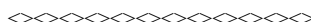
In the past it has been claimed that Kadoi was a Macedonian colony. The evidence supporting the claim is Pliny (*NH* 5.111): *Sardiana nunc appellatur ea iurisdictio, conveniuntque in eam extra praedictos Macedones Cadieni, Philadelphini, etc.* However, in other references the name of the town is simply Kadoi, (or, on coins, the ethnic is KA OHN N) without any addition. Furthermore, the Flavian *conventus* list from Ephesos, which records a list of communities in the province of Asia, mentions the *Καδωνεῖς* (I. 6) as separate entities, not as a unit. This has prompted Christian Habicht to suggest, correctly, that in the text of Pliny there has to be a comma after *Macedones*, in order to mark the separation from the following *Cadieni*. Hence Kadoi was not a Macedonian colony.



For the claim that Kadoi was a Macedonian colony see, for example, Tscherikower, 34; Magie, *RRAM*, 1001; and references cited by C. Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 72 n. 37. For the town name Kadoi without any addition see, for instance, Polyb. 33.12.2; Strabo 12.8.12. For examples on coinage (Imperial date) see *BMC Phrygia*, 116-28; Imhoof-Blumer *Kl.M.*, 247-49; and *SNG* (von A) 3681-95. For the *conventus* list see Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 65 and commentary.

Kobedyle

An honorific inscription found near Bebekli was set up in the thirty-fifth year of Eumenes II (i.e., 163/2 B.C.) by *πολιτῆς* suggests that by the time of the inscription, namely, 163/2 B.C., the inhabitants of Kobedyle had become citizens of a polis. However, the identity of this polis is unknown.² Bebekli is approximately twenty-eight kilometers northeast of Alasehir *, the site of the Attalid colony of Philadelpheia.³



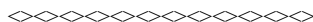
1. For the **inscription set up by the Macedonians from Kobedyle** see *TAM* V.1.221 (= KP II.223 and commentary). For the probability that Kobedyle originated as a Seleucid colony see the discussion on NAKRASON. Hansen apparently believed that Antiochos I founded the colony at Kobedyle (*Attalid*², 174); Magie (*RRAM*, 973) thought it might have been established by the Attalids. For the expression *οἱ ἐκ* cf. the Macedonians from DOIDYE (*OGIS* 314) and Magie, *RRAM*, 972-73.

2. Launey (*Recherches*, 341 and 686, following a suggestion of Keil and von Premerstein, KP II, pp. 116-17) theorized that the colonists at Kobedyle had become citizens of the nearby Kastolos. However, it is not clear whether Kastolos was a polis in the Hellenistic period. A Hellenistic epitaph at Athens of a certain Menodotos records that he was a *Καστωλεύς* (*IG* II² 9003; cf. Hermann, *TAM* V.1, p. 72); the use of the ethnic, without other supporting evidence, does not prove that at the time Kastolos was a polis (for the collected evidence on Kastolos see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 159-60; see also P. Debord, *REA* 87 [1985] 349). That having been said, the direct link between the Macedonians at Kobedyle and Kastolos remains to be found. In any event, by the first or second century A.D. Kastolos (had declined and) was a *kome* of PHILADELPHEIA (Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 109, no. 50 = *OGIS* 488).

3. For the **location of Kobedyle** see KP II, pp. 115-16.

Lasnedda

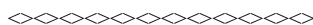
A stele from Büyük Belenköy records a dedication by colonists from Lasnedda, οἱ ἐν Λασνέδδων, to the god Papias. The inscription is dated, on the basis of the known letterforms, to the late Attalid period. Büyük Belenköy is located between Halitpasakoy * (the ancient Hyrkanis) and the Marmara Gölü, and north of Belen Dag.



The dedication was published by P. Herrmann and K. Z. Polatkan, in *SAWW* 265: 42-45, no. 5 (= *TAM* V.2.1321); see also T. Drew-Bear and C. Naour, in *ANRW* II.18.3 (1990) 2022 n. 437. Citing the parallel case of the nearby ἐν Δεχθειρων Μακεδ[ό]νες (see now AGATHEIRA) and other Macedonian colonies in Lydia (see J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 [1948] 22-23; AGATHEIRA, -ESPOURA, KOBEDYLE, DOIDYE) Herrmann quite reasonably suggested that the Lasnedda settlers were also Macedonians (p. 44). Herrmann also conjectured that Lasnedda was in the territory of Hyrkanis (p. 43; see also J. and L. Robert *BE* (1970) 516). If this suggestion is correct, it would mean that the Macedonian Hyrkanians controlled the mountainous region to the southeast as well as part of the Hyrkanian plain. However, it should be emphasized that the Lasnedda inscription provides firm evidence only for the geographical, not necessarily for the political, proximity of the two colonies. We do not know when, if ever, the colony of Lasnedda was incorporated in the territory of HYRKANIS (cf. THYATEIRA and MERNOPHYTA). For another colony close to Hyrkanis see AGATHEIRA. The appearance of the god Papias in Lydia is surprising. Up until the discovery of the Lasnedda inscription Papias was known only in Phrygia (Herrmann and Polatkan, 45).

Lyendos

In 1962 P. Herrmann published an honorific inscription found at Aktas* that was erected by οἱ ἐν Λυένδωι κάτοικοι. Herrmann dated the inscription, on the basis of the letterforms, to the second century B.C. and raised the possibility that there had been a military colony at Lyendos. We should need more information before affirming that the *katoikia* at Lyendos was Hellenistic.



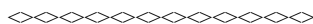
For the honorific inscription see Herrmann, *DAWW* 80: 34-35, no. 22; see also T. Drew-Bear, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 287; Mersich, *TIB* VII.329.

Magnesia Near Sipylus

The case of Magnesia near Sipylus is interesting because it provides us with an example of military colonists who were settled in an old Greek city. We learn about the colony from an inscription (*OGIS* 229) that records three documents of c. 243 B.C.: (I) a decree of Smyrna concerning a treaty with Magnesia (ll. 1-34), (II) a treaty between the two cities (ll. 34-89), and (III) a decree of Smyrna concerning Palaimagnesia (ll. 89-108).¹ The documents deal with the granting of citizenship by Smyrna to the Magnesians and Palaimagnesians.

According to document II the population of Magnesia consisted of three groups, (1) soldiers in Magnesia, (2) those out in the open, and (3) native Magnesians: καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθεροις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκ ἔχοντες. The precise distinction between the first two groups has been the subject of much discussion. Among other things, scholars disagree as to whether the term *katoikoi* refers only to the soldiers in Magnesia or to the soldiers out in the open as well. While no definitive answer can be given, it seems more likely that it includes all the soldiers.² The organization of the *katoikoi* was essentially military. They were divided into *tagmata*, and each *tagma* had a secretary. There were also muster rolls for each group. Furthermore, at least some of the *katoikoi* had land lots.³ We do not know whether those in the city lived in their homes, in barracks, or were billeted. Presumably those out in the open were bivouacked near Magnesia. The *katoikoi*—and not the Magnesians—had the real power in the city: in the dealings with Smyrna it was the *katoikoi* who handled most of the negotiations. With the signing of the treaty the whole population of Magnesia became citizens of Smyrna.⁴

It is possible that Antiochos I founded the colony at Magnesia.⁵ Magnesia, the present Manisa, was approximately thirty-two kilometers northeast of Smyrna.



In general see Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, 118-25; Launey, *Recherches*, 669-74; Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, pp. 476-79 and passim (collected *testimonia* on pp. 476-78); and PALAIMAGNESIA.

1. *OGIS* 229 = *Staats*. III.492 (bibliography) = *I. Mag. Sipylus* 1 (discussion and commentary) = *I. Smyrna* 573; cf. *TAM* V.2, p. 479. For the date Schmitt (*Staats*. III.492) says shortly after 243(?); Ihnken (*I. Mag. Sipylus* 1) suggests 245. 2. For οἱ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κάτοικοι κτλ. in document II see *OGIS* 229.35-36, 43-51, 59-60, 71-74; cf. 14, 18, and 92 (documents I and III), on which see Bickerman, *JS*, 104-5; and contra, Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 77 n. 36. For the view that *katoikoi* encompassed both soldiers in Magnesia and those out in the

open, see, for example, Hermann and Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsaltertümer*⁶, 202; Griffith, *Mercenaries*, 154; and Cohen, 77. For *katoikoi* referring only to those in Magnesia, see, for example, Bickerman, *IS*, 101-5; Ehrenberg, *Gr. State*, 226; Launey, *Recherches*, 671; Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army*, 214 n. 15; see also Schalit (*König Herodes* [Berlin, 1969] 177-79).

3. For the *tagmata*, secretaries, and muster rolls, see *OGIS* 229.45-46. For the *katoikoi* owning land see *OGIS* 229.101 (document III) and Bar-Kochva, 22.

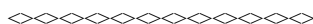
4. For the citizenship grant to the *katoikoi* of the Pergamene *chora* on the death of Attalos III see *I. Perg.* 249 (= *OGIS* 338).

5. **Founder.** Seleukos I would probably not have had sufficient time between Korupedion and his death to establish a colony here (though note that he probably founded the colony at THYATEIRA). In favor of Antiochos I is the fact that he conceded at least two *kleroi* to the settlers at nearby PALAIMAGNESIA. Furthermore we know of at least two cases where Antiochos I was active selling or giving land in western Asia Minor (*OGIS* 335. 13off. and *RC* 10-13); see also Cadoux, 108 n. 3. For the suggestion that at the beginning of the reign of Seleukos II Smyrna was attacked by the Magnesians see Haussoullier, *Ét. Milet*, 120; Cadoux, 114-15.

The existence of a **royal Seleucid mint at Magnesia**, which was suggested by Newell (*WSM*, 272ff.), is, according to Houghton, "questionable" (*CSE*, 56). The mint, if it existed, was probably in operation only under Antiochos I. Later issues, of Seleukos II and Antiochos Hierax, which Newell tentatively assigned to Magnesia, were reattributed by H. Seyrig to Parion, *Centennial Publication ANS*, 606-13; see further Houghton, *CSE*, 56.

Makedones

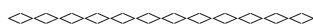
The inscription recording the *conventus* list of the Flavian province of Asia begins with the following names: "Makedones, Ankyranoi, Synaetiai, Mokadenoi, Kadyeneis ..." By comparison with the list that Pliny gives of the cities in the Sardian *conventus* (*NH* 5.111: *Macedones, Cadieni, Philadelphini* ...) Habicht has shown that the first part of the inscription deals with the *conventus* of Sardis. The first name on the inscription undoubtedly refers to the descendants of Macedonian colonists who were settled at some time in the Hellenistic period, and certainly is to be identified with the Macedonians recorded by Pliny. While the location of the settlement is not definitely known, the order in the inscription does show a general eastward progression. This suggests that the foundation was west of Ankyra, either on the Makestos (Simav) River or close to it. Therefore it is possible, as Habicht has conjectured, that the Macedonians were located on the western shore of Lake Simav at the site of the present Kiliseköy.



For the inscription recording the *conventus* list see Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 65, col. I.1, and commentary on pp. 71-72. For the separation of Macedones and Cadieni in the text of Pliny see Habicht, 72-73; and KADOI. Regarding the location of the places mentioned after Makedones: Kadoi was quite close to the modern Gediz (Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 155-58; see also Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Phrygia," 794, 833). The region Mokadene included Temenothyrai, Silandos, and the territory north of these cities (Habicht, 72). Synaos was on the site of Simav, just southeast of the lake of the same name (Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 142—43; L. Robert *VAM²*, 95 n. 2; but cf. Drew-Bear, *Chiron* 6 [1976] 291 n. 7). The location of Ankyra is not definitely known. Buresch thought it was at Kiliseköy (*Aus Lydien*, 142). Waddington suggested it was northeast of the lake at Hasanlar (LW III. 1011, commentary). In this he was followed by L. Robert (*Gnomon* 31 [1959] 19 n. 5); and by Habicht (72). The connection of Ankyra with Hasanlar leaves Kiliseköy open for another possible identification. On this basis Habicht suggested it is the site of the colony of the Makedones.

Mernouphyta

A dedicatory inscription of Imperial date found at Thyateira reads βασιλέων Ἀττάλου καὶ Εὐμένους κατοικοῦντες Μερνούφυτα Ἡρακλῆσταί (KP II.51 = *TAM* V.2.959). This is the only extant evidence for a colony at Mernouphyta. From the inscription we learn (a) that the colony at Mernouphyta was Attalid, founded by Attalos I and reinforced by Eumenes II,¹ and (b) that the worship of Herakles figured prominently in the life of the colonists and their descendants. The worship of Herakles is not surprising. He was the ancestral god of the Attalids, and in addition he was the patron god of gymnasia.² The discovery of the inscription at Thyateira (Akhisar) suggests that Mernouphyta was located close by; precisely where we do not know. Nor do we know when the colony was founded. At the very least it is clear that the Attalids established a colony at Mernouphyta with an eye to Thyateira, either to counter it, if it was still Seleucid, or to control it, if it had come under Attalid rule.



In general see KP II.51 (= *TAM* V.2.959) and pp. 27-28; Keil, *RE* s.v. "Mernouphyta"; L. Robert, *VAM²*, 39-40; Launey, *Recherches*, 1030-31.

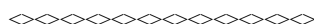
1. The attempt to give a precise date for **the founding and refounding of Mernouphyta** has been a major problem. The death of Attalos I and the accession of Eumenes II in 197 B.C. provide us with at least one fixed point. Beyond

that the problem is complicated by the fact that we do not know exactly when and for how long before 189 B.C. the Attalids controlled the region around Thyateira. Prior to c. 226 B.C. it was Seleucid. From c. 226 to 223 B.C. Attalos I was master of the area (Will, *Hist.*², 1: 296ff.). After losing it in 223 he regained it in 218 (Holleaux, *Ét.*, 2: 17f.; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 105); he had control of it in 201 B.C. when Philip marched on it (Polyb. 16.1.7). While it is not certain if the area remained under Pergamene rule long after 201, it is clear that in 190 B.C. the territory *circa Thyatirum* was under Seleucid control (Livy 37.8.7, 37.6, 38.1). After the treaty of Apameia it passed permanently to the Attalids. Keil suggested that Attalos founded the colony at Mernouphyta in 226-222 and that Eumenes strengthened it sometime after 190 B.C. (*RE* s.v. "Mernouphyta"; KP II, p. 28). Robert thought it was founded by Attalos I and Eumenes at the end of reign of the former and the beginning of the reign of the latter (*VAM*², 40; also Hansen, *Attalids*², 175). Schmitt quite sensibly noted only that it must have been founded before 198 B.C. and refounded after 190 B.C. (*Antiochos*, 273 n. 3). See further, THYATEIRA.

2. **On the importance of Herakles to the Attalids** and to their foundations see L. Robert, *VAM*², 39 and n. 2; id., *RPh* 41 (1967) 68; on the worship of Herakles at PERGAMON see L. Robert, *RPh* (1984) 7-18; see also Hansen, *Attalids*², passim.

Moschakome

An honorific inscription from the Imperial period was drawn up by **Μοσχάκωμη[ν]**. Jones includes this village in the Hyrkanian plain in his list of Macedonian settlements.² The village is one of many from Roman Imperial Lydia known by this or similar nomenclature. In the absence of other evidence I am disinclined to designate it a Macedonian colony.³



1. J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 65-69 (= *TAM* V.2.1408). See also G. Petzl, *EA* 15 (1990) 50-51.

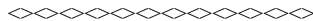
2. Jones, *CERP*², 385 n. 26.

3. For other *katoikiai* attested in Roman Lydia and adjacent areas see Magie, *RRAM*, 1022-26; see also G. M. Cohen, *Anc. Soc.* 22 (1991) 41-50.

Mostene

Mostene was probably not a Hellenistic colony. Support for the possibility that it was has come from two sources: alleged coins with **ΜΟ ΘΗΝ Ν ΜΑΚΕ ΟΝ Ν** and Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.47). As to the first point: Fontrier mentioned seeing coins with the legend **ΜΟ ΘΗΝ Ν ΜΑΚΕ ΟΝ Ν**, but they have never materialized, and it is probable that none exist.¹ As to the second,

Tacitus refers to *quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur*. However, it has long been pointed out, by Ramsay and Tscherikower among others, that Tacitus is here referring to two separate cities. Furthermore, coins of Mostene from the second or first century B.C. with the legend **ΑΤΑΔΩΝ ΜΟΘΗΝΩΝ** distinguish it from the Macedonian colonies of Lydia. Mostene was probably an old Lydian town.²

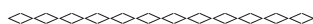


1. For **the claim that Mostene was a Macedonian colony** see Schuchhardt, *AM* 13 (1888) 1ff.; Hansen, *Attalids*², 179. Contra, for example, Tscherikower, 24; Keil, in *RE* s.v. "Mostene"; L. Robert, *NInd.*, 359 n. 3. For the claim that there are coins with the legend **ΜΟΘΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΩΝ** see A. Fontrier, *Mous. k. Bibl.* (1886) 24; Foucart, *BCH* II (1887) 89. Contra, Ramsay *HGAM*, 19, 125; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 99-100; Tscherikower, op. cit.; Keil, op. cit. Von Prott and Kolbe's suggestion that Mostene was a Macedonian military colony was based on Fontrier's unsubstantiated assertion regarding the coinage (*AM* 27 [1902] 110). Furthermore, contrary to their claim, there is no apparent connection between Mostene and the "Masdyenoi" (110; cf. Magie, *RRAM*, 1036-37).

2. On **the Tacitus passage** see Tscherikower, op. cit.; Ramsay, 124—25. For coins with the legend **ΑΤΑΔΩΝ ΜΟΘΗΝΩΝ** see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 161, nos. 1-4; L. Robert, *RN* (1976) 30, no. 24. The site of Mostene is not definitely known. The most likely suggestion focuses on the area between MAGNESIA near Sipylos (Manisa) and Turgutlu Kasaba; see further KP I, pp. 5-8; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960] 481 n. 1.

Mysomakedones

Among the communities in the *conventus* of Ephesos Pliny includes the Mysomakedones (*NH* 5.120). An inscription of the first century A.D. from Antioch on the Maeander includes the Mysomakedones in a list of Lydian, Phrygian, and Carian cities.¹ The name Mysomakedones suggests a colony consisting of both Mysians and Macedonians rather than a colony of Macedonians planted among the Mysian tribesmen of the Tmolos region.² Undoubtedly the Macedonians were settled by the Seleucids. It is not clear whether the Mysians were also Seleucid or, perhaps, Attalid colonists.³ The colony was probably located in the eastern part of the Mesogis range.⁴



In general see KP III, pp. 56-58; Tscherikower, 26; Keil, *RE* s.v. "Mysomakedonen"; Ramsay, *CBP*, 195-99; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 336-37; W. Leschhorn, *JNG* 34 (1984) 55-62.

1. For the inscription from Antioch on the Maeander see K. Buresch, *AM* 19 (1894) 103, l. 19, and commentary.

2. Strabo mentions the presence of **Mysians and Macedonians in the area around Mount Tmolos** (13.4.5; see MYSOTIMOLOS) and further on (13.4.12) says that parts of the Mesogis (apparently the central region) were inhabited by Mysians (on the Mysians see also Magie, *RRAM*, 974; *OGIS* 338.14).

Ptolemy in fact places the Mysomakedones in Mysia (5.2.13). However, a city in the *conventus* of Ephesos could not be located that far away. In any event the inscription from Antioch resolves the question in support of Pliny.

For the view that the colony consisted of both Mysians and Macedonians see, for example, Keil, op. cit.; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 180; Magie, 974; Robert, *ATAM*, 336 n. 72; Leschhorn, 59-62. For the view that the settlement was a Macedonian one, planted among the Mysians, see Ramsay, *CBP*, 198; Schulten, *Hermes* 32 (1897) 531; Hansen, *Attalids*², 181. For **two coins with the ethnic ΜΥΣΟΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ** dated to the early first century A.D. see R. Münsterberg, *NZ* (1915) 108-11 (Münsterberg also mentioned [109] another coin with the same ethnic that Gaspar Oderici described in 1777); W. Leschhorn *JNG* (1984) 55 (= *RPC* 2567-68).

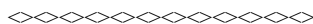
3. For the likelihood that the Macedonian colonists in western Asia Minor were settled by the Seleucids rather than the Attalids see NAKRASON. Whereas the available evidence indicates that Macedonians are rarely found in the Attalid army (see NAKRASON), there is evidence for Mysians under Attalos I (*FD* II.1, p. 224) and Eumenes II (Livy 42.57.7); note also that Mysians and Macedonians received citizenship after the death of Attalos III (*OGIS* 338.14). Hence it is possible that the Mysians of the Mysomakedones were introduced by the Attalids rather than the Seleucids. Launey (*Recherches*, 444), Keil, and Ramsay thought it was a Seleucid colony; Hansen and Magie suggested it was Attalid.

4. The precise **location** of the settlement of the Mysomakedones is not yet known. Pliny's list of cities in the *conventus* of Ephesos includes the *Cilbiani inferiores et superiores*, *Mysomacedones*, *Mastaurenses*, *Briullitae*, *Hypaepeni*, *Dioshieritae*. Ramsay thought the settlement of the Mysomakedones was southeast of Philadelphia in the Üzümlü Ovası (*CBP*, 196). Radet thought it was at Bulladan (*La Lydie*, 315, and *De Colonia*, 28-29). However, Keil and von Premerstein correctly pointed out that since the Mysomakedones were in the *conventus* of Ephesos, the colony was probably farther west (KP III, p. 58; Keil, *RE* s.v. "Mysomakedones"). Buresch suggested it was in the eastern Mesogis (*Aus Lydien*, 180, and *AM* 19 [1894] 123ff.; see also Tscherikower, 26). L. Robert would likewise locate it in the eastern part of the Mesogis range (*ATAM*, 336-37, n. 72; though note that earlier, in *Hellenica* 11-12

[1960] 556 n. 5, he had suggested a possible site farther west, near Odemis *). Pliny's list does allow our locating the settlement in the eastern Mesogis. In the absence of additional information, however, we can do no more than posit a location in that general area. For a map see KP III, end.

Mysotimolos

In his enumeration of the communities of the *conventus* of Sardis Pliny mentions the "Mysotimolitae" after the Apollonihieritae (*NH* 5-111). It is possible that the Mysotimolitae originated as a colony in which Mysian veterans were combined with natives in the area of Mount Tmolos. The precise location of Mysotimolos cannot be fixed. However, the fact that in the Flavian *conventus* list it precedes Blaundos suggests that the two may have been neighboring cities. Most likely Mysotimolos was in the region between Blaundos and the upper Kogamos River.



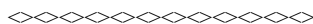
In general see KP III, pp. 48-50; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 201-4; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 127-128; Keil, *RE* s.v. "Mysotimolos"; C. Foss, *Cl. Ant.* 1 (1982) 178-201.

For the suggestion that Mysotimolos was originally a military colony see Magie, *RRAM*, 974, who cites the parallel example of the MYSOMAKEDONES. On the Mysians see Magie, 974; *OGIS* 338.14. On the **location** of Mysotimolos see Strabo 13.4.5 (Lydians, Mysians, and Macedonians living near Mount Tmolos; cf. Strabo 13.4.12); *Not. Ep.* (Mesotymolos) 1.163, 2.183, etc. (where it frequently follows Blaundos); and the *Notitia* of Basil (181; ed. H. Gelzer [Leipzig, 1890]). For the *conventus* list see Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 65, col. I.26. Hierokles includes Mysotimolos in Lydia (671.3). Habicht (76) follows Buresch (201, 204) in suggesting the region between Güllü and Güney. Keil and von Premerstein thought it was in the area of Takmak (now Cırpıclar), perhaps at Beysehir* (KP III, pp. 48-51; Keil, *RE* s.v. "Lydia," 2194-95, and s.v. "Mysotimolos"; and Ramsay, *HGAM*, 128). On the other hand, Radet thought it was west of Güney (*La Lydie*, 315); Jones believed it was in the same general area, i.e., south of the Kogamos on the slopes of Mount Tmolos (*CERP*², 80 and 398 n. 87). In Hierokles and the *Notitiae* the name is usually spelled *Μυσσοτιμολεῖται* (*conventus* list); see further Buresch, *AM* 19 (1894) 126 n. 3.

Nakrason

There probably was a Macedonian colony at Nakrason.¹ An inscription from the time of Hadrian found at Bakır records a decree of "the *boule* and *demos* of the

Macedonian Nakraseitai."² It is possible that Antiochos I founded Nakrason.³ Coinage of the Imperial period survives.⁴ The location of Nakrason is not definitely known. It was in the upper Kaikos valley and is usually placed either at Bakir, Maltepe (two kilometers east of Bakir), or Ilyaslar * (six kilometers east of Maltepe).⁵



In general see Schuchhardt, *AM* 1 (1888) 1; Head, *BMC Lydia*, lxxvi; Keil, *RE* s.v. "Nakrasa"; Tscherikower, 21; L. Robert *VAM*², 71-76; Magie, *RRAM*, 979-80.

1. Among the Lydian cities, Ptolemy lists (5.2.14) Mostene, Hierokaisareia, Nakrasa, and Thyateira. The inscription recording the testament of Epikrates (first century A.D.) reads (l. 25) *εἰς Νάκρασον* (Herrmann, *SAWW* 265: 8-17). This shows that the **name of the city** was either Nakrason or Nakrasos and not Nakrasa, as Ptolemy wrote (Herrmann, 20; J. and L. Robert *BE* [1970] 512).

2. For the **decree of [Νά]κρασον** may be appropriate (see Herrmann, op. cit.; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1970] 512).

3. Nakrason is one of a number of **colonies of Macedonians in Lydia**; others include AGATHEIRA, AKRASOS, DOIDYE, -ESPOURA, HYRKANIS, KOBEDYLE, and THYATEIRA; see also Appendix III. Although there is evidence indicating that Seleukos I founded Thyateira and that the settlers at Hyrkanis worshipped Zeus Seleukeios, the earliest information about most of the other colonies dates from the second century B.C., i.e., the period of Attalid rule. Nevertheless it is likely that the Macedonian colonies were founded by the Seleucids rather than the Attalids. This is because the available evidence indicates that Macedonians are frequently found in the Seleucid army; on the other hand, they are rarely found in the Attalid. For example, Polyaeus (4.9.5) says that in his campaign against Demetrios Poliorketes in 286/5 B.C. Seleukos I Nikator sent out Lysias with a "great number" of Macedonians. Polyaeus (7.39) also mentions a revolt under a Seleukos (either I or II) that was put down by Macedonian and Thracian troops. And Antiochos I had Macedonians under his command in his war against the Gauls (Lucian *Zeuxis* 11). The gap in our literary sources for the third century means that, except for Egypt where the papyri fill in, we know very little about the composition of the Hellenistic armies until Polybius and other

sources pick up after 221 B.C. At that point we begin to get information about Macedonians in the Seleucid army. Thus we know of Macedonians or men armed in Macedonian fashion serving in the army of Antiochos III at Raphia in 217 B.C. (Polyb. 5.79.4f., 82.2-11), at Thermopylae in 190 (Livy 37.40.1; App. *Syr.* 32), in the army of Antiochos IV at Jerusalem (Joseph. *AJ* 12.252 and Hieronymus, *FGrH* 260 F50), and at Daphne in 167/6 B.C. (Polyb. 30.25.5). In contrast we find only one definite reference to Macedonians in the Attalid army: when they were granted citizenship after the death of Attalos III in 133 B.C. (*OGIS* 338.14). Irrespective of whether or not the soldiers in the armies of Antiochos III and IV were real Macedonians or only armed "in the Macedonian fashion" (so, for example, Polyb. 5.82.10), the contrast between the evidence for the Seleucids and the Attalids is telling; see also Launey, *Recherches*, 335-36; Magic, *RRAM*, 973-74.

Of course there were Attalid foundations in Lydia that included Macedonians in their population: APOLLONIS and PHILADELPHIA, for example. Both of these were founded in the second century B.C. Undoubtedly the Macedonians were former Seleucid military colonists. It is a reasonable supposition, therefore, that, with the exception of Apollonis and Philadelphia, most of the Macedonian colonies in Lydia attested under Pergamene rule were an Attalid inheritance from Seleucid rule.

The period when Seleucid kings actually controlled western Asia Minor was relatively short: during the reigns of Seleukos I in the few months between Korupedion and his death, of Antiochos I, and of Antiochos II. After the death of the latter the careers of Antiochos Hierax, Achaïos, and Attalos I, who was only too willing to take advantage of Seleucid weakness, effectively destroyed central Seleucid control over most of Asia Minor west of the Taurus Mountains. Antiochos III was briefly able to reassert his control over much of the area until, after the Peace of Apameia in 188 B.C., the Seleucids were permanently removed from western Asia Minor. Of these rulers one thinks of the energetic Antiochos I (so Hansen, *Attalids*², 174)—or perhaps Antiochos II—as a possible founder of Nakrason.

An inscription from Bakir dated in the first year of a King Attalos (*OGIS* 268) records the honors decreed for an *epistates* (l. 4) named Apollonios son of Meleager who had previously been a *strategos* of the city (l. 10). The inscription also mentions the *prytaneion* (l. 15) and *tamias* of the city (l. 20). If the decree could be assigned to Nakrason, it would provide useful information about the civic organization as early as 240 B.C. and show that Nakrason was already then under Attalid control (see Keil, *RE* s.v. "Nakrasa"; Magic, 980). However, identification of the king as Attalos I is not certain; L. Robert suggests the king may be Attalos II or III. Furthermore he claims that the stele could just as easily have come from Akrasos or Stratonikeia, since inscriptions from all three cities have in the course of time been brought to Bahir and Kirkagaç (*VAM*², 36 n. 6, followed by Magic who suggests [980] that the polis of *OGIS* 268 may be Pergamon). A number of scholars in the nineteenth century confused Nakrason and Akrasos: Smith,

Dict. Geog. s.v. "Nacrassa"; Müller *ad* Ptol. 5.2.14; Philippson, *Reisen*, 1: 64; Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* s.v. "Nakrasa"; see further Robert, *VAM²*, 72 n. 1).

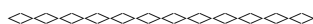
4. On the **coinage** the **ethnic** ΝΑΚΡΑ ΙΤ Ν or ΝΑΚΡΑ ΕΙΤ Ν is normally found down to Antoninus Pius (*BMC Lydia*, 165-68, nos. 1-10, 14-19; *Inv. Wadd.* 5112-13, 5115-16; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 106, no. 6; *SNG [Cop] Lydia* 288-295, 297-300; *SNG [von A]* 3033, 3035-37), ΝΑΚΡΑ Ε Ν after that (*BMC Lydia*, 167-69, nos. 13, 20-27; *Inv. Wadd.* 5109, 5117-19; *Lyd. Stadt.*, 105, nos. 1-5; *SNG [Cop] Lydia* 296, 301-2; *SNG [von A]* 3034, 3038). Note, however, that Mionnet, 4: 96, nos. 520 (Commodus) and 522 (Caracalla) have ΝΑΚΡΑ ΙΤ Ν. For coins of Nakrason found in Mysia, Priene, and Pergamon see L. Robert *VAM²*, 72 n. 2. Both the Epikrates inscription (see above, first century A.D., ll. 7, 87-88) and the decree of the city (see above, time of Hadrian) have the form ΝΑΚΡΑ ΕΙΤΗ .

5. **Villages that probably were in the territory of Nakrason** in Imperial times were (the village of the) Kareneitai (Herrmann, *DAWW* 77.1 [1959] 10-11), Tibbe, Deskyleion, and Pataktibeai (Herrmann, *SAWW* 265: 20-21). While Bakir (3 km south of Kirkagaç) has not yielded ancient remains, the nearby hill of Maltepe has (Robert, *VAM²*, 71-72; Conze and Schuchhardt, *AM* 24 [1899] 152). For the **location** of Nakrason, Head (*BMC Lydia*, lxxvi-lxxvii) and Radet (*La Lydie*, 307) suggest Bakir; R. Kiepert (*FOA* VIII, p. 4), Ruge (*Philolog. Woch.* [1928] 1372), and Philippson (*Reisen*, 1: 64) prefer Maltepe, while Schuchhardt (*AM* 13 [1888] 2 and *Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 139) conjectures it was at Ilyaslar *. In 1970 J. and L. Robert tentatively went along with this suggestion ("pour recherche et verification," *BE* [1970] 512), though earlier L. Robert criticized Schuchhardt (*VAM²*, 71 n. 6). On the other hand, Herrmann has suggested that Ilyaslar* was the site of the village of Tibbe (*SAWW* 265: 21; contra, J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1970] 512). Keil proposed placing the civil administration of Nakrason at Maltepe and the military colony at Ilyaslar* (*RE* s.v. "Nakrasa"). Magie is not convinced—rightly, I believe—by this suggestion (980).

Palaimagnesia

Palaimagnesia was a fortress located in the vicinity of Magnesia near Sipylus. We learn about it from a decree of Smyrna of c. 243 B.C. (*OGIS* 229.89-108).¹ A detachment of soldiers under Menekles had been sent by the Smyrnaeans to induce the inhabitants to adopt a pro-Seleucid policy and surrender the fortress to Smyrna. The inhabitants included former *katoikoi* in Magnesia as well as a Macedonian infantry unit under Timon and some Persians under Omanes. These two units had the specific responsibility of guarding the fortress. We learn that those living in the *chorion* had previously been given land by Antiochos I and Alexander.² The Smyrnaeans guaranteed them in the—untithed—possession of this. The Smyrnaeans also guaranteed the

former Magnesians *katoikoi* possession of their property in Magnesia in the event the land was added to Smyrnaian territory; furthermore they confirmed that it was to be tax-free. To those without land they gave *kleroi hippikoi*. Timon and his men received tax immunity, while Omanes, Menekles, and their men were given the normal pay and rations as well as the privileges conferred upon those from Magnesia. Along with these benefits, all the inhabitants of Palaimagnesia—the former Magnesians *katoikoi*, the garrison soldiers, and the troops under Menekles—were granted citizenship in Smyrna.



In general see Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, 125—26; Griffith, *Mercenaries*, 154-55; Launey, *Recherches*, 673-74; K. M. T. Atkinson, *Antichthon* 2 (1968) 51-53; BarKochva, *Seleucid Army*, 57-58; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 60-62; and MAGNESIA near Sipylos.

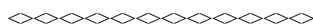
1. *OGIS* 229 = *Staats*. III.492 (bibliography) = *I. Mag. Sipylos* 1 (discussion and commentary).

The actual text of the Smyrnaian resolution (Il. 99-108) is not fully understood. I have tried to give the general sense of the passage. For differences in interpretation see the studies cited above and further references there. In the decree the king is identified as Antiochos *θεός καὶ σωτήρ* (l. 100). This can only be Antiochos I; see Launey, 673 and n. 3. For *kleros hippikos* see Cohen, 61-62.

2. On the term *chorion* see L. Robert, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 588-89; L. and J. Robert, *JS* (1976) 200-204 ("forteresse" or "forteresse avec la population qui l'avoisine").

Pantheotai

In his enumeration of the cities in the *conventus* of Pergamon Pliny lists the Hermocapelitae, Attalenses, Panteenses, and Apollonidienses (*NH* 5.126). The Flavian *conventus* list from Sardis records the following cities in the *conventus* of Pergamon: the Apollonideis, Indeipediatai, Hermokapeleitai, Pantheotai, and Attaleatai. The Pantheotai of the Flavian list are identical with the Panteenses; the latter is the Latin form of the Greek ethnic. Habicht called attention to a likely connection between the term "Pantheotai" and a pantheon and noted that the Attalids, especially Eumenes II, fostered the worship of "all gods." Therefore he suggested that the community of the Pantheotai originated as an Attalid settlement around a sanctuary of *πάντες θεοί*.¹ Habicht has also suggested a location north of Apollonis, noting that the list of cities in both Pliny and the *conventus* list point in this direction. He therefore hypothesized that the Pantheotai were located in the general area around Apollonis, Indeipediton, Hermokapelia, and Attaleia.²



In general see T. Ihnken, *L Mag.*, pp. 90-92; Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, p. 499.

1. For the **conventus list** and Habicht's discussion of the Pantheotai see *JRS* 65 (1975) 65, col. II.6, and commentary, p. 79. On the important cult of "all gods" at Pergamon from the third century B.C. on, see Habicht, *I. Perg.* III.12-13; K. Ziegler, *RE* s.v. "Pantheon," 708-9.

2. Writing before the discovery of the *conventus* list, L. Robert argued that the **location** of the Panteenses (or Pandeenses) was at Panda, where there was a sanctuary of Apollo (*VAM*², 86-92, 278-79; see also Jones, *CERP*², 85). This sanctuary is mentioned in the inscription recording the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia near Sipylos, dated c. 243 B.C. (*OGIS* 229.61, 85 = *Staats*. III.492 = *I. Mag.* 1; the latter contains full discussion and commentary; see also *TAM* V.2.1411.5 and commentary). By this time Panda was probably in the latter's territory. Therefore Robert argued that the Panteenses were located in the territory of Magnesia, in the region south of Apollonis, between it and Magnesia.

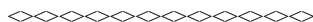
Philadelphiea

In describing Philadelphiea Strabo comments on the frequency with which it was hit by earthquakes and expresses surprise at the founding of the city (12.8.18 and 13.4.10). Nevertheless it *was* founded, and it flourished, thanks to the fertility of its soil—to which Strabo alludes—and to its location on the main roads from Pergamon and Sardis to Laodikeia and southern Asia Minor.¹ Strabo adds that the constant tremors frequently caused cracking in the walls of houses of the city. As a result many of the inhabitants preferred to live in the country, outside the city walls.

The founder of Philadelphiea, according to Stephanos (s.v. no. 1), was Attalos II Philadelphos (159-138 B.C.).² The presence of the Macedonian shield on coins of the town indicates that Macedonians were among the earliest settlers and hence that it originated as a military colony.³ An honorific inscription, most likely dating to the period soon after the colony's founding, was voted by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐφῆβων. From the mention of *politai* and ephebes we may conclude that even at this early stage in its development Philadelphiea had the accessories of a polis. In the general area of Philadelphiea there was at least one other colony, at Kobedyle.⁴

Philadelphiea suffered extensive damage in the major earthquake of 17 A.D. that devastated much of western Asia Minor.⁵ Under Tiberius the city was renamed "Philadelphiea Neocaesarea," perhaps in gratitude for the emperor's help in rebuilding it.⁶ This name persisted until Claudius. Under Vespasian the name became "Flavia Philadelphiea"; this lasted until Domitian and reappeared under the Severi and succeeding emperors.⁷

Philadelpheia was located in the Kogamos River (the modern Alasehir * (Çay) valley at the site of Alasehir*.⁸



In general see KP I, pp. 24-43; III, pp. 15-24; J. Keil, *RE* s.v. "Philadelpheia," 2091-93; Tscherikower, 25-26; Magie, *RRAM*, 982-83; Hopp, *Unter.*, 103.

1. Jones claimed that Philadelpheia was a refoundation of the old Lydian town of Kallatebos (*CERP*², 54) and that the organization of Philadelpheia by guilds in the Imperial period originated in the Lydian (i.e., pre-Greek) town (see also Ramsay, *CBP*, 105-6). However, the site of Kallatebos is not definitely known (Magie, 799; see also G. Radet, *BCH* 15 [1891] 373-80; Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Kallatebos"). Broughton has correctly pointed out that the evidence for a guild organization, being from the Imperial period, is so late as to render Jones's suggestions questionable (*AJP* 62 [1941] 106). Seven tribes are attested from the Imperial period at Philadelpheia (*IGR* IV.1632 and *LW* III.656); these apparently also functioned as guilds. Their precise nature, however, remains unclear (see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 358; Magie, *RRAM*, 1008; Jones, *CERP*², 38, 54; Ramsay, *op. cit.*).

An inscription from Philadelpheia, dated to 85/6 A.D., refers to *πάλαις* (KP III.20). It is not clear, however, whether this refers to a settlement that preceded the Attalid colony or to an abandoned section of the city (see comments of Keil and von Premerstein, *loc. cit.*). Cf. the *palaia polis* at KOLOPHON; L. Robert, *RPh* (1936) 158 n. 6.

2. Regarding the **founder of Philadelpheia**, J. and L. Robert mention an inscription of Imperial date in the Manisa museum that refers to "King Attalos." They suggest this may have been the base of a statue set up in honor of the city's founder (*BE* [1958] 436; L. Robert, *RPh* [1976] 186). Joannes Lydos (*De mensibus*, ed. R. Wuensch, p. 113.5-6) was certainly incorrect in claiming the city was an Egyptian foundation. Undoubtedly he (or his source) was misled by the name and assumed the town had been founded by Ptolemy Philadelphos.

3. For the **Macedonian shield** on the coins of Philadelpheia see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 5121-22; *BMC Lydia*, 187, nos. 1-4; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 114, nos. 5-7, 9; *SNG* (von A) 3060; *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia* 342-47. Head is inclined to date these and certain other coins (cf. *BMC Lydia*, 187-89, nos. 1-23; *SNG* [von A] 3057-61; *SNG* [Cop] *Lydia* 337-51) to the second and first centuries B.C. (see also L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, p. 73, and *AC* [1935] 163). If this dating is correct, as is likely, it would mean that Philadelpheia developed very early into a polis. Imhoof-Blumer, on the other hand, claims that no coins were minted before Augustus (*Lyd. Stadt.*, 113). Cf. the Macedonian shield on coins of APOLLONIS and MYLASA. A coin of the late first century A.D. reads *ἐκ Μακεδόνος*

γυναῖκος, Strabo 10.4.10); see also O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen* (Göttingen, 1906) 230; L. Robert, *NInd.*, 116. For the claim that Philadelpheia originated as a military colony see J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1958) 436. On the other hand, Keil suggested that Philadelpheia was a civilian colony whose security was assured by the presence of a contingent of veterans (commentary to his publication, with E Gschnitzer, of the stele set up by the *koinon* of citizens and epebes, *AAWW* [1956] 223-24 n. 4). For the *koinon* in Seleucid foundations see Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 72-83.

4. For the colony at KOBEDYLE see KP II.223. A *horos* stone from the *temenos* of the temple of Apollo Toumoundo(e)s was found at the village of Badınca, 3 km southeast of Alasehir *. It is dated to 279-267 B.C. and records the restoration by Antiochos I and his son Seleukos of certain revenues to the god (R. Meriç and J. Nollé, *EA* 5 [1985] 20-24 = *SEG* XXXV.1170; see also P. Gauthier *BE* [1987] 292). Kastolos was a village in the territory of Roman Philadelpheia (*OGIS* 488; see Robert *Ét. anat.*, 159-60; KP II, pp. 115-16); for Kastolos in the Hellenistic period see KOBEDYLE. For other villages that may have been in the extensive territory of Roman Philadelpheia see Magic, 1023.

5. Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.47) includes Philadelpheia among the cities damaged by the **earthquake of 17 A.D.** Philadelpheia was one of the cities mentioned and represented on the statue base of Tiberius at Puteoli (*CIL* X.1624; C. Vermeule, *Studies Trell*, 91). Its name undoubtedly also appeared in a section, now lost, of a resolution of gratitude voted by the affected cities (*Sardis* VII.1, 9).

6. For the **identification of Philadelpheia and Neocaesarea** see Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münz.*, 772-73, who in 1890 suggested that certain coins of Neocaesarea with portraits of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius belonged not to the Pontic or Bithynian city of that name but rather to a yet undetermined city in the province of Asia. With the publication of an inscription from Antioch on the Maeander recording a list of Carian and Lydian communities that included Neocaesarea Buresch argued that it and Philadelpheia were one and the same (*AM* 19 [1894] 103, 118-21, and *Aus Lydien*, 217; see also Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 115-23). The subsequent publication of coins with the legend I A E E N NEOKAI APE N. confirmed the identification (Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. R. Münz.*, 126-27, nos. 4-6; id., *Lyd. Stadt.*, 117, no. 15; *SNG* [Cop] *Lydia* 374; Ruge, *Geog. Zeit.* 6 [1900] 199; on the name change see also Burnett, in *RPC*, 492). For coins with NEOKAI APE N or NEOKAI APEI see *Inv. Wadd.* 6359-61 (see Babelon's note); Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münz.*, 576, nos. 49-51 (see Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 217); *BMC Lydia*, 195-96, nos. 55-56; *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia* 372-73.

7. For **coins with ΦΛΑΒΙΩΝ (often abbreviated ΦΛ) ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ** see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 192-202, nos. 37-50, 60-62, etc.; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 123-26, nos. 31, 36, 40-41; *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia* 355-61, 365-67, 386-90, 393; *SNG* (von A) 3064, 3066, 3068-70, etc.; L. Robert, *MG*, 77. Surprisingly, in the Flavian *conventus* list published by Habicht the city is listed only as "Philadelpheis"

without the addition of "Flavia" (*JRS* [1975] 65, col. I.19-20). For the titles "Neokoros" and "Metropolis," which are found in the third century A.D., see *BMC Lydia*, lxxxv; Magie, 1552. For a coin wrongly attributed to Philadelpheia but which, in fact, belongs to Eumeneia see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 164-65.

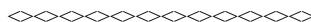
8. Philadelpheia is listed in the *conventus* of Sardis in both the recently published Flavian list (*JRS* [1975] 65, col. I.19-20) and Pliny (*NH* 5.111). It later became the major city of a new *conventus* (Aelius Aristides *Or.* 50.96, 98 [vol. II, p. 449, ed. B. Keil]; see further Habicht, *JRS* [1975] 75 and n. 77). Philadelpheia is recorded on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* VIII.4. Both Ptolemy (5.2.14) and Hierokles (669 3) place it in Lydia; see also the *Not. Ep.* 1.145, 2.165, etc.; the *Notitia* of Basil (163, ed. H. Gelzer [Leipzig, 1890]); and *Nova Tactica* (1301, ed. H. Gelzer).

The **ethnic** most often used was **Φιλαδελφηνός** is occasionally found (e.g., the restored *CIG* 3000 [third century A.D.]; also Pliny *NH* 5.111: *Philadelphini*; Tac. *Ann.* 2.47: *Philadelpheni*; see L. Robert, *BCH Suppl.* 1 [1973] 437-38).

For an account of the scanty ancient remains at Alasehir * see H. Curtius, *AKAW* (1872) 93-95. For a map see Meriç and Nollé, 19.

Sardis

According to Polybius, Sardis was the site of the siege and execution of Achaïos by Antiochos III in 214-213 B.C. Antiochos punished the city for its support. According to Hanfmann, "the western part of the city was abandoned as a residential quarter and turned over to industry and burial grounds."¹ Newly discovered inscriptions provide evidence for a repopulating of the city, a *synoikismos*, by Antiochos in 213 B.C. as a result of the intercession of Queen Laodike. In two letters to Sardis the king arranged for, among other things, (a) wood to be supplied for rebuilding the city, (b) an exemption from the 5 percent (royal) tax, and (c) the restoration of the gymnasium, an increased contribution of olive oil, and some relief from billeting.² From another inscription recording Laodike's response to cultic honors voted by Sardis we learn that the city had established a *temenos*, the Laodikeion, and an altar for her and had also established an annual festival, the Laodikeia, and a religious procession.³ The inscriptions give evidence for decrees passed by the *boule* and *demos*, a *tamias*, and *strategoi*.⁴ Under the Seleucids there was a major royal mint at Sardis.⁵ Sardis minted no coins of its own during the Hellenistic period, with the possible exception of the period of Attalid domination, c. 226-223 B.C.⁶ Three tribes are known from the second century B.C.: Tmolis, Pelopis, and Eumeneis.⁷

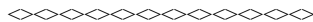


In general see G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis* (Cambridge, 1983) 109-18; and E. Gauthier, *Sardes II*, who published the new inscriptions from Sardis and who provided full commentary.

1. For the **siege and destruction of Sardis and the execution of Achaïos** see Polyb. 7. 15-18, 8.15-21; Hanfmann, 109, 260 n. 20.
2. For the various **grants made by Antiochos III to Sardis** see Gauthier, nos. 1.2-7, 3.3-10. With these concessions compare Antiochos' repopulating of AMYZON in 203-201 B.C., his conduct toward Seleukeia in Pieria after he captured the city (Polyb. 5.61.1-2), his refounding of LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, and his treatment of Jerusalem in 200 B.C., when he repopulated (~~συνοικισαν~~) the city after it had been devastated by war (Joseph. *AJ* 12.138-44; E. Bickerman, *REJ* 100 [1935] 4-35). In the latter case he provided, among other things, sacrificial animals, wine, oil, frankincense, wheat, and salt for the Temple. He also provided timber and other materials for restoring the Temple. In addition he gave various tax relief measures and set free those who had been enslaved.
3. For the **cultic honors for Laodike** see Gauthier, nos. 2.10-13 and 3.11; for other examples of civic cultic honors for Laodike and Antiochos III, as well as a dynastic cult of Laodike and Antiochos III, see ILION.
4. For the **decrees of the boule and demos, the tamias, and strategoi** see Gauthier, nos. 4.11, 13; 2.5-6.
5. For the **royal mint** at Sardis see Newell, *WSM*, 242-71; Houghton, *CSE*, 51-53.
6. For the **coinage** of Sardis (ethnic: ἈΠΙΑΝΝΟΙ) see H. Seyrig, *RN* (1963) 35-37. Gauthier suggests (151-70, esp. 165ff.) that it was at this time that Sardis first achieved the status of a polis.
7. For the **tribes** Tmolis and Pelopis see Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 111 and 259 n. 30; also Hanfmann and N. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis* (Cambridge and London, 1978) 146, no. 211 (Tmolis). For Eumeneis see Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 114 and 260 n. 33. For other tribes of Sardis attested either earlier in Herodotus (4-45-3) or from the Imperial period see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 355-57; see also L. Robert, *NIS*, 7. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum (*Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* [Garden City, N.Y., 1970] 319) suggest that Sardis was one of the *topoi anankaïotatoi* to which Antiochos III sent Babylonian Jewish colonists (Joseph. *AJ* 12.148-53); see further JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia and Phrygia. I do not think this is likely. When Antiochos refounded LYSIMACHEIA he called back the old inhabitants, ransomed those who had been sold into slavery and invited new settlers as well. He acted similarly toward Jerusalem in 200 B.C. (see above, note 2). With regard to Sardis, the conciliatory nature of Antiochos and Laodike's actions renders it unlikely that the synoecism also involved the imposition of a foreign colony.

Satala

An inscription from the vicinity of Satala in the upper Hermos River valley bears a dedication made by ἡ βασιλέων κατοικία. Hermann suggests that this *katoikia* was Hellenistic, founded either by the Seleucids or by the Attalids. We should need further information before definitely claiming a Hellenistic origin for the *katoikia*.



For the **dedication** see Herrmann, *TAM* V.1.609; Debord, *REA* 87 (1985) 348.

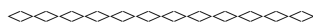
Stratonikeia

Stratonikeia on the Lydian-Mysian border has suffered neglect at the expense of the more famous like-named city in Caria. It is nowhere specifically mentioned in the ancient literature. It does appear, however, in Byzantine sources: Stephanos (s.v. "Stratonikeia") confused it with the Carian city.¹ On the other hand, the Council of Ephesos records a Lydian Stratonikeia, and the *Notitiae* distinguish it from the Carian settlement.² Epigraphic and numismatic evidence from the second and first centuries B.C. confirm that the name of the foundation was Stratonikeia and that the inhabitants were identified as "Stratonikeians of Indeipedion." Around this time a town of the Indeipediai existed as a separate entity. Under Trajan the two cities were connected in a sympolity, as is evidenced by their jointly issuing coinage.³ In 123 A.D. the two cities were absorbed into Hadrian's new foundation of Stratonikeia-Hadrianopolis.⁴

Stratonikeia was probably founded by Antiochos I and named for his wife, Stratonike. Later it fell under the control of Aristonikos, who minted cistophori there.⁵ Aristonikos was subsequently besieged and captured by the Romans at Stratonikeia.⁶ Epigraphic evidence for the existence of a *prytanis*, gymnasiarch, ephebach, secretary of the ephebes, and lists of ephebes from the late second or early first century B.C. shows that at the time Stratonikeia was still a polis.⁷ After this, however, we have no more evidence from it until Roman times. The Roman coinage extended from Trajan to Gallienus.

The general location of the town is indicated by a coin of the third century A.D. of Stratonikeia with a river god and the legend KAIKO. Discoveries in the nineteenth century by Earinos and Radet of pieces of columns and of inscriptions of Hadrianopolis-Stratonikeia at a site between the villages of Siledik and Yagmurlu (approximately fifty-two kilometers east of Bergama and eighteen kilometers northeast of Kirkagaç) have fixed the site of Stratonikeia.⁸

Thus it was on the route from the Hermos valley to the Propontis. The Indeipediton is the plain that lies between Siledik and Karkagaç.



In general see G. Radet, *BCH* 11 (1887) 108-28; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 28-37; Tscherikower, 20-21; L. Robert, *VAM²*, 43-71, 252-71; Magie, *RRAM*, 978, 1042; Ruge, in *RE* Suppl. VII, s.v. "Stratonikeia-Hadrianopolis," 1244-50.

1. Tscherikower groups this Stratonikeia with cities in Mysia (20-21). In fact, early references to Stratonikeia do not indicate where it was located, or confuse it with the Carian city, while later references (fifth century A.D. and later) place it in Lydia (see below). As a result Robert refers to it as Stratonikeia on the Kaikos (*VAM²*, 43 and n. 1; cf. also Robert, *BCH* 102 [1978] 437 n. 2). Eutropius (4.20.2) and Orosius (5-10.4-5) both mention the capture of Aristonikos by the Romans at a city called Stratonikeia (not otherwise specified, though it was undoubtedly the one in Lydia; see below). On the confusion in Stephanos see Ramsay, *AJA* 2(1886) 22; Robert, *VAM²*, 43-44. The **confusion of the two Stratonikeias** by some scholars persisted until the end of the nineteenth century. The following coins and inscription of Stratonikeia in Lydia are incorrectly ascribed to the Carian city: Mionnet, 3: 378, nos. 437-39 and Suppl. 6: nos. 486-87, 496, 502, 504-6; Imhoof-Blumer, *M. Gr.*, 316, no. 87a; *Inv. Wadd.* 2573-74; *Weber Coll.* 6557; LW 111.1043. See also *BMC Caria*, 152, no. 39; 153-154, nos. 46-48, which Head groups with Caria; in the introduction, however (lxxii-lxxiii) he correctly suggests that the coins belong with the Lydian Stratonikeia. *Inv. Wadd.* 2523 belongs with the Lydian Stratonikeia, not with Pedia (noted by Babelon, *RN* [1897] 326 n. 1; also for *Inv. Wadd.* 2573-74). Peek, *Gr. Vers-Inschr.* 1.1787 and 1934 belong with the Carian and not with the Lydian city (Peek's attribution is repeated by K. Parlasca, *Röm. Mitt.* 77 [1970] 130 n. 53; contra, L. Robert, *Gnomon* 31 [1959] 19; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1971] 618).

2. Stratonikeia in Lydia is not mentioned by Hierokles (Robert, *VAM²*, 45 n. 2 and 67 n. 4, against Ramsay, *AJA* [1886] 22). For Stratonikeia in the Council lists see E. Schwartz, *Acta Conc. Oecum.* t.1, v.1, part II, p. 63, 1-179 and t.1, v.1, part VII, p. 115, 1-111. It is mentioned in the *Not. Ep.* at 1.167, 2.186, 4.176, 7.214, 9.112, 10.127, 13.119; the Carian city appears in *Not. Ep.* 1.298, 2.361, 3.479, 4-136, 7.375, 9.257, 10.309, 13.313. Le Quien in the *Oriens Christianus* (1740) 1.893-94 distinguished the two Stratonikeias, as did Parthey in his edition of Hierokles and the *Notitiae* (1866).

3. H. Kiepert (*FOA* IX and p. 3b), Schuchhardt (*Alt. v. Perg.* 1.1: 138q), and Philippson (*Reisen*, 1: 64) use the name form "Stratonike/Stratonice" (as do Oros. 5.10.4 and Eutropius 4.20.2: *apud Stratonicen civitatem*) but the correct form is "Stratonikeia"; see Ruge, *RE* Suppl. VII: 1246.

For the **ethnic** "Stratonikeian" in Pergamene ephobic lists of the second and first centuries B.C. see Kolbe, *AM* 32 (1907) 443, no. 319-3 and 7; 446, 328.1: Robert,

VAM², 52 n. 7 and 54. For a cistophorus of Aristonikos from Stratonikeia see below. For "Stratonikeians of Indeipedion" see *AM* 32 (1907) 446, no. 328.4; *AM* 35 (1910) 422, no. 11.11. For the town of the **Indeipediatai** see *AM* 32 (1907) 446, no. 328.5; *TAM* V.2.1204. 11; and L. Robert, *VAM²*, 54. The Indeipediatai are listed in the Flavian *conventus* list from Sardis (Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 65, col. 11.4-5, and pp. 78-79). For the legend IN I TPA and IN EI TPATONEI on coins of Trajan and Hadrian see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 2573-74; *BMG Lydia*, 285, nos. 5 and 6 (the latter = *BMC Caria*, 153, no. 46); 286, nos. 7 and 8 (= *BMG Caria*, 154, nos. 47 and 48); Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 30-31, nos. 5-8; *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 556-58; *SNG (von A)* 3185-86, 8268-69.

In an interesting and challenging article K. J. Rigsby has suggested (*TAPA* 118 [1988] 130-37) that *OGIS* 338, which was found at PERGAMON, was not, as usually accepted, a decree of that city. He believes that the stone was a "pierre errante" that was removed from another city and brought to Pergamon during the Imperial period or later. Briefly, Rigsby's main argument (131-34) for removing the decree from Pergamon is that the dating formula—by a priest alone—is not found in any other Pergamene document. Contra, P. Gauthier (*BE* [1989] 279; see also *SEG* XXXVIII.1263, 1266), who argues that eponymous priests are in fact found at Pergamon.

According to Rigsby, the city whence the stone might have come was Stratonikeia in Lydia. If I understand him correctly, Rigsby argues that the occurrence of both "Stratonikeians" and "Stratonikeians of Indeipedion" in the extant Pergamene ephebic lists (see above) indicates "that distinct Stratoniceas are represented in the two usages of the ephebic lists" (136). Furthermore he claims that the two Stratonikeias were located close to each other. He then suggests that the town of the Indeipediatai originated as Stratonikeia of Indeipedion and "from its creation stood in sympolity with the original Stratonicea" (136). This having been said, Rigsby sensibly comments that he is arguing only a possibility and admits the fragility of his hypothesis (136).

As a parallel to Stratonikeia being in the immediate vicinity of Stratonikeia of Indeipedion Rigsby cites the case of **AMYZON** in Caria and Amyzon Πέτρας (*I. Priene* 51.5; see J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 577-79). On the other hand, it is also possible that the two Stratonikeias were quite far apart. In his discussion of Stratonikeia L. Robert suggested that "of Indeipedion" served to distinguish this city from other "homonymous cities" (*VAM²*, 52-53). Presumably Robert had in mind, as Rigsby suggests (136), STRATONIKEIA in Caria. In fact we should be careful about articulating any rules or guidelines for differentiating between the occurrence of the simple ethnic for a city and the ethnic with a distinguishing element. For example, in the case of APAMEIA Kelainai the available evidence suggests that on documents from the city the simple ethnic was used. Only as one proceeds farther away do we find a distinguishing element (see also Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 81). On the other hand, in *I. Perg.* 13 one finds three references to PHILETAIREIA by Ida. In one instance the town is simply called "Philetaireia"

(l. 2); in two other cases (ll. 20, 55) it has the qualifying "by Ida." As far as I can see, in all three cases the references are to the same town.

4. **Hadrianopolis-Stratonikeia.** For coins with A PIANO O IT N TPATONIKE N, A PIANO TPATONIKE N, A PIANO O EIT N TP or other variations of the abbreviations, see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 1001-3; *BMC Lydia*, 285-87, nos. 3, 12-15; Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münz.*, 724-26, nos. 625-29, 632-33, 635-36; id., *Lyd. Stadt.*, 35-36, nos. 14, 16-17, 19 (also possibly nos. 10-12; see Imhoof-Blumer's comment, p. 35); *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 559; *SNG (von A)* 3188-89. For Hadrianopolis-Stratonikeia in the epigraphic evidence see, for example, *BCH* 11 (1887) 108-26 (= *Hellenica* 6 [1948] 80-84, no. 26: three letters of Hadrian to Hadrianopolis-Stratonikeia, 127 A.D.); LW 111.1043 (= *IGR* IV. 1159); W. Gawantka and M. Zahrnt, *Chiron* 7 (1977) 305-14; L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 437-52; see also Robert, *VAM*², 43-82. By the mid-third century A.D., however, we also find coins with just the name "Stratonikeia"; see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 285, no. 4; Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münz.*, 726, no. 637; id., *Lyd. Stadt.*, 36, no. 20; *SNG (von A)* 3183-84 (**ethnic:** TPATONIKE N). Likewise in the Byzantine period we find only the name "Stratonikeia"; see above, note 2.

5. Two possibilities have been suggested for the **founder** of Stratonikeia: Antiochos I in honor of his wife (and stepmother) or Eumenes II in honor of his wife. Discussion centers on the interpretation of a **cistophorus of Stratonikeia** with the letters TPA BA ΘΤΑ with Thyateira. See *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, AKAW [1884] 14, 28-32; *Gr. Münz.*, 773-74.) L. Robert (first edition of *VAM*, 48-49), on the other hand, suggested that the dates were regnal years and since Eumenes II ascended the throne in 197 B.C., the Stratonikeian coin dated to 194. Furthermore, since Eumenes was not betrothed to Stratonike until 188 B.C. (Livy 38.39.6; see Magie, 770-71), Robert argued that the city must have been named for Antiochos I's wife and therefore must have been founded by him (*VAM*, 48-49, followed by Ruge, *RE* Suppl. VII: 1247; and Magie, 978). Hence Robert claimed it was a Seleucid foundation. However, in 1954 E. S. G. Robinson demonstrated that the Eumenes of the cistophori was not the Attalid king but rather his bastard son Aristonikos, i.e., Eumenes III (*NC* ser. 6, vol. 14 [1954] 1-8). Thus, as Robinson pointed out (6), Stratonikeia could have been founded by Eumenes II. In the second edition of *VAM* (252-57) Robert acknowledged the cogency of Robinson's numismatic arguments but pointed out correctly that this still did not exclude the possibility that Stratonikeia had been a Seleucid foundation (256). Robert noted that Stratonike was honored throughout western Asia Minor: (a) STRATONIKEIA in Carla was definitely a

Seleucid settlement, (b) the Ionian League voted divine honors for Antiochos I and Stratonike (*OGIS* 222.30ff. = *I. Erythrai u. Klazomenai* 504), and (c) Stratonike enjoyed divine honors at Smyrna (*OGIS* 229.8-10 = *I. Mag. Sipylos* 1), where she probably also had a month named for her. (The *Hemerologium Florentinum* includes "Stratonikos [Stratonikeon]" in a list of months for a calendar of Asia; see F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technologischen Chronologie* [Leipzig, 1914] 3: 19; W. Kubitschek, *DAWW* 57.3 [1915] 93-94, who suggested that this is a calendar of Smyrna; see also L. Robert, *REA* [1936] 23-28; J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1973] 77. The Stratonike in question could, of course, be the wife of Eumenes II: she had a priesthood at Pergamon [*OGIS* 313 = *I. Perg.* 178] and Teos [*OGIS* 309 = L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 9-20, esp. 18-19]. Nevertheless, in view of the prominence of the Seleucid queen it is more likely that she was also commemorated in the month name; see K. Scott, *JCS* 2 [1931] 203-4; L. Robert, *REA* [1936] 23-25; Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, 109 and n. 4. For the cult of Aphrodite Stratonikis at Smyrna [*OGIS* 228.4, 12 = *FD* III.4. 153; *OGIS* 229. 12, 70, 83; Tac. *Ann.* 3.63], which was probably founded by Antiochos II, see, for example, Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, 111f., 115-18; C. Habicht, *Gott.*², 100-101; T. Ihnken, *I. Mag. Sipylos*, 56; Klose, *Münzprägung*, 24-25; C. P. Jones, *AJN* 2 [1990] 65-69.) In general see Habicht, *Gott.*², 100-101. On balance, therefore, although there is nothing to exclude the possibility that Eumenes II was the founder, there are positive indications supporting the choice of Antiochos I.

The problem remains of determining the **beginning of the cistophoric coinage**. Robinson's demonstration that the BA **ET**series belongs to the period 132-130 B.C. rather than 196-186 B.C. undermined the arguments for dating the origins of the cistophori to the third century. In recent years arguments have been proposed for various dates in the first half of the second century B.C. ("discussion on the beginning of the cistophorus has produced almost as many dates as authors," K. W. Harl, *Cl. Ant.* 10 [1991] 271). I give below a selection of opinions (for a review of the scholarship see D. Kienast, *JNG* 11 [1961] 159-88; Kleiner, *ECC*, 10-16; Le Rider *JS* [1989] 164-69; R. Bauslaugh, *NC* [1990] 61-62).

In four places Livy mentions cistophori in the loot taken by the Romans in 190, 189, and 187 B.C.: the triumph of M'. Acilius Glabrio over Antiochos III and the Aetolians in 190 B.C. (37.46.3), the naval triumph of L. Aemilius Regillus over Antiochos in 189 (37.58.4), the triumph of L. Cornelius Scipio over Antiochos in 189 (37.59.4), and the triumph of Cn. Manlius Vulso over the Galatians in 187 (39-7.1)-At first glance this should be strong and conclusive evidence that the cistophori were already in circulation before 190 B.C. This position has been argued most recently, for example, by Allen (*Attalid Kingdom*, 112-13, "before, although not long before, 188 BC") and Harl (268-94). However, the Aetolians and the Seleucids based their silver coinage on the Attic tetradrachm. Furthermore, the presence of cistophori, which did not normally circulate outside the Attalid kingdom, in the loot of triumphing Roman generals is puzzling. The Romans were, after all, allies of the Attalids. As one possibility Harl suggested (291) that the money may have

come from the future Seleukos IV when he raided the Attalid kingdom in 190; i.e., he captured many cistophori that fell into Roman hands after the battle of Magnesia. This is unconvincing and in any event does not adequately explain the presence of the cistophori in *four* triumphs. Alternatively, Haft suggested that it was "even more likely that the sums reported in triumphs represent(ed) payments of indemnities by cities of Asia Minor to Roman commanders." The historical problem in Livy's text has caused many scholars to dismiss his testimony as an anachronism; see, for example, R. Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage* (Copenhagen, 196) 2: 146-48. Price (*KME*, 240) linked the introduction of the coinage to the events following the Peace of Apameia in 188 B.C. and suggested that cistophori were in circulation by 180. He noted the presence of a single cistophors in a hoard that dates to 168-167 (*IGCH* 237). The cistophorus in question belongs to series 23 of Kleiner and Noe's arrangement (*ECC*, 92) and could, according to Price, date to before 180 B.C. Bauslaugh concurred (61-64); he suggested that in the period 188-183, while the Seleucids were paying off the war indemnity to the Pergamenes (Polyb. 21.42.20; Livy 38.38.14) the latter continued to use the Attic standard. The period after this may mark, according to Bauslaugh, the beginning of the cistophoric coinage. This is certainly a reasonable hypothesis. Mørkholm argued for the first peaceful period for the Attalids after 188 B.C., 179-172 B.C., and thus opted for c. 175 B.C. (*ANS MN* 24 [1979] 47-50); Le Rider (*JS* [1989] 16-69) suggested the period between c. 185-180 and c. 175-170 B.C. Kleiner (*ECC*, 16-18; *ANS MN* 25 [1980] 45-48) suggested a date around 1660 B.C., after the defeat of the Gauls. H. Nicolet-Pierre (*KME*, 208-12, following B. V. Head, *NC* [1880] 145-46) proposed a still later date, c. 159 B.C., when Attalos II came to the throne.

6. Regarding the **site of Aristonikos' capture**, both Eutropius (4.20.2) and Orosius (5. 10.4-5) say it was Stratonikeia without specifying whether it was the one in Caria or in Lydia. Favoring the former were among others Foucart (quoted by Radet, *REA* 6 [1904] 161), Holleaux (*Ét.*, 2: 193-94), and L. Robert (*Ét. anat.*, 465; the first edition of *VAM*, 48). However, the full discussion by Broughton (*CPh* 29 [1934] 252-54) has shown that in fact the city in Lydia was where Aristonikos was taken. This is now the generally accepted view (thus Hansen, *Attalids*², 157; Magie, 1042 with bibliography). In the second edition of *VAM* (261; also *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960] 59 n. 5) Robert changed his mind and followed Broughton; he pointed out further that the attribution of the cistophori of Stratonikeia to the fourth year of Aristonikos "settled the question."

7. According to Imhoof-Blumer (*Lyd. Stadt.*, 29, 36, followed by Head, *BMC Lydia*, cxvi) after the capture of Aristonikos, Stratonikeia was probably reduced to the status of a village in the territory of Thyateira; it regained its independence under Trajan and was refounded by Hadrian. Jones thought it was punished for its support of Aristonikos by the confiscation of the territory of the Indeipediatai (*CERP*², 399 n. 94; *Greek City*, 55; *JHS* 56 [1936] 84). The strongest argument against these views is the epigraphic evidence for the continuation of a **polls structure at Stratonikeia** into the first century B.C.; see A. Dain, *Inscriptions*

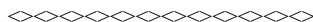
grecques du musée du Louvre, les textes inédites (Paris, 1933) no. 41 (= Michel, *Recueil* 643); Robert, *VAM*², 268-71; Magie 1476 n. 19. For the remains of what might have been a gymnasium see Radet, *BCH* (1887) 116.

8. For the Stratonikeian **coin with the legend KAIKOΣ** see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 285, no. 4.

The **location** of the Lydian Stratonikeia was fixed by G. Earinos (*Mous. k. Bibl.* 1 [1875] 135) and Radet (*BCH* [1887] 114-18). For photographs of the hill of Stratonikeia see Robert, *VAM*², pl. xx; Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 138. For inscriptions discovered in the area see *Syll.*³ 837 (found at Yagmurlu) and LW III.1043 (found at Siledik and brought thence to Kirkagç); also a fragmentary inscription discovered at Yagmurlu (Radet, *BCH* [1887] 126). Radet also saw coins of Hadrianopolis-Stratonikeia found in the area (118). In general see Radet, 115-18; Ruge, *RE* Suppl. VII: 1246; Robert, *VAM*², 43-46, 262-64.

Tabala

A dedication made to Apollo Tarsios by a certain Pleuratos has been found at Davala on the Hermos River. Herrmann suggested the name was Illyrian; the Roberts believed it was Macedonian. On this basis the Roberts theorized that there was a Macedonian colony at or near Tabala. Irrespective of whether Pleuratos was Illyrian or Macedonian we must await further evidence before claiming the presence of a colony in the area of Tabala. Tabala was located north of the modern Davala (which preserves the ancient name) at the present village of Burgaz.



For the **dedication to Apollo Tarsios** see Herrmann, *DAWW* 80: 41, no. 31 (= *TAM* V.1.195), and commentary. For the claim that Pleuratos is a **Macedonian name** see J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1963) 240. On the **location** of Tabala see Herrmann, 19-22. The Hermos River is the modern Gedizçay.

Thyateira

There were various traditions in antiquity that Thyateira had once been called Semiramis, Pelopeia, and Euhippia. In fact it is doubtful if these names were ever actually used. As for the name "Thyateira" it is probably Asiatic. "Teira," which is found in other place-names, is apparently a Lydian term for "fortress" or "town." This suggests that Thyateira was an old Lydian town that predated the arrival of the Seleucids.¹

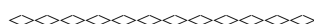
The colony at Thyateira was one of the oldest of the Hellenistic settlements. It was probably founded by Seleukos I in the short period between his victory

over Lysimachos at Korupedion and his death (i.e., 281 B.C.). By 274 there definitely was a colony at the site: a dedication to Apollo Pityaënos dated to the thirty-seventh year of the Seleucid era survives. A number of inscriptions mention the presence of Macedonians, as does Strabo, who refers to Thyateira as a "Macedonian settlement" (13.4.4). The military organization of the colony can be seen in the dedication made to Seleukos by the "officers and soldiers" (*OGIS* 211). We also have evidence for the existence of a gymnasium. The fact that in one inscription the colonists are described as "in" (*en*) and in another as "around" (*pen*) Thyateira suggests that perhaps they may have been divided into urban and rural groups.²

The history of Thyateira in the third century B.C. is imperfectly known. In the early part of the century its inhabitants, if not its territory as well, suffered at the hands of the Galatians. In the inscription recording the dedication to Apollo Pityaënos of 274 B.C. the dedicator mentions his son who had been captured by the Galatians. The town and the surrounding region continued in Seleucid hands until c. 226 B.C. From c. 226 to 223 B.C. Attalos I controlled the area. The Seleucids then regained it, only to lose it to the Attalids again in 218 B.C.—for how long we do not know. Attalos held the city in 201 B.C. when Philip V marched toward it (Polyb. 16.1.7). Once again we do not know how long after this date the city remained in Pergamene hands.³ In any event, in 190 B.C. the territory *circa Thyatiram* as well as the city itself was under Seleucid control, and in that year Antiochos III encamped near the town.⁴ By the terms of the treaty of Apameia the town and the surrounding region were included in the newly enlarged Attalid kingdom.

The earliest coins are bronze pieces of the second century B.C.⁵ Cistophori with the legend **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΣ** and the date Α(?) and Β are from the (first? and) second year of the pretender Aristonikos, who had seized Thyateira (Strabo 14. 1.38) and who apparently assumed the title Eumenes.⁶ Following this, coins do not appear to have been minted again until the first century A.D. The coinage then continued until the third century.⁷

Thyateira was located on the Lykos River northeast of the present Manisa at the site of Akhisar.⁸



In general see M. Clerc, *De Rebus Thyatirenorum* (*Pads*, 1893); KP II, pp. 11-16, 27-29; Keil, RE s.v. "Thyateira," 657-59; Tscherikower, 21-22; Magie, *RRAM*, 977-78; Heinen, *Unter.*, 40-41; Orth, *König. Macht.*, 140 n. 7; Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator*, 301-2; Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, pp. 306-15 (collected *testimonia* on pp. 306ff.).

1. On the names allegedly once held by Thyateira see Stephanos, s.v. "Thyateira" (Pelopeia and Semiramis); Pliny *NH* 5. 115 (Pelopia and Euhippia). A fragmentary inscription has Semiramis, Pelopia, and Thyateira (Hicks, *CR* 3

[1889] 136, no. 2 [= *TAM* V 2 1177], found with other inscriptions in or near Akhisar; cf. Magie, 977, who correctly notes that since it may be a fragment, one must reserve judgment on the connection between these words; *nota bene*, however, that the genuineness of the inscription is not secure; L. Robert suggested [*RPh* (1939) 137] it was engraved sometime in the seventeenth century by members of the Greek community; see also Herrmann, *TAM* V.2, p. 415, quoting Clerc, *De Rebus Thyatirenorum*, 10). On the names see also Clerc, 9-10; *RE* s.v. "Thyateira," 657. For the suffix "*teira*" see S. Reinach, *REG* 3 (1890) 64; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 165; KP III, p. 87.

2. For the **dedication to Apollo Pityaënos** see KP II.19 (= *TAM* V.2.881). For Macedonians at Thyateira see in addition to Strabo, M. Clerc, *BCH* 10 (1886) 398, no. 1 (= *TAM* V.2.1109: "Menedemos son of Neoptolemos *Θυατείροις Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται* Clerc comments that the Menedemos inscription is one of the oldest from Thyateira and may date from the first successors of Alexander (398). Referring to *BCH* (1887) 466, no. 32, Radet said that on the basis of letterforms it compares with the Menedemos inscription (466). Launey thought the Menedemos inscription may date to as early as the end of the fourth century B.C. If Launey is correct, we would have evidence for the presence of Macedonians at Thyateira sometime before the presumed founding of the colony by Seleukos I (*Recherches*, 338). From Roman Thyateira an epitaph of Marcus son of Menophanos Lagidas survives (KP II.79 [= *TAM* V.2.1106] and the commentary of Keil and von Premerstein; see also L. Robert, *NInd.*, 118). The name Lagidas suggests descent from Macedonian ancestors; cf. the occurrence of the name "Lagetas" at PHILADELPHIA in Lydia.

For Seleukos I as **founder** of the settlement at Thyateira see, for example, Clerc, *De Reb. Thyat.*, 14; Schulten, *Hermes* 32 (1897) 528; Tscherikower, 22; KP II, p. 28; Launey, 338. Stephanos (s.v. "Thyateira") says that Seleukos established the colony after his victory over Lysimachos. We may dismiss his delightful—but unconvincing—etymological note that Seleukos named it for his daughter. (*Θυγάτειρα*). Ed Meyer suggested the founder was Antiochos I (*Hermes* 33 [1898] 647); Schuchhardt thought this and other colonies of the region were founded in the middle of the third century to deal with the Galatian threat (*AM* 13 [1888] 9-12). For a **gymnasiarch** at Hellenistic Thyateira see *BCH* (1887) 465, no. 31; Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 175-76. For wreaths presented by the *demos*, *neoi*, and *paides* see KP II.44; for one given by the *demos* see Buckler, *RPh* 37 (1913) 327, no. 18 (second century B.C.; see also KP II, p. 12). For the Macedonians "in" Thyateira see *OGIS* 211; for those "around" see *BCH* (1887) 466, no. 32. Cf. the *katoikoi* at MAGNESIA, who were divided into two groups: those in the city and those out in the open (*OGIS* 229.35; cf. 36, 43-51, 59-60, 71-74, and 92, on which see Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 77 and nn. 25 and 26).

3. On the **probable Galatian incursion into Thyateiran territory** see KP II.19 and commentary; Magie, 731. For the difficult problem of the extent and duration of **Attalid control** of the region of Thyateira in c. 226-223 B.C. and after 218 B.C. see Will, *Hist²*, 1: 297, 2: 16-17, 50; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 2: 17ff.; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 105; Herrmann, *TAM V.2*, p. 309.

4. Livy three times (37.8.7, 37.37.6, 37.38.1) uses the expression *circa Thyatiram* to describe the presence of Antiochos III and his army near Thyateira. This, of course, does not prove that Antiochos actually controlled the city in 190 B.C. However, the fact that after the battle of Magnesia envoys from Thyateira surrendered the city to the Romans makes it highly probable that he did (Livy 37.44.4). For the passing of Thyateira to permanent Attalid control see Polyb.21.45.10; Livy 37.55-5; Hansen, *Attalids²*, 93; Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 283. There is no reason to believe that after the fall of Aristonikos, Stratonikeia in Lydia was reduced to the status of a village and included in the territory of Thyateira; see STRATONIKEIA in Lydia.

5. Imhoof-Blumer and Head suggest that **the earliest coinage** may predate 190 B.C., i.e., it may belong to Seleucid Thyateira (*Lyd. Stadt.*, 147, no. 1; *BMC Lydia*, cxxi and 292, nos. 1-7; see also *Inv. Wadd.* 5337-39; *SNG [Cop] Lydia* 569-71; *SNG [von A]* 3199-3200; **ethnic: ΘΥΑΤΕΙΦΗΝΩΝ**). For bronze coins that Imhoof-Blumer assigns to the period of Attalid rule after 189 B.C. see *Lyd. Stadt.*, 148, nos. 4-6.

6. E. S. G. Robinson (*NC* ser. 6, vol. 14 [1954] 1-8) has convincingly demonstrated that the **cistophori** of Thyateira should be assigned to Aristonikos (133-130 B.C.; similar coins were issued at APOLLONIS and STRATONIKEIA in Lydia). For the cistophorus from the Cabinet de Paris, which may be read as having an A see M. Kampmann, *RN* (1978) 38-42. For the old view that the coins were issued early in the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.) and, hence, were evidence for an Attalid presence at Thyateira in the early second century B.C. see Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 26; L. Robert, *VAM* (first edition), 37 (in *VAM²* 252-56, Robert expressed agreement with Robinson's interpretation). On the cistophoric coinage see also STRATONIKEIA in Lydia.

7. Newell has tentatively suggested that under Antiochos Hierax there was a **royal mint** at Thyateira (*WSM*, 278). There is no conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis. For Thyateiran **coinage under the Empire** see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 293-320, nos. 8-144; *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 572-633; *SNG (von A)* 3201-37 and 8273-79. Under Claudius and Nero the ethnic is ΘΥΑΤΕΙΦΗΝΩΝ in the genitive for small denominations; see Burnett, in *RPC*, p. 404.

8. We know of a number of **villages that may have belonged to Thyateira**. From the Hellenistic period there is evidence for Pityaia (KP II.19 and P. 15). Mernouphyta, which was close to Thyateira, had an Attalid colony. I am not aware of any evidence to indicate whether or not it was part of Thyateira. Certainly when it was founded by Attalos and Eumenes it was not (see

MERNOUPHYTA). From the Roman period we have evidence for the villages of Arenoi and Nagdemoi (*IGR* IV.1237), the *katoikia* of the Tabeirenoi (*IGR* IV.1245 = KP II.52 = *TAM* V.2.967), and Azaphyta (KP II.18 = *TAM* V.2.859). Head also suggests that the epithet Boreitene as used for Artemis on Thyateiran coins and inscriptions probably derived from a village in the city's territory (cxxi).

For the **location** of Thyateira see Philippson, *Reisen*, 2: 12; KP II, p. 11; Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.* I.1: 143; Hermann, *TAM* V 2, p. 307. Archaeological remains are scanty; see U. Serdaroglu, *PEGS* s.v. "Thyateira." Pliny mentions that Thyateira was on the Lykos (*NH* 5.115). The Lykos (the modern Gördük Çay) is also mentioned in an inscription (*BCH* [1887] 100, no. 23.17 = *TAM* V.2.991; see also Weber, *JDAI*, 20 [1905] 203-4). For a coin of Thyateira with the legend **ΑΥΚΟΣ** see Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 185, no. 1 (= *RSN* 23 [1923] 307, no. 334); see also *BMC Lydia*, 317, no. 135 (river god without the legend). On the Lykos see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 187 and 2. id., *RA* (1934) 89 (photograph).

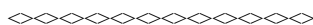
XI
Caria

Alexandreia by Latmos

Stephanos records a total of eighteen Alexandreias (s.v.). The tenth, called "by Latmos," was in Caria. Stephanos adds that it had a sanctuary of Adonis in which there was a statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles. This is all that is known about Alexandreia by Latmos.

Two possibilities have been proposed for the town that was subsequently renamed Alexandreia: Alinda¹ and Herakleia by Latmos.² Furthermore, four possible founders have been suggested: the Carian queen Ada, Alexander the Great, Lysimachos, and Antigonos Monophthalmos. The fact that Herakleia by Latmos was probably refounded as Pleistarcheia suggests that Alinda may have been renamed Alexandreia. According to Arrian (*Anab.* 1.23.8), Alinda, which is where Queen Ada resided, was "a place amongst the strongest in Caria."³ When Alexander came to Caria she met him, surrendered Alinda, and adopted Alexander as her son. Hence it is reasonable to surmise that Alinda was renamed at that time and that, in gratitude to her adopted son, Ada possibly effected this change.

If Alinda did become Alexandreia by Latmos, it did not entirely lose its original name. By the second century B.C., if not earlier, the old name was in regular use.⁴ Alinda itself has thus far yielded no inscriptions. The identification of the site (still unexcavated) at Karpuzlu is considered certain by the discovery there of Alindean coins.⁵



1. For **the identification of Alexandreia by Latmos and Alinda** see, for example: Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 662; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, 59 n. 3; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 432; Bean, *TBM*², 162; Bosworth, *Comment.* on 1.23.8; Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 314 and n. 156; J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 6. Droysen also bases this identification on an Alindean coin (Mionnet, Suppl. 6: 445, no. 55, Caracalla and Plautilla) that portrays a Praxitelean Aphrodite on the reverse. Berve was not inclined to accept the Alinda-Alexandreia equation (*Das Alexanderreich*, 2:12 n. 1).

2. Radet (*De Coloniis*, 25), Tscherikower (28-29), Jones, and Errington (see below, note 3) suggested that the new city may have been the renamed **Herakleia by Latmos**. If Herakleia was renamed Alexandreia, the new name did not last. An inscription from Herakleia dating to the early second century B.C. records a letter sent by Zeuxis to the *boule* and *demos* of Herakleia (M. Wörle, *Chiron* 18 [1988] 421ff.).

Tarn describes Stephanos s.v. "Alexandreia 10" as insoluble and then hazards an untenable suggestion that someone *may* have confused Herakleia in Caria with Herakleia in Media (*Alexander*, 2: 242).

3. **Four combinations have been proposed for the founder of Alexandria and the native city that was renamed:** (1) Queen Ada renamed Alinda (Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 662). Errington is uncomfortable with this possibility because it would mean that the first Alexandria was founded not by Alexander but by a Carian queen. Furthermore Errington claims that the silence of our sources about this "perhaps argues against it" (*Alexandre le grand*, Fondation Hardt Entretiens 22 [Geneva, 1976] 165-66 and n. 4). Neither of these objections is convincing. (2) Alexander renamed Alinda (Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 314 and n. 156). Although various cities in Asia Minor maintained traditions that Alexander was their founder (see Appendix II), it is not likely that he actively began to establish colonies until after the battles of Issos and Gaugamela. Of course it is possible that he gave permission to Ada to rename Alinda. On Arr. *Anab.* 123.8 see Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 314 n. 152. (3) Herakleia by Latmos was renamed Pleistarcheia by Pleistarchos and then Alexandria by Lysimachos (Jones, *CERP*², 42, 385 n. 23; see also Hadley, *JHS* 94 [1974] 63). Errington (162-66) objects to this because Strabo says *κτίζειν ἐπωνύμους πόλεις, εἰθ' ἑαυτῶν* (13.1.26) Errington understands this to mean that each of the Successors (except Kassandros) founded an Alexandria (or possibly, in the case of Seleukos, an Alexandropolis) before going on to found other cities named for themselves. The Greek, however, is not so restrictive. Jones's suggestion, for which he provides no argumentation, should be considered speculative, as should Errington's hypothesis. (4) Herakleia by Latmos was first renamed Alexandria by Antigonos Monophthalmos, and then Pleistarcheia by Pleistarchos (Errington, 166-67). Errington suggests that Pleistarchos did this essentially to spite both Alexander and Antigonos. We do know that Antigonos and Demetrios carried on extensive operations in Caria (see Billows, *Antigonos*, 208-9). Nevertheless the absence of any evidence connecting Antigonos to Herakleia renders this sequence of foundings unlikely.

4. For the **persistence of the name "Alinda"** see *I. Mag.* 3 3 (possibly first half of the third century B.C.; see R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style* [Oxford, 1938] 95); *OGIS* 441.149 (= *I. Strat.* 508.7, 81 B.C.); and *IG* VII.420.40.

Coinage of Alinda dates from the second century B.C.; see, for example, *BMC Caria*, xxx and 10, nos. 1-11; *SNG* (Cop) *caria* 17-23; *SNG* (yon A) 2402-3.

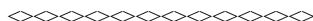
5. For the **location of Alinda** at Karpuzlu (formerly Demircideresi) see L. Robert, *VAM*², 22 and n. 4, 363 and n. 8. On Alinda in general see Bean, *TBM*², 161-68; and *PECS* s.v. Alinda"; J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 6ff. (photographs and plan).

Amyzon

Amyzon, which had been ruled by the Ptolemies, came under Seleucid control by the spring of 203 B.C. The transition was apparently accompanied by serious dislocations. A letter of Antiochos III to Amyzon dated to May 203 B.C. (*RC* 38)

attempts to reassure the inhabitants and to encourage them not to flee.¹ In fact an Amyzonian decree of November/December 201 for the *epistates* Menestratos indicates that many of the inhabitants had abandoned the town and that their property was being held at Alinda.² Menestratos arranged for the return of the property and the repopulation (συννοικισμός of 201 B.C. The decree for Menestratos also provides important information about religious life in Amyzon. Immediately after mention of the two kings (Antiochos III and his son) and the Seleucid era (112 = 201 B.C.) the decree refers—in a restored section—to the high priest of the royal cult.⁴ It also mentions a priest of the cult of Zeus Kretagenes and of Diktynne⁵ as well as a priest "of the kings." The latter was probably a civic cult of the Seleucid kings.⁶

Amyzon was located in the interior of Caria, northwest of Karpuzlu at the site called Mazin Kalesi.⁷



In general for Amyzon under Seleucid rule see J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 132ff.

1. *RC* 38 = *Amyzon*, 132-33, no. 9; and the Roberts' commentary, pp. 134-37; see also *RC* 39, 40.

2. For the **decree of 201** B.C. see *Amyzon*, 151-53, no. 15, and commentary, pp. 188-91. For other examples of an *epistates* in a Hellenistic foundation see Appendix VIII; see also Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 5.26.5. As far as I know, Amyzon provides the first attestation of a Seleucid *epistates* in Asia Minor. Other notices of an *epistates* in Asia (none earlier than Antiochos III) include Seleukeia in Pieria (*RC* 45.1; cf. Polyb. 5.60.1); Laodikeia by the Sea (*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* 1261.2); Laodikeia in Iran (Nehavend; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 [1949] 7); Seleukeia on the Tigris (Polyb. 5.48. 12). For an *epistates* at Uruk see Tarn, *GBP*, 25-26. In general see Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 216-20; Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher*, 24-26; Préaux, "Vies hellénistiques," 98ff.

For other examples of Antiochos overseeing the rehabilitation of destroyed or abandoned cities see SARDIS, LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, and Jerusalem (Joseph. *AJ* 12.138-44; Bickerman, *REJ* 100 [1935] 4-35). Cf. his treatment of Seleukeia in Pieria after he captured the city. According to Polybius (5.61.1-2) the king spared the free inhabitants, brought back Seleukeian exiles, and restored to them their civic rights (ἡ πολιτεία) as well as their property. He also placed garrisons in the harbor and in the citadel.

3. *Amyzon*, 212-14, no. 26. According to the inscription the secretary of the *boule* was to read out the list of names.

4. For the **high priest of the royal cult** see *Amyzon*, 151, no. 15.2/3: ἀρχιερέως - - / . .]ορος Cf. the Amyzonian decree of 202 B.C. (*Amyzon*, 146,

no. 142): [ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Νυκάν]ορος. For the royal cult of Antiochos III and Laodike see *RC* 36-37; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 [1949] 5-22; *CRAI*[1967] 281-96.

5. The **cult of Zeus Kretagens and of Diktyne** is mentioned both in the decree for Menestratos (*Amyzon*, 151, no. 15-3) and in the Amyzonian decree of 202 B.C. (*Amyzon*, 146, no. 14.3)- For the cults see the Roberts, *Amyzon*, 165-66; R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (New York, 1962) 188-93, 199-223, 276-77

6. The **"cult of the kings"** is attested at Amyzon (*Amyzon*, 151, no. 15.4-5) and Xanthos (*Amyzon*, 154, no. 15^B.4-5). The Roberts (*Amyzon*, 167) refer also to an unedited inscription at Olymos (no date is given by the Roberts) that likewise mentions a priest "of the kings." They point out that due to the date of the Amyzon and Xanthos decrees the cult "of the kings" might be taken to refer to Antiochos III and his son. However, the evidence of the Olymos inscription prompts them to suggest that we are dealing here with the line of the Seleucid kings. Cf. the priesthood found under Antiochos III at Antioch in Persis around the end of the third century B.C. at the time of the joint rule of Antiochos and his son (*OGIS* 233.2ff. = *I. Mag.* 61: priest of Antiochos III, his son, and the preceding kings).

7. The **ethnic** was **AMTZONEBN** (see, for example, *SNG* [von A] 2416; *Amyzon*, 153, no. 15. 19). For the **location** of Amyzon see *Amyzon*, 1ff., 271ff.; Bean, *TBM*², 168-70.

Antioch Alabanda

Stephanos (s.v. "Alabanda") refers to Alabanda as "a city in Carla that was once (called) Antioch."¹ Inscriptions from Delphi, Athens, and Alabanda confirm this identification.

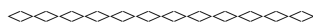
The Delphic inscription records a decree of the Amphiktyonic Council of 203/2 or 202/1 B.C. that referred to Antioch as a member of the Chrysaoric League and granted it *asylia*.² The Athenian inscription is a decree of c. 203 B.C. in honor of Antioch and its ambassadors, Pausimachos (who is also mentioned in the Delphic decree) and Aristophanes, the sons of Iatrokles. The Athenian decree recognized Antioch as being *asylōs*, bestowed upon it a crown of gold, and gave its citizens Athenian citizenship. The Athenians also granted olive crowns to the two ambassadors.³

Antioch was sacred to Zeus Chrysaoreus and Apollo Istimos; both the Delphic and the Athenian inscriptions mention this. Two inscriptions from Alabanda also record dedications to Apollo Isotimos and thus provide further

evidence that Antioch was the renamed Alabanda. Alabanda was called Antioch from the mid-third century B.C. It was probably refounded by Antiochos II.⁴ Alabanda reassumed its name after the withdrawal of the Seleucids from western Asia Minor in 188 B.C.

As an Antioch the city issued coins that were similar—except for the substitution of the new name—to those of Alabanda.⁵

Antioch was located on the Marsyas River, near the present town of Çine.⁶



In general see Tscherikower, 28; Magic, *RRAM*, 992-94; L. Robert, *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 435-66; R. L. Pounder, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 49-57; Huss, *Aussen.*, 199; Mastrocinque, *La Caria* 93-94, 161-62; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 307-11.

1. Stephanos actually records two Alabandas in Caria. The second is an error.

2. For **the Delphic inscription** in which the city is called *ἑοῦσα τῶν Ἑλλάνων* see *OGIS* 234 (= *FD* III.4.163); on the date see Robert, 449; G. Habicht, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 87-89. On **Alabanda and the Chrysaoric League** see Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 433-45. On **the identification of Antioch Chrysaoris with Alabanda** see M. Holleaux, *REG* 12 (1899) 345-61 (= *Ét.*, 3: 141-57); L. Robert, *BCH* 49 (1925) 228f. Holleaux and, independently, W. R. Paton (*CR* 13 [1899] 319-21) both refuted G. Radet's identification of Antioch with Mylasa (*Revue Univ. Midi* 2 [1896] 275-86; see also Kiepert, *FOA*, text to map VIII, p. 7).

3. For **the Athenian inscription** (*SEG* XXVIII.75) see Pounder, *op. cit.*; G. Habicht, *Chiron* 19 (1989) 10-11; M.J. Osborne, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 99-101.

4. For **the dedications to Apollo Isotimos** see Edhem Bey, *CRAI* (1906) 419; Laumonier, *BCH* 58 (1934) 298, no. 2. The **renaming of Alabanda as an Antioch in the time of Antiochos II** is attested by two documents recording honors for an Artemidoros son of Menyllos. In the first, a Delphic inscription of 275/4 B.C., Artemidoros and his brother Sisypchos are called Alabandians" (*GDI* 2587). In the second, a Delian decree of c. 267-240 B.C. (Robert, *BCH* Suppl. 1 [1973] 436f.), Artemidoros the son of Menyllos is referred to as an "Antiochene" (ll. 4, 14); see Robert's discussion, pp. 458ff. The information from the epigraphic evidence conclusively excludes the possibility that the name change to "Antioch" took place at the end of the third century or the beginning of the second under Antiochos III (so, earlier, Tscherikower, 28; Magic, *RRAM*, 993; Babelon, *RN* [1890] 423; Head, *HN*², 607). For **the abandoning of the name after the Seleucid withdrawal from western Asia Minor** cf. the ethnics of the lists of Panathenaic victors: beginning of the second century B.C., *Χρυσαορεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀλαβάνων* (*IG* II² 2315.36; cf. *IG* II² 2314.15, 23). A *proxenia* decree honoring a "Minnion," citizen of an Antioch, does not specify which Antioch it was (Ç. Sahin * and

H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 34 [1979] 213-15). If it was Alabanda, the date proposed by the editors (first century B.C.) would be too late.

It is not clear whether the Antioch recorded on the Delphic *theorodokoi list* (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 6, col. IC[a].23) is this city or ANTIOCH on the Maeander. For the dating of the list to c. 230-220 B.C. see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea.

5. On the **coinage of Antioch and Alabanda** see Babelon, *RN* (1890) 417-32; Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie*, 9-11, 186-89; Robert, *BCH Suppl.* 1 (1973) 448-53; N. Waggoner, in *KME*, 283-84. Coinage of the city began under the name Antioch during the latter part of the third century B.C. and continued when the toponym reverted to Alabanda. Issues of Antioch have been found in a number of hoards: mektepini (N. Olçay and H. Seyrig, *Le trésor de Mektepini* [Paris, 1965] 18, nos. 408-9 = *IGCH* 1410), Ayaz-In (H. Seyrig, *Trésors du Levant anciens et nouveaux* [Paris, 1973] P. 39, nos. 31-34, and p. 44 = *IGCH* 1413), Sardis (*IGCH* 1318), Amasya (*IGCH* 1372), and Latakia 1759 (Seyrig, *Trésors du Levant*, 53, nos. 68-69 [Antioch], nos. 70-72 [Alabanda] = *IGCH* 1544). The Mektepini, Ayaz-In, and Sardis hoards were buried not later than 190 B.C. Newell dated the Amasya hoard to 185-170 B.C. It will be noted that the Antioch tetradrachms in this hoard all exhibited "a fair amount of wear" (Waggoner, *KME*, 284 n. 5). Coins with the name Alabanda appear in hoards buried after c. 170 B.C. Thus the Latakia 1759 hoard, which was buried around this time, contained, as I mentioned, two coins with the name Antioch and three better preserved specimens with the name Alabanda; see further Waggoner, *KME*, 284 and n. 5. For coins of Antioch with the same type—Apollo Laureate on the obverse, Pegasus flying on the reverse—as those of Alabanda see Boehringer, 86-89. For the reattribution of coins from ANTIOCH on the Maeander to Antioch Alabanda see Robert, *BCH Suppl.* 1 (1973) 448f.; Babelon, op. cit. Note that *Inv. Wadd.* 2142-45, 2155-56, assigned to Antioch on the Maeander, in fact belong to Antioch Alabanda.

For coinage of Hellenistic Alabanda after 188 B.C. see Robert, Boehringer, and Waggoner. For the coinage of Imperial Alabanda see, for example, *BMC Caria*, 4-9, nos. 9-52; *SNG* (yon A) 2388-2401.

6. For the **location** of Antioch Alabanda and a description of the site see Bean, *TBM²*, 152-60.

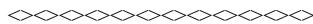
Antioch on the Maeander

In a particularly confused entry ("Antiocheia 11 in Caria") Stephanos says that Antioch in Caria was founded by Antiochos son of Seleukos. If this information is correct, it can refer to either Antiochos I or III. Most probably it was the former; he was quite active founding colonies in western Asia Minor and may have founded a number of settlements in Caria as well.¹ Stephanos adds that the city also had a tribe named Antiochis. Undoubtedly there was a cult of Antiochos as founder of the city. The other information Stephanos gives

on Antioch is unreliable. He says the city used to be called Pythopolis; but elsewhere (s.v. "Pythopolis") he says the same for Nysa. He mentions that Antioch was named in honor of Antiochos' mother, Antiochis. But Soter's mother was Apama, and the mother of Antiochos III was Laodike. Pliny says (*NH* 5.108): *Antiochia ubi fuere Symmaethos et Cranaos oppida*. Undoubtedly this means Antioch was formed by a synoecism of these two villages. A bronze coin from Antioch (*SN* G [von A] 2421) has on the reverse the figure of a man and the inscription Κραναός Ἀντιοχέων. This is certainly the eponymous hero of the village.²

The earliest coinage from Antioch dates from the second century B.C.³ A decree of Samos (from c. 165 B.C.) in response to the Antiochenes refers to the τὴν χώραν ὑπάρχειν Ἀντιοχίδα (1. 7; cf. ll. 11-12, 22). We do not know what the original size of the territory of Antioch was nor how much territory was added by synoecism, as in the Samos inscription. By the first century A.D. Strabo could remark that the city had considerable land on both sides of the Maeander (13.4.15).

The city itself was located on the south bank of the river, at the point where the Morsynos River, flowing north from Aphrodisias, enters the Maeander (Pliny *NH* 5.108). It was the site of a bridge that crossed the Maeander and carded the Common Road from Tralleis and Nysa eastward to Phrygia (Strabo 13.4.15, 14.2.29).⁵



In general, see Tscherikower, 27; L. Robert, *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 440-48; Magie, *RRAM* 988-89; C. Habicht, *AM* 72 (1957) 242-52; Gawantka, *Isopolitie*, 213; Orth, *König. Macht.*, 140 n. 8; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 230-31.

1. Other settlements in Caria that can be attributed to Antiochos I include NYSA, SELEUKEIA Tralleis, STRATONIKEIA, and, possibly, ANTIOCH Alabanda. For Antiochos I as the **founder**, see Habicht, *AM*(1957) 247; Magie, *RRAM*, 128. On this problem and the related one of Stephanos' errors see E. Babelon, *RN* (1890) 418-19; Magie, *RRAM*, 988-89. An Antiochene coin of the Imperial period bears an idealized bust on the obverse and the legend ANTIOXO (Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.*, 109, no. 8 = A. Dieudonné, *RN* [1902] 69). Another Antiochene coin with a bust of the emperor Gallienus on the obverse has a standing male figure on the reverse and the legend KTI TH ANTIOXE N (*BMC Caria*, 23, no. 59). As Rostovtzeff has pointed out, the Antiochos of the coins is "certinement Antiochus Ier Sorer, le fondateur de la ville" (*Mélanges Dussaud*

[Paris, 1939] 286; see also Leschhorn, 230-31); contra, Prehn, *RE* s.v. "Ktistes," 2086, who was doubtful about any attribution; Dieudonné, *RN* [1902,] 69, who suggested the *ktistes* is the hero Atys. For the **cult of Antiochos** see Habicht, *Gott*², 106; Leschhorn, 230-31.

If Stephanos' information that the founder of Antioch was "Antiochos son of Seleukos" is correct, this can be, as I have said, either Antiochos I or III. I believe it unlikely that it was the latter. In the aftermath of the "War of the Brothers" (c. 239-236 B.C.), the final defeat of Antiochos Hierax, and later the revolt of Achaïos (220-213) Seleucid control of Asia Minor in general and Caria in particular weakened considerably to the point where, for much of the last quarter of the third century, it was practically nonexistent. The absence of Seleucid control in Caria can be seen in the Antigonid presence in parts of Caria after 227, Attalid pressures from the north, Rhodian inroads from the south, Ptolemaic possession of various coastal cities, and the rise of an independent dynast like Olympichos (see J. Crampa, *I. Labraunda*, 123-31; Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 243-48; Huss, *Aussen.*, 193-200). It is, of course, true that Antiochos III had contact with western and southwestern Asia Minor. After his "anabasis" to the east, Antiochos traveled to southwestern Asia Minor in 204 or 203 B.C.; furthermore he was in Caria in 197 B.C., when he brought part of it back under Seleucid control. We also have evidence for Antiochos III maintaining contact with a number of cities in Caria: for example, Iasos (D. Levi and G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Annuario* 39-40 [1961-1962] 578, no. 5 [= *I. Iasos* 5]; *Annuario* 45-46 [1967-1968] 445, no. 2 [= *I. Iasos* 4]—a letter from Laodike to Iasos and a decree of the Iasians in response; the king and queen in the documents are Antiochos III and his wife, Laodike III; Pugliese Carratelli's identification of the queen as Laodike II was correctly challenged by the Roberts, *BE* [1971] 621; on the other hand, the Roberts' attempt to join this inscription to *OGIS* 237 [incorporated into *I. Iasos* 4 as lines 51-62] has been correctly challenged on epigraphic grounds by C. V. Crowther, *BICS* 36 [1989] 136-38; see also *SEG* XXXIX.1110 and references cited there), Herakleia by Latmos (M. Wörle, *Chiron* 18 [1988] 421ff.), Amyzon (*RC* 38 = J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 133, no. 4), SELEUKEIA Tralleis (*RC* 41), and NYSA (*RC* 43). Beyond Caria, we know that Antiochos III restored SARDIS after its destruction, sent out JEWISH COLONISTS to Lydia and Phrygia, recognized the games associated with Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander (*RC* 31), bestowed various benefactions on Teos (P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 [1965] 29ff.), extended his control over Lycia (J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 154, no. 15^B; in general see pp. 176-191 for Seleucid administration in Asia Minor under Antiochos III), and probably founded the KARDAKON KOME there. Nevertheless, Caria at the end of the third century B.C. was remote, falling away from Seleucid control and the prey of many. I do not believe, therefore, that Antiochos III founded Antioch on the Maeander.

2. L. Robert discusses the **Kranaos coin** in *Centennial Publication ANS*, 580-82 (= *Opera Minora* [Amsterdam, 1969] 1: 359-60. Imhoof-Blumer published a

bronze (early second century A.D.) from Antioch (*Kl.M.*, 109, no. 9; for the same type see also *Inv. Wadd.* 2158). On the obverse is the crowned head of the goddess of the city with the name **Ναῦβη**; "scheint an eine noch ältere Benennung der Stadt oder an eine Gründungssage zu erinnern" (109; see also L. Robert, *Opera Minora*, 1: 359-60); cf. Laumonier, who suggests that Narbis may simply be the name of a magistrate (*Cultes indig.*, 474).

3. For **the coins of Antioch** see for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 2140-41, 2150-54, 2157-79; *BMC Caria*, 14-24, nos. 1-4, 9-61; *SNG* (von A) 2417-32. All the autonomous coins of Antioch have the Maeander on them. Those that do not were wrongly attributed to Antioch on the Maeander. Thus, in *BMC Caria*, 15, nos. 5-8 belong to ANTIOCH near Pisidia. In the *Inv. Wadd.* 2142-45 and 2155-56 belong to ANTIOCH Alabanda, 2146-49 to ANTIOCH near Pisidia (see also J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 240-50; 256 n. 11; L. Robert, *BCH* Suppl. 1 [1973] 445-51).

4. The **Samian** decree was published by Habicht in *AM* (1957) 242-52, no. 65. On *syngeneia* see, for example, D. Musti, *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa* (1963) 225-39; J. H. M. Strubbe, *Anc. Soc.* 15-17 (1984-1986) 263ff. The Samian inscription gives the **name of the city** as **ἀπὸ Μαίανδρου**. Other epigraphic evidence for Antioch dates from the very end of the third century and later. Around 207 B.C. the city ratified a decree of Laodikeia on the Lykos (*I. Mag.* 59b.26). For three other decrees of Antioch (all after 188 B.C.) in honor of foreign judges see *I. Mag.* 90; U. von Wilamowitz, *Nordionische Steine* (Berlin, 1909) 56, no. 13 (cf. Robert, *NIS*, 17); and LW III.41 (on the latter see Robert, *CRAI* [1926] 169-71, who points out the similarity of the wording to the two other examples).

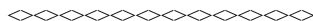
It is not clear whether the Antioch mentioned in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 6, col. IC[a].23) is this city or ANTIOCH Alabanda. For the dating of the list to c. 230-220 B.C. see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea.

5. For representations of the bridge on the coins of the third century A.D. see *SNG* (von A) 2430 and 2431. For the location of Antioch see Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 471; Bean, *PECS* s.v. "Antioch on the Maeander" ("near Azizabat, 20 km E of Nazilli").

Apollonia Salbake

Most of our information about Apollonia comes from epigraphic sources.¹ A fragmentary inscription mentions "King Seleukos"; it is dated to the sixty-ninth year of the Seleucid era in the month of Panemos (June 243 B.C.) and records the opening of a decree of the assembly (*MAMA* VI.154).² From another inscription, dated palaeographically to the time of Antiochos III, we learn

that the city had a council and assembly and that it granted, among other things, citizenship rights, *ateleia*, and *proedria* to the Seleucid hipparch stationed there. At this time there was a Seleucid garrison at Apollonia whose job was probably to patrol the surrounding region. The city also celebrated a gymnastic *agon* in honor of "King Seleukos." Presumably this is Seleukos I, and we are probably dealing with the cult of the city founder.³ But whether Seleukos I, in the short time between Korupedion and his death, actually founded the colony, or whether this was done by Antiochos I is not known. The gymnastic *agon* was still being held in the years after the Roman conquest of the area. The foundation was named in honor of Apollo. In the second century A.D. a citizen of Apollonia was known as an *Σαλβάκιος*.⁴ The coinage extends from the first and possibly the second century B.C. to the mid-third century A.D. No coinage of the Seleucid era has yet been discovered.⁵ In the vicinity of Apollonia "sacred villages" and a population, the Saleioi of the mountain and of the plain, belonged to a sanctuary.⁶ Apollonia was located south of Denizli on the site of the present village of Medet.⁷



In general see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 231-312; C. Habicht, *Gott²*, 107; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 303-5.

1. The **earliest mention of Apollonia in the literary** texts is in Pliny (*NH* 5.109). Later on it is cited in Ptolemy (5.2.15) and Hierokles (689.2).

2. **MAMA VI.154** = *La Carie*, 2: no. 165. For the date 243 B.C. see Bengtson, *Strategic*, 2: 104 n. 2.

3. For the inscription in honor of **the Seleucid hipparch**, see *La Carie*, 2: no. 166 and pp. 285-302. For the *agon* see no. 166.33-34:

ἀγῶνι). The similarity of the formulae in both no. 166 and no. 167 suggests that in both decrees we are dealing with the same cult (though *nota bene* that no. 167 is heavily restored). See further Habicht, 107; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 235.

4. For **Apollo**, see L. Robert (in *Laodicée*, 296; *La Carie*, 2: 270 n. 10), who suggests that this was the Greek god and the ancestor of the Seleucid house; cf. Laumonier (*Cultes indig.*, 514), who believes that in this instance Apollo recalls a native god. For the name of the city see *La Carie*, 2: no. 147.6-8 (= *CIG* 2761) and no. 148.6, 16.

5. The attribution of **coinage** to Apollonia Salbake has been rendered more difficult by the confusion in the past of some of its coins with other Apollonias in Asia Minor. For the reattribution of Apollonia coins previously grouped with

Salbake see APOLLONIA on the Rhyndakos in Mysia, APOLLONIA on the Maeander in Lydia, and APOLLONIA in Phrygia. For a corrected catalogue of the coins of Apollonia Salbake see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 255-73 (**ethnics**: A O NIAT N [*La Carie*, 2: 259ff.]; A O NIAT N A BAKH [*La Carie*, 2: 268 BD]) and the important discussion on pp. 238-55. The major collections should be consulted in conjunction with the Roberts' discussion and catalogue.

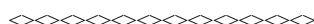
6. For the **sacred villages** (*La Carie*, 2: no. 166.14) see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 292-97; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 303-6.

7. On the identification of **Medet as the site of Apollonia** see P. Paris and M. Holleaux, *BCH* 9 (1885) 342-44; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 234-45 (photographs, pls. 39-42); Boffo, 303-4; see also map 4 in Philippson, *Reisen*.

The identification of Medet with Apollonia is assured by the discovery there of inscriptions drawn up by the "*boule and demos* of the Apollonians" (nos. 166.26-27 and 167.30-31) and of the numerous coins with the legend A O A NIAT N.

Eumeneia

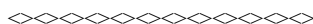
Stephanos (s.v. "Eumeneia") mentions a Eumeneia in Phrygia and a second one in Caria. And in his list of Carian cities Pliny says: *est Eumenia Cludro flumini adposita, Glaucus amnis* (*NH* 5.108). These references prompted scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to search for and try to identify a Eumeneia in Caria. But Robert has shown that at *NH* 5.108 Pliny mistakenly inserted a group of Phrygian place-names in his list of Carian cities. Furthermore, in describing the areas traversed by the Maeander Pliny lists, in order, *Apamenam primum pervagatur regionem, mox Eumeneticam, ac deinde Hyrgaeticos campos, postremo Cariam* (*NH* 5. 113). From this passage it is clear that the region of Eumeneia was in Phrygia and *not* in Caria. Obviously, therefore, we cannot use Pliny as evidence for the existence of a Eumeneia in Caria. As a result we are left with the doubtful authority of Stephanos as our sole evidence for a Eumeneia in Caria. And this is not sufficient.



For attempts to locate Eumeneia in Caria see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 712, 720; Radet, in *Studies Ramsay*, 315-21. Tscherikower has a Eumeneia in Caria, citing Stephanos and Pliny *NH* 5.108 as his authorities (31). Cf. Ruge, in *Philolog. Woch.* (1925) 1176, who doubted if such a city ever existed. For L. Robert's important discussion of Pliny *NH* 5.108, see *VAM²*, 151-59. See also LYSIAS and OTROUS.

Iasos

A fragmentary inscription from Iasos, probably dated to 309-308 B.C., records an agreement between Ptolemy I, Iasos, three military leaders, and their soldiers.¹ According to the inscription, the three military leaders commanded soldiers, some of whom resided in the territory of Iasos ([κατ]οικοῦντας II. 23-24). It is possible that these soldiers were or became military colonists²



1. For the **inscription from Iasos** see G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Annuario* 45-46 (1967-68) 437-45; the revised text of Y. Garlan, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 193-98 (= Blümel, *I. Iasos* 2); J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1971) 620; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 89-92. See also M. Wörle, *Chiron* 7 (1977) 49-50 n. 37; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 28-32; Buraselis, *Das hellen. Maked.*, 13 n. 41, 45-48. For the **dating of the text to 309-308** rather than the period 309-305 see H. Hauben, *EA* 10 (1987) 3, against the *communis opinio* (e.g., Pugliese Carratelli, 441; Bagnall, 90).

2. For soldiers settled in or near other cities see MAGNESIA near Sipylos, PALAIMAGNESLA, MYLASA, and PENTACHORA.

Mylasa

Launey finds evidence for a Macedonian colony founded around 314 B.C. in the region of Mylasa in a series of bronze coins with the name "Eupolemos" and Macedonian shields. Significantly, however, the coins were minted by Eupolemos himself and not by Mylasa or some other city. That being so, we should not use the money as evidence for a Macedonian settlement.



In general see Launey, *Recherches*, 345; contra, Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army*, 271 citing Wroth, *NC* (1891) 136, and G. Le Rider, *BCH* 114 (1990) 543-51. See also L. Robert, *AC* 4 (1935) 163-64; id., *Coll. Froehner*, 72-73. On Eupolemos see Billows, *Cl. Ant.* 8 (1989) 173-206; Robert, op. cit.; and PENTACHORA and references cited there. For **the coinage of Eupolemos** see A. Akarca, *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa* (Paris, 1959) 12, 101-2; Rostovtzeff, *REA* 33 (1931) 23-24. For the **Macedonian shield** on the coins see Billows, 182 and n. 28.

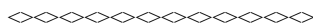
Nysa

Stephanos (s.v. "Antiocheia 11") says that "Antiochos, son of Seleukos" founded Nysa.¹ This could be either Antiochos I or III. Stephanos adds that it was

named for the king's wife. But the wife of the former was Stratonike, and the wives of the latter were Laodike and Euboea. In neither case do we know of another wife named Nysa. As a result it has been suggested the city was named for an unknown member of the Seleucid family.² Stephanos also says (s.v. "Athymbra") that the original name of the town was Athymbra, named for its founder Athymbros. Strabo cites Athymbros as the *archegetes* (14. 1-46). He tells us that Nysa resulted from a synoecism of three towns that were founded by three brothers, Athymbros, Athymbrados, and Hydrelos. Undoubtedly Athymbra served as the kernel for the later Nysa. The townspeople were still called Athymbrianoi in a letter sent by [Βασιλεῖς] Σέλευκος καὶ Ἀντίοχος, presumably Seleukos I and Antiochos I, in 281 B.C.³ The fact that two of the city tribes were called Seleukis and Antiochis suggests the existence of a founder cult in honor of the two kings. Nevertheless given that Seleukos survived Korupedion by only six months, it is likely that Antiochos assumed the primary responsibility for building the new foundation.⁴ Three other tribal names are known: Apollonis, Athenis, and Kaisareos.⁵

By the early second century B.C. the city had an assembly and council and was publishing *psephismata* (RC 64). The oldest extant contemporary evidence for the city name Nysa dates from the Roman period. The city first coined money under the Romans. Nysa is mentioned by name on cistophori dated to the period 133/2-111/0 B.C.⁶

Approximately three kilometers west of Nysa was the village of Acharaka, the site of the famous temple of Pluto and Kore.⁷ Nysa itself was just north of the Maeander, near Sultanhisar, and thirty-two kilometers east of Aydin.⁸



In general, W. von Diest et al., *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (Berlin, 1913); Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Nysa," 1631-40; Tscherikower, 27; Magie, *RRAM*, 989-91; Orth, *König Macht.*, 32-36, 142 n. 13; L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 65-77; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 287-93; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 64-65, 94-96.

1. Stephanos also (s.v. "Pythopolis") claims that Nysa was originally called Pythopolis. But as he gives the same information for Antioch on the Maeander (s.v. "Antiocheia 11"), one should not rely on the accuracy of the claim. On Stephanos' errors see Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 94-96. Methodios in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. "Akara") said that Nysa was originally called Akara.

2. On the naming of **Nysa** in honor of an unknown member of the Seleucid family see Magie, *RRAM*, 990. Strabo, who was educated at Nysa and presumably knew the history, does not mention a Seleucid founder: an argument *ex silentio*, admittedly. Regling connected the town name with the cult of Dionysos at Nysa (in von Diest, *Nysa*, 71 n. 2 92f.).

3. Some coins of Nysa in the second and third centuries A.D. contain the name **Athymbros** as eponymous hero of the city (Regling, in von Diest, *Nysa*, 81, no. 78; 86, no. 147). The extent to which Hydrela participated in the synoecism is not clear. In any event, it was minting coins from the first century B.C. to the early third century A.D. (*SNG* [von A] 3674-75; *BMC Phrygia*, lxx-lxxi and 271-72, nos. 1-4; *Inv. Wadd.* 2431-32; Ramsay, *CBP*, 172-75). At the site of Nysa no remains have been found to indicate settlement prior to the third century B.C. (Pringsheim, in von Diest, *Nysa*, 30 n. 2). For the term "Athymbrianos" in the letter of Seleukos I and Antiochos I see *RC* 9 2. There is nothing in *RC* 9 to suggest that the synoecism had yet taken place. F. Piejko assigns, without explanation, *RC* 9 to Antiochos III (see, for example, *Gnomon* 57 [1985] 611; *Epigraphica* 50 [1988] 45; *Hist.* 38 [1989] 399).

4. On the **cult venerating Seleukos and Antiochos** see Habicht, *Gött.*², 107, 153; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 233.

5. The evidence—dating from the first century A.D.—for the **tribes: Κασιόγηος** (*CIG* 2947)—It is probable that the tribe Apollonis was named in honor of Apollo (Regling, in *Nysa*, 94; L. Robert, in *Laodicée*, 296-98) rather than for Apollonis, the wife of the dead Attalos I and mother of Eumenes II (Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 153). The double denominations for four of the attested tribal names thus indicate two major stages—Hellenistic and early Roman—in the city's history; see further N.Jones, *Public Organization*, 358-60.

6. For the **coinage** of Nysa (**ethnic: ΝΥΣΑΙΩΝ**), see Regling (in von Diest, *Nysa*, 70-103); L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 64-77; *SNG* (von A) 3039-56; *BMC Lydia*, 170-86, nos. 1-79; *Inv. Wadd.* 2487-2516. For the cistophori of the period 133/2-111/0 B.C. see, for example, Regling, 71ff.; *SNG* (von A) 3039-43. For cistophori minted under Hadrian see W. E. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian* (New York, 1980) 50-51.

7. For the **temple of Pluto and Kore** see Strabo 14-1.44; for three royal letters to Nysa concerning the privileges for the Plutonium see *RC* 9 (Seleukos I and Antiochos I), 43 (Antiochos III), 64 (second century, the name of the writer is lost; K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 118 [1988] 149-53, suggests a later date for the letter; he speculates—not entirely convincingly—that the author was Mithridates VI Eupator in the period 88-85 B.C.; contra, P. Gauthier, *BE* [1989] 279); Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 287-93. *RC* 64 confirms the rights of **ἀντίστειαν** (1.11), which had been "previously granted by earlier kings" (1. 7). These rights were still recognized in 1 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 781.11-15). The worship of Pluto and Kote, the Theogamia, is mentioned both in inscriptions (*Syll.*³ 1066. 11, late first century B.C./early first century A.D.) and on coins (Regling, in *Nysa*, 88, nos. 177 and 185, third century A.D.). On the Theogamia see Regling, 91f.; L. Robert, in *Laodicée*, 297 and n. 2; id., *BCH* [1977] 74-76; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 507; Boffo, op. cit.

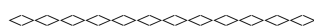
8. On the **location and site of Nysa** see L. Robert, *BCH* (1977) 64ff. (photographs, pp. 69-70; Bean, *TBM*², 179-85.

Olymos

There are three possible indications of a Hellenistic colony at Olymos: (1) Macedonian month names occur in the inscriptions, (2) Macedonian personal names are found among the inhabitants, and (3) the phrase *ἐπωληρωθέντων*, referring to a class of citizens at Olymos, in LW III.339.3. Although no one indication is conclusive, the collocation of these three factors raises the possibility that there had been a colony at Olymos.

Macedonian month names are found throughout the Hellenistic Near East in both colonies and native towns.¹ Macedonian personal names are found in the inscriptions of Olymos. However, they are not so frequent as to indicate definitely the presence of a Macedonian settlement.² Finally, the phrase *ἐπωληρωθείς* refers to someone who has been placed—by lot—in a political subdivision of the city.³ Of course the persons who had been placed in the subdivisions could have been colonists. Thus it is possible that there was a Hellenistic colony at Olymos.

Olymos and the temple that was dedicated to Apollo and Artemis were at or near the modern village of Kafaca, eight kilometers north-northwest of Milâs.⁴



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Olymos," 2516-19; Tscherikower, 30; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 141-60. Practically all of the epigraphic evidence for Olymos dates to the end of the second century and beginning of the first century B.C. when it underwent *sympoliteia* with Mylasa (LW III.323-39; Ruge, 2510-11, 2516-18; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 154-60). See also the collected inscriptions in *I. Mylasa* 801-79.

¹ Attested **Macedonian month names** at Olymos are Artemisios (LW III.:327.10, 328.4, 339.1 = *I. Mylasa* 810, 819, 861), Hyperberetaios (LW III.332.1 = *I. Mylasa* 802), Panemos (LW III.338.1 = *I. Mylasa* 806; A. W. Persson, *BCH* 46 [1922] 421, no. 24.30 = *I. Mylasa* 864), Peritios (LW III.:323-24 = *I. Mylasa* 817, 818; W. Judeich, *AM* 14 [1889] 385, no. 8.1-2 = *I. Mylasa* 829), Dystros (LW III.327.1; *AM* [1889] 370, no. 2.1 = *I. Mylasa* 808), Dios (*AM* [1889] 376, no. 4.1 = *I. Mylasa* 815; E. Hula and E. Szanto, *SAWW* 132.2 [1895] 4, no. 1.5 = *I. Mylasa* 822), Apellaios (LW III.:328.1), Daisios (LW III.336.1 = *I. Mylasa* 816A), and Xandikos (*SAWW* [1895] 4, no. 1.2 = *I. Mylasa* 823; W. H. Buckler, *ABSA* 22 [1916-18] 208, VIb.4 = *I. Mylasa* 833).

For the view that Macedonian month names indicate the presence of Macedonian colonies see Radet, *De Coloniis*, 7-8; A. Schulten, *Hermes* 32 (1897) 529, 530 n. 3; but cf. Ed. Meyer, *Hermes* 33 (1898) 644; Tscherikower, 30. For the use of Macedonian months in cities other than Macedonian colonies see, for example, *Sardis* VII.1, 105.2, 112.2, etc.; see the comments of A. E. Samuel (*Greek and Roman Chronology*, 132); and Tabai (J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 95-96): In general see Samuel, 144-45.

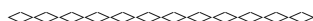
2. For the argument that the appearance of **Macedonian personal names** at Olymos is evidence for a Macedonian colony see Tscherikower, 30. Ruge (2512) has shown, however, that the number of definitely Macedonian names is far less than Tscherikower thought.

3. On LW III.339.3 (= *I. Mylasa* 860 see G. Cousin (*BCH* 22 [1898] 438), who suggests there was a new distribution of land when Olymos was annexed by Mylasa. Ruge (2519), on the other hand, suggested we are concerned with the descendants of the first settlers. Finally, L. Robert correctly demonstrated that the phrase ἀπογόνους τῶν ἐπικληρωθέντων refers to a distribution of new citizens into the political subdivisions of the city (with J. Robert, *BE* [1950] 25; *BCH* 57 [1933] 495; *Sinuri*, 26; see also Launey, *Recherches*, 51, 346; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 143).

4. For the **location of Olymos** see Bean, *TBM*², 25, 28; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 144.

Pentachora

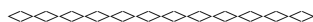
Around the end of the fourth century B.C. Eupolemos besieged and captured Theangela. A fragmentary inscription containing the end of the treaty between Eupolemos and the Theangelan defenders was first published in 1931. The treaty indicates that the soldiers surrendering to Eupolemos and entering his service asked for land in a region called Pentachora (ll. 20-21). The location of Pentachora is not known. If these soldiers did receive allotments and if they actually settled on the land, they may have founded a colony; alternatively they may have settled individually around Pentachora.



For the **treaty between Eupolemos and the Theangelan defenders** see M. Rostovtzeff, *REA* 33 (1931) 7-25; L. Robert, *AC* 4 (1935) 157-73; id., *Coll. Froehner*, no. 52 = *Staats*. III.429; and R. Billows, *Cl. Ant.* 8 (1989) 179-204. On **Eupolemos** see Rostovtzeff, 23-25; Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, 70-77; Billows, 173-203. On **Pentachora** see Rostovtzeff, 19; Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, 80; Billows, 201.

Philippoi Euromos

An inscription found at Euromos records an agreement between Zeuxis and the Φιλιπποί.¹ The agreement is dated to 197 B.C. The reference to Philippeis (1. 8) suggests that Euromos may possibly have been renamed Philippoi. Most likely Philip V would have done this in 201/0 B.C. during his expedition to Caria.² Euromos was located twelve kilometers northwest of Milas at Ayaklı.³



1. For the **agreement between Zeuxis and the Philippeis** see M. Errington, *EA* 8 (1986) 1-7 (= *SEG* XXXVI.973); P. Gauthier, *BE* (1987) 294.

The circumstances surrounding the possible foundation of Philippoi are not known. Gauthier has suggested (*BE* [1987] 294) it might have been in connection with some benefaction the king bestowed on the city, such as increasing the territory and the population. In this connection he calls attention to a fragmentary inscription from the nearby Chalketor (G. Cousin, *BCH* 22 [1898] 376-77, no. 16) and L. Robert's comment that the king was writing to a city to which he was assigning the people of Chalketor and that the city in question must be Euromos rather than Mylasa (*BCH* 102 [1978] 517).

Zeuxis' official title was ἑρῶν πάντων (Malay, *AE* 10 [1987] p. 8, ll. 29-31 = *SEG* XXXVII.1010, 209 B.C.).

Other recently published inscriptions have provided further attestations for Zeuxis' activity relating to Caria; for example, *I. Labraunda* 46 (Labraunda, 203 B.C.); J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, nos. 14 and 15 (Amyzon, 202 and 201 B.C.); M. Wörle, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 422-25 (= *SEG* XXXVII.859, Herakleia by Latmos, 196 [?]. B.C.). Recent epigraphic attestations for Zeuxis elsewhere in western Asia Minor include *SEG* XXXVII.1010 (cited above; Mysia, 209 B.C.) and P. Gauthier, *Sardes* II: 13, no. 1; 81, no. 3 (Sardis, 213 B.C.). In general for Zeuxis see J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 176-80; E. Olshausen, *RE* s.v. "Zeuxis 3," 381-85; id., *Prosopographie*, 204-5; Gauthier, *Sardes* II: 39-42.

2. For **Philip V in Caria** see Walbank, *Philip*, 125ff. It is most unlikely that an agreement between Zeuxis and the Philippeis would refer to Philippoi in Europe.

3. For the **location** of Euromos see Bean, *TBM*², 25-27.

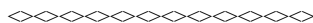
Pleistarcheia

Stephanos says that Pleistarcheia (s.v.) was a "Carian city that formerly and afterward was called Herakleia." This is the only evidence for the identification

of Pleistarcheia with Herakleia. Stephanos does not specify which Carian Herakleia he has in mind, though certainly it would be "by Latmos" rather than "Salbake."¹ The founder of Pleistarcheia was undoubtedly Pleistarchos the son of Antipater and the brother of Kassandros. An inscription from Tralleis records the dedication of a statue of "Pleistarchos Antipatrou." Furthermore, three inscriptions have been discovered in Caria that were dated by "Pleistarchos": at Hyllarima (year three), at the temple of Sinuri near Mylasa (year seven), and at Euromos (dating lost).² The cumulative epigraphic evidence confirms that this Pleistarchos is the dynast rather than a local magistrate.

We do not know when Pleistarcheia was founded nor in fact when Pleistarchos first gained control of part of Caria. We do know that Pleistarchos first received Cilicia after Ipsos and held it until dislodged by Demetrios Poliorketes in 299 or 298 B.C. (Plut. *Demetr.* 31.4-32.3). Presumably Pleistarchos also received Caria after Ipsos. Based on the epigraphic evidence for a rule of at least seven years, we may suggest that Pleistarchos' hegemony in Caria extended from 301 until at least 295 B.C. It was in this period that Pleistarcheia will have been founded.³

It has been claimed that the massive city walls were constructed by Pleistarchos, but the attribution is very uncertain. Suggestions for the builder have ranged from Mausolos in the fourth century B.C. to—less probably—Lysimachos in the early third.⁴ The site of Pleistarcheia Herakleia is at the eastern end of Lake Bafa, ten kilometers north of the village of Bafa and twenty kilometers east of Miletos.⁵



In general see Beloch, *GG*², 4.2: 317-18; Tscherikower, 30-31; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, 55-62; Magie, *RRAM*, 917-18; H. Schaefer, *RE* s.v. "Pleistarchos 2"; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 38ff.; Buraselis, *Das hellen. Maked.*, 22-33; R. Billows, *Cl. Ant.* 8 (1989) 190-93.

1. **The identification of Pleistarcheia with Herakleia by Latmos** rather than Salbake is based on at least two factors: (a) The epigraphic and numismatic evidence suggests Herakleia Salbake may not have been founded until the first century B.C., long after the life of Pleistarchos (the literary evidence does not begin until the second century A.D.); this argument is obviously *ex silentio* (L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 152-53, 220-22). (b) Herakleia Salbake is so far inland that, according to Beloch, it is hardly likely that Hellenization had penetrated that far at the time (*GG*², 4.2: 318); Beloch also refers to the construction of the city walls of Herakleia by Latmos around 300 B.C. as further proof that it was refounded as Pleistarcheia. But more recent studies (see below, note 4) have suggested alternative datings and attributions. In general see Robert, *Sinuri*, 59f.;

Schaefer, op. cit.; Buraselis, 25 and n. 87. For the suggested identification of Herakleia by Latmos with ALEXANDREIA by Latmos, see the latter entry.

2. For **the inscription from Tralleis** see A. Kontoleon, *BCH* 10 (1886) 455-56, no. 6 (= M. Pappakonstantinou, *Hai Tralleis* [Athens, 1885] 39, no. 50 = *I. Tralleis* 34), cited by R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 163.

For **the inscriptions dated by Pleistarchos** see P. Roos, *IM* 25 (1975) 339 (Hyllarima); L. Robert, *Sinuri*, 55, no. 44 (Sinuri); R. Merkelbach, op. cit. (Euromos; the inscription is unedited, but Billows, 190 n. 46, quotes a private communication from R. M. Errington, who will be publishing the Euromos inscription, that while "the year of Pleistarchos's rule in the dating formula is lost ... there is space for only a single character, implying a numeral of 10 or under"). Merkelbach also referred to an attestation for Pleistarchos at Amyzon, but no such evidence exists; see J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1976) 631.

3. The view that Pleistarchos controlled a "buffer state" extending along southern Asia Minor was enunciated by Beloch, *GG*², 4.2: 317-19; see other citations in Robert, *Sinuri*, 57 n. 5; also Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 38-40. Contra, Robert, *Sinuri*, 57-62; Magie, 917-18; Schaefer, *RE* s.v. "Pleistarchos 2," 197-98. See also Buaselis, 22-33; Billows, 190-93. L. Robert's suggestion that Pleistarchos may not have come into his Carian possessions until after he lost Cilicia was made before the appearance of some of the epigraphic evidence attesting his rule in the area (*Sinuri*, 57-62; Buraselis, 27-28).

4. For the **city walls of Herakleia** see, for example, Bean and Cook, *ABSA* 52 (1957) 138f. and fig. 5 (Hekatomnid; contra, F. E. Winter, *AJA* 67 [1963] 374 n. 38 and 75 [1971] 417 n. 28); S. Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 320-21 ("perhaps" Mausolos, but cf. p. 322: "It is ... perhaps unlikely that any of what survives at Herakleia antedates Alexander, though no doubt Mausolus did not leave the place defenceless"); A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städtenlagen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924) 16 and n. 2; and Magie, 918 (possibly Lysimachos); E. Krischen, *Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos*, Milet III.2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922) 51 (Pleistarchos; see also A. McNicoll, *Proceed. Xth Int. Cong. Cl. Arch.*, 1: 411: "basically of ... about 300 B.C."); Robert, *Sinuri*, 60 n. 1 (Eupolemos?).

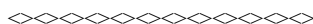
5. For the location of Herakleia and a brief description of the site see MacDonald, *PECS* s.v. "Herakleia under Latmos"; Bean, *AT*², 211-16, map opposite p. 272 and photographs, pls. 62, 64-70; see also L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) pp. 482ff., figs. 20-23.

Ptolemais

The existence of a Ptolemais in Carl, is attested only in epigraphic evidence. The end of a decree of Laodikeia on the Lykos (*I. Mag.* 59b.26-30, c. 205 B.C.) mentions *psephismata* that were passed by Antioch (presumably, on the Maeander), Europos (= Euromos), Alinda, and **Κα ωι** (l. 30). The fact that Euromos, Alinda, and (presumably)

Antioch were Carian cities naturally suggests that Ptolemais was as well.¹ Another inscription, found at Kaunos, records a dedication of a college of magistrates (*SEG* XII.463, dated on palaeographical grounds to the earlier Hellenistic period).² The persons named in the dedication were undoubtedly citizens of Kaunos, and the toponymics placed next to their names are probably to be taken as demotics of Kaunos. Two of the persons had the toponymic "Ptolemaieus" (ll. 6, 16). It is quite probable, therefore, that the Ptolemais of the Kaunian dedication is the same as that in the Laodikeian decree. In the Kaunian dedication we see Ptolemais as a deme of Kaunos, in the Laodikeian decree as an independent city. Thus we can now locate Ptolemais in the general region of Kaunos. Kaunos was located at the modern village of Dalyan.³ Unfortunately we do not know the precise location of Ptolemais, nor do we know the founder. However, inasmuch as Ptolemy II Philadelphos was active in the interior of Caria and elsewhere along the southern coast of Asia Minor, it is possible he founded this Ptolemais as well.⁴

As an independent city, Ptolemais presumably could have minted coins. However, there is no coinage that can definitely be attributed to it.⁵



In general see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 189-93; Bean, *JHS* 73 (1953) 10-27; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 98-99; Huss, *Aussen.*, 195.

1. The task of filling the lacuna in l. 30 of the **Laodikeian decree** (*I. Mag.* 59b) is a difficult one. In the first place the stone has disappeared from the Berlin museum. In addition, the reading of the first two letters is uncertain. And finally the length of the lacuna has been estimated to allow for anywhere from four to six letters (Robert, *Hellenica* 7: 190 n.1). Hiller von Gaertringen's suggested restoration **Κα[λύνδ]ωι** might fill the gap, and this is certainly a possibility (*Hellenica* 7: 190). The town name was normally spelled Kalynda, but the form Kalyndos is found in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 6, col. IC[a].8), where it follows Kaunos; the two towns were, in fact, near each other. Kalynda is also mentioned, along with Ptolemais, in the *thiasos* list discovered in the territory of Kaunos (*SEG* XII.473, on which see below and Bean, *op. cit.*, 25).

2. Bean originally published the **Kaunian dedication** (*SEG* XII.463) in *JHS* (1953) 21, no. 5. On the identification of the Ptolemais in *SEG* XII.463 and *I. Mag.* 59 see Bean, 23; Robert, *Hellenica* 7: 189-90.

Beside the Kaunian dedication Bean also published an inscription recording **a list of subscribers to a thiasos** (23-24, no. 6 = *SEG* XII.473). The inscription, which is dated palaeographically to a period "considerably later" than *SEG* XII.463, contains the name of a certain Zenon, who is described as

a "Ptolemaieus" (l. 17). It is not possible to specify whether the inscription dates to before or after the sale of Kaunos to Rhodes (see below). If after, it would bear witness to the persistence of the name Ptolemais, even in the period following the departure of the Ptolemies. Furthermore, we do not know if the toponymic "Ptolemaieus" is being used to indicate a deme of Kaunos or a foreign town detached (presumably by the Rhodians) from Kaunos; see further, Bean, 24-25.

3. On **Kaunos** see L. Robert, *BCH* 108 (1984) 499-532. On the location of Kaunos see Bean, 10, 12 (with maps); id., *TBM*², 166-79. Kaunos was briefly a Ptolemaic possession at the end of the fourth century B.C. (Diod. 20.27.2). It returned to Egyptian control some time after 285 B.C. At some point after 197 B.C. and before 189 B.C. (again, the date is not precisely known: Livy 33.20.11-13 placed it after 197 B.C.; App. *Mith.* 4.23 put it c. 190 B.C., and Polyb. 30.31.6 dated it before 189 B.C.; see further, for example, Holleaux, *Ét.*, 4:304 n. 3, who opts for 197 or 196; cf. Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 62; Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos* [Munich, 1957] 77 n. 3; on the other hand, see P.M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* [Oxford, 1954] 105-6; Magie, *RRAM*, 880; Walbank, *Comment.*, 3: 457; and Berthold, *Rhodes*, 83, 141 n. 38, who prefer 191-190 B.C.) the city was sold to the Rhodians for two hundred talents. On the history of Kaunos see Bean, 18; Beloch, *GG*², 4.2: 336-37.

Other suggested identifications for a Ptolemais in Caria include Keramos (Tscherikower, 29, following a suggestion of von Sallet, in *ZfN* 6 [1879] 265) and the doubtful Carian city of Astyra (L. Robert, in *BCH* 70 [1946] 518 n. 2; but cf. Bean, *JHS* [1953] 23 n. 61).

4. For evidence of a **Ptolemaic presence in the interior of Caria during the reign of Philadelphos** see, for example, *I. Strat.* 1002 (a contract for the sale of a vineyard at STRATONIKEIA, 274 B.C.); J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon*, 118ff. (an inscription from Amyzon recording a decree for a Ptolemaic *strategos*, 273 B.C.); *I. Labraunda* 43 (an honorific decree of the Chrysaoreis at Labraunda, 267 B.C.); Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 92-94.

5. There is a series of coins with TO EMAIE N written in full or TOAE (rather than the abbreviated TO) and an amphora; for examples see PTOLEMAIS Lebedos, note 2. These coins have been attributed to PTOLEMAIS Lebedos, PTOLEMAIS in Pamphylia, and, most recently, PTOLEMAIS Larisa in the Troad. The grouping with Ptolemais in Caria was made by von Sallet, op. cit.; contra, Friedlander, *ZfN* (1879) 239-41; Robert in 1946 (*BCH*, 518-19 n. 2). In 1982, however, Robert reattributed the coins to PTOLEMAIS Larisa (*BCH* 106 [1982] 319-27). See further the discussion in PTOLEMAIS Lebedos.

Seleukeia Tralleis

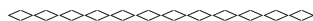
According to Pliny (*NH* 5.108) Tralleis was renamed Seleukeia. This is the only explicit literary attestation for the name change.

Tralleis was originally founded, according to Strabo (14.1.42), by Argives and some Tralleian Thracians.¹ The city surrendered itself to Alexander in 334 B.C. (Arr. *Anab.* 1.18.1). In 313 B.C. Antigonus captured it (Diod. 19.75.5). After Ipsos the city fell under the control of Lysimachos, along with the rest of western Asia Minor, and after Korupedion it passed to the Seleucids. At some point following this the city was renamed Seleukeia. We do not know precisely when this happened nor who did it. If the restoration of an Aetolian inscription of c. 260 B.C. granting proxenia to a **ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ** and the Maeander.³

By the latter part of the third century B.C. Seleukeia was receiving privileges from Antiochos III and had the accouterments of a developed polis: it passed decrees, had a *boule* and assembly, as well as *strategoi*, *tamiai*, and a secretary of the *demos*. It was divided into tribes and presented civic *agones*.⁴ There was an important sanctuary of Zeus Larasios in the city.⁵

The name Seleukeia persisted until the city passed to the Attalids following the Treaty of Apameia. By the mid-second century B.C. the city was appearing in inscriptions as "Tralleis."⁶ From 26 B.C. to the time of Nero the name of the town usually appears on coins and inscriptions as Caesarea. The double name Caesarea Tralleis is attested as early as Claudius and continues until Domitian. From Domitian onward the name Tralleis reasserted itself. On inscriptions the name Caesarea Traileis (along with Tralleis alone) persisted until the third century A.D.⁷

Seleukeia was located at the site of the present city of Aydin.⁸



In general see O. Rayet and A. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe latmique I* (Paris, 1877) 33-116; M. Pappakonstantinou, *Hai Tralleis* (Athens, 1895); Tscherikower, 27f.; Magie, *RRAM*, 991-92; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Tralleis," 2093-2128; A. Rehm, *I. Milet* 143 and commentary; Orth, *König. Macht.*, 143 n. 13; L. Robert, *BCH Suppl.* 1 (1973) 461 n. 161.

1. On the **Thracian Tralleians** see Plut. *Ages.* 16; Diod. 17.65.1; Hesychios s.v. "Tralleis"; Strabo 14.1.42. On the earliest founders of Tralleis see also Agathias 2.17 and the scholiast to Hom. *Il.* 10.429 (ed. H. Erbse), who say they were Pelasgians.

Numerous names, most of them fictitious, were attributed to Tralleis. At *NH* 5.108 Pliny gives three names for Tralleis: Seleukeia, Euantheia, and Antioch. Antioch is nowhere else attested, and in view of Tralleis' proximity to Antioch on the Maeander, it is probable that Pliny simply had confused the two. Stephanos (s.vv. "Trallis" and "Gharax") says it was called Polyantheia (ed. Meineke; the Dindorf edition has "Antheia") and Erymna (on the latter name see L. Robert, *VAM²*, 43 n. 5) as well as Charax. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. "Eudonos") mentions the names Dia, Larisa, and Erymna. On the original spelling "Traldeis" see LW III.1651 (Roman reproduction of a fourth-century Tralleian decree); G. Daux, *REG* 54 (1941) 223; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Tralleis," 2101.

2. For **the restoration of IG IX.1² 17.100** see L. Robert, *RPh* (1934) 290 n. 3. For Antiochos I as the **founder** see Tscherikower, 28; Hansen, *Attalids*², 174. Radet (*De Coloniais*, 26 and 54) suggested Antiochos III. See also ANTIOGH on the Maeander for Antiochos I rather than III as the founder of that city. Stephanos apparently believed the founder was Antiochos IV (s.v. "Antiocheia 2"). This, of course, is impossible. Western Asia Minor permanently passed from Seleucid possession after 188 B.C.

3. For **the exchange of isopoliteia with Miletos** see *I. Milet* 143 (= *Staats*. III.537 = *I. Tralleis* 20); Gawantka, *Isopolitie*, 14-20, 78-80. New Milesian citizens with the **ethnic "Seleukeus" or "Seleukis"**: *I. Milet* 43a, 49, 50, 52, 64, 65a, 76, 80, 85, 87, 89; L. Robert, *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 461 n. 161. Among the Milesian decrees granting citizenship was one, *I. Milet* 49, for Menekrates the son of Gorgias, a **Σελευκεύς**. The decree was passed in the year after Autokles, which Rehm dated to 188/7 B.C. (p. 206). This was awkward because it meant that, contrary to what one should have expected, the toponym Seleukeia persisted after the battle of Magnesia and the arrival of the Attalids. However, M. Wörle (*Chiron* 18 [1988] 437, noting that he had discussed the matter with C. Habicht) has redated a list of Milesian eponyms where Autokles is recorded (*I. Milet* 124.44). This moves the date of Menekrates' citizenship grant—and, hence, the appearance of the ethnic Seleukeus—back from 188/7 to 194/3 B.C.

The toponym [ἐν Σε]λευκείᾳ[---] is found on the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, now dated to c. 230-220 B.C. (L. Robert, *BCH* 70 [1946] 512, l. 1; on the date see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea). The fact that the name is immediately followed by that of Magnesia on the Maeander and Priene confirms that this can only be Seleukeia Tralleis. The presence of foreign mercenaries in Tralleis is attested by a list of names of the third century B.C. found on an inscription there (LW III.599 = L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, 94-97 = *I. Tralleis* 33). For the **coinage** of Seleukeia see Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 169, nos. 1-3.

4. A Seleukeian decree from the end of the third century B.C. honors a certain Leonides for having obtained some favors for the city (*Hal Tralleis* 42 = *I. Tralleis* 26; *I. Milet*, p. 321); the decree was passed in the year of the stephanephore Menodoros, one of the envoys mentioned in *I. Milet* 143 (212/1 B.C.). The decree specifies that "the letters from the king" are to be inscribed under it, but does not

indicate who the king was; quite possibly it was Antiochos III. The decree also does not indicate the nature of the favor. A fragmentary letter of Antiochos III to Seleukeia Tralleis does survive (*RC* 41 = *I. Tralleis* 17; see Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 157-58; but cf. F. Piejko, *Chiron* 18 [1988] 55-69, who suggests the author was Eumenes II); it apparently dealt with some kind of tax concession. What connection there was, if any, between *RC* 41 and *Hai Tralleis* 42 is unknown. For the **civic organization of Seleukeia** see *I. Milet* 143.46-74. For the tribes at Seleukeia see *I. Milet* 143.25-27, 59-60; N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 360. The only attested tribal name is Perileis (A. E. Kontoleon, *BCH* 10 [1886] 516, no. 4). For a decree voted by the city in honor of Alexander see *Hai Tralleis* 41 (on the identification of Alexander—the future Seleukos III or a brother of Laodike, wife of Antiochos II—see R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 17 [1975] 165—66; J. Crampa, *Oath* 8 [1968] 171-78).

5. For **Zeus Larasios** see Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 505-6; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1925) 2: 957-62; J. Schaefer, *De love apud Cares culto*, Diss. Phil. Hal. 20 (Halis Saxonum, 1912) 455-66; Kock, *RE* s.v. "Larasios," 795-96; Ruge, s.v. "Tralleis," 2117-18; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 313ff. Strabo refers to Zeus Larisios (9.5.19 and 14.1.42) and says the cult name was taken from the village of Larisa north of Tralleis (see also *Etym. Magnum* s.v. "Eudonos"). In the numismatic and epigraphic evidence, however, the spelling is Larasios (see Cook, Schaefer, and Kock). L. Robert has shown that the sanctuary was located in Tralleis (*RPh* [1934] 287 n. 2).

6. For **Tralleis under the Attalids** see Pliny *NH* 35.172 and Vitruvius 2.8.9 (an Attalid palace there). For the reappearance of the name "Tralleis" in the mid-second century B.C. see *I. Mag.* 85 (the acceptance of an invitation to the Leukophryena at Magnesia). For a musical contest in honor of Eumenes II see Robert, *RPh* (1934) 279-91 (a fragmentary decree in honor of a judge from Phokaia, first half of the second century B.C.). For coinage of the period 189-133 B.C. see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, cxxxv-cxxxvi, 326-32, nos. 1-43; *SNG* (von A) 3243-81 and 8280-85. For Tralleian cistophori of the mid-second century B.C. see Kleiner and Noe, *ECC*, 60-77. Under Roman rule Tralleian coinage continued until the third century A.D.

7. For the **town name Caesarea and Caesarea Tralleis** on coins and inscriptions see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 3277-3300; Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadt.*, 73ff.; Ruge, 2105-6; E. Buresch, *AM* 19 (1894) 102, l. 3; 107-10.

8. For a **description of the site** see Bean, *TBM*², 177-79.

Stratonikeia

Although we can trace the relative chronological sequence in the history of Stratonikeia, it is difficult to supply firm dates.¹ A Ptolemaic inscription from this area recording the sale of a vineyard and dated to the ninth year of "Ptolemy son of Ptolemy," that is, Philadelphos, shows that the region was under Ptolemaic control until at least 274 B.C. By 268 B.C. the territory had probably

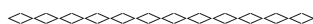
passed to the Seleucids. Stratonikeia was named, according to Stephanos (s.v. "Stratonikeia"), in honor of Stratonike, the wife of Antiochos. This suggests the founder was Antiochos I. Stratonikeia was one of the cities that received the Delphic *theoroi* in c. 230-220 B.C.² Strabo, who describes Stratonikeia as a *κατοιχία Μακεδόνων*, says the town was adorned with expensive buildings by "the kings" (14.2.25).³ He does not specify who "the kings" were.

Subsequently Rhodes acquired Stratonikeia through "the great favor of Antiochos and Seleukos" (Polyb. 30.31.6). The identity of Antiochos and Seleukos is a major crux.⁴ A possible reconstruction suggests we are dealing with Seleukos II and Antiochos III. Under this hypothesis Stratonikeia first passed to Rhodes during the reign of Seleukos II (246-226/5 B.C.). Around 200 B.C. it came briefly under the control of Philip V of Macedon and was retaken by Rhodes with the help of Antiochos in 197 B.C. (Livy 33.18.22).⁵ It then remained under Rhodian control until 167, when it was declared free and independent by the Romans. It was at this time that Stratonikeia began to mint its own coinage. For the ethnic the coins normally carry the legend ΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕ Ν; a *senatus consultum* of 81 B.C. refers to the citizenry as [Στρατονικε]ῖς ἐκ Χρυσαιορέων.⁶

Inscriptions from the Hellenistic period indicate that the city had broad avenues (*ἀμφοδῶς*) that were related to the military organization of the city. For civic purposes Stratonikeia was organized into tribes and demes. The demes were the old Carian villages in the territory of Stratonikeia.⁷ A Macedonian month name (Loios) is found in the decree of 268 B.C. in honor of Nonnos (*I. Strat.* 1030). Month names of local origin appear from the first century B.C. on.⁸

Strabo tells us that Stratonikeia had within its territory two important temples, that of Hekate at Lagina and that of Zeus Chrysaoreus (14.2.25). A third important temple was that of Zeus Panamaros at Panamara. The temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus was the center of the Chrysaoric League.⁹ The earliest specific reference to this league is a decree of 267 B.C. engraved at Labraunda (*I. Labraunda* 43). Strabo says that despite its not being a Carian town Stratonikeia was a member of the League by virtue of the native villages in its territory. Strabo also adds that the temple was "near" Stratonikeia (14.2.25). This is the only indication of its location; the site of the temple has not been discovered with certainty.¹⁰

Stratonikeia was east of Mylasa, on the site of the present village of Eskihisar.¹¹



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Stratonikeia"; Tscherikower, 29; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 529-38, 555-61; J. and L. Robert, in *Mélanges Lévy*, 553-68; Magie, *RRAM*, 878-80,

995-98, 1031-32; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 193-425; Bean, *TBM²*, 67-71 and map; Orth, *König. Macht.*, 141 n. 10; M. C. Sahin *, *Stratonikei in Caria* (Ankara, 1976).

1. The **question of the earlier name(s) of Stratonikeia** is a complicated one. While Pausanias says that both the *polis* and the *chora* of Stratonikeia were originally called Chrysaoris (5.21.10), Stephanos says that Chrysaoris was the original name of the city called Idrias (s.vv. "Idrias" and "Chrysaoris"). He also quotes Epaphroditus that Chrysaoris was the name for all of Caria. And earlier Herodotus had said (5.118) that Idrias was the *chora* from which the Marsyas flowed; see further Oppermann, *Zeus Panamarios*, 9-12; Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 194-95; Magie, 1032; Sahin*, 7ff.

Stephanos also says (s.v. "Stratonikeia") that the name of the town was later changed to Hadrianopolis. This is incorrect. Stephanos has confused this Stratonikeia with the like-named town in Lydia that changed its name under Hadrian (L. Robert, *VAM²*, 43).

2. For the **Ptolemaic inscription of 274 B.C.** see J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges Lévy*, 553-68 (= *SEG* XV.652 = *I. Strat.* 1002; for the dating to 274 B.C. see M. Wörle, *Chiron* 8 [1978] 212-16). An inscription from Labraunda (*I. Labraunda* 43) records an honorific decree of the Chrysaoric League of 267 B.C. proposed by a Mylasan. The decree, which was dated to the nineteenth year of King Ptolemy, was in honor of Apollonios, the *oikonomos* of King Ptolemy, and was engraved at Labraunda. This indicates that at the time Stratonikeia had not yet been established as the regular center for the League. This prompted C. Habicht to suggest (*Gnomon* 44 [1972] 169 n. 1) that the region around Stratonikeia was lost by the Ptolemies after 267 B.C., i.e., around 259/8 B.C., and thus that Antiochos II might have been the founder. However, the publication in 1980 of an inscription from Yatagan, which is near the site of Stratonikeia, reopened the question of the founder (M. Ç. Sahin*, *ZPE* 39 [1980] 211-12, no. 3 = *I. Strat.* 1030; cf. *I. Strat.* 1001). The inscription, which is dated to the reign of "King Antiochos and his son Antiochos" in the forty-fourth year of the Seleucid era (268 B.C.), records a decree in honor of Nonnos, who bore the ethnic Koliorgos, a future deme of Stratonikeia (see below, note 7). If, as is likely, the decree was passed by Stratonikeia, this would indicate that the city had been founded by Antiochos I rather than by his son. For the **attribution of the founding to Antiochos I** rather than to Antiochos II, see J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges Lévy*, 563 nn. 1 and 2. Stratonike was the wife of Antiochos I (and earlier, Seleukos) as well as the mother of Antiochos II. But Stephanos' indication that the city was named in honor of Stratonike "the wife of Antiochos" favors Antiochos I as the founder (see Fraser and Bean, *Rhodian Peraea*, 102).

There are two possible indications, neither convincing, that Seleukos I Nikator might have founded Stratonikeia. First, Appian (*Syr.* 57) lists a Stratonikeia among the foundations of Seleukos. But the short time that Seleukos was in western Asia Minor in the period between Korupedion and his death makes it unlikely that either Stratonikeia in Caria or Lydia were his. Appian's notice may be an error, or it may possibly refer to Stratonikeia in Mesopotamia (Pliny *NH* 6.118).

Second, in the 1980 *ZPE* article Sahin* also published a fragment of a letter written by "King Seleukos" and found at Stratonikeia (211, no. 1 = *I. Strat.* 1001). Sahin* dated the letter palaeographically to the "beginning of the third century B.C.," i.e., to Seleukos I Nikator. Seleukos I did take some interest in Caria in the short time between Korupedion and his death: for example, he may have founded APOLLONIA Salbake, and he (and his son Antiochos) communicated with an official regarding the Plutonium at NYSA. It is possible, therefore, that he wrote the fragmentary letter at about the same time. The question is, to whom? Sahin* restores the formulaic [- - - τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν] in line 1. However, there is nothing to indicate whether Seleukos was writing to a city rather than to some officials (as he did in the case of Nysa, *RC* 9) or a village (as Attalos III did to Hierakome, *RC* 68). Hence we cannot use this document as proof that Stratonikeia was in existence at the time. Finally, is it possible that this letter was written by Seleukos II? In that regard it is well to recall that we do have a decree of APOLLONIA Salbake dated to the sixty-ninth year of the Seleucid era (242 B.C.) in the reign of Seleukos II (*MAMA* VI.154).

For the appearance of **Stratonikeia in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list** see A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 6, col. IC(a).22. For the date of the list see ANTIGONEIA Mantinea.

3. For the term ***katoikia*** see the important studies of Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 191-94, and *BCH* 69 (1985) 481-84. See also M. Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en Grèce ancien* (Paris, 1985) 164.

4. In regard to **the acquisition of Stratonikeia by Rhodes** Polybius records the speech of the Rhodian envoy to the Roman senate in 166 B.C.: τοῦ see Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 30.31.6).

The literature **on the identity of "Antiochos and Seleukos" in Polyb. 30.31.6** is immense. See the discussion in J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges lévy*, 564-65; Fraser and Bean, *Rhodian Peraea*, 102-5; Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 30.31.6; Berthold, *Rhodes*, 83-85; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 123-25.

Beside Antiochos III and Seleukos II other suggested candidates for dating the acquisition of the city by Rhodes include (1) Antiochos I and his son Seleukos (who never came to the throne), (2) Seleukos II and Antiochos Hierax, c. 240 B.C. (see, for example, Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 247 n. 7, 280; Jones, *CERP*², 50 and 387 n. 34; Fraser and Bean, 98-104, consider either option 1 or 2 as likely; Berthold prefers option 2), and (3) Antiochos III and his son, Seleukos (see, for example, Holleaux, *Ét.*, 5: 107 and n. 6; Magie, 880). This last possibility might seem to be at variance with the evidence of Livy 33.18.22 (see below). Briscoe, however, has argued that *recipere* can mean "take into possession" without the implication of previous ownership (see his *Commentary* on this passage).

5. The **evidence for the loss and reacquisition of Stratonikeia** is the passage in Livy and some dedications made by a Rhodian general, Nikagoras.

The Livy passage (*Nequiquam inde obsessa oppugnataque urbs* [i.e., Stratonikeia] *est, nec recipi nisi aliquanto post per Antiochum potuit*, 33.18.22) indicates that when the Rhodians seized part of Caria, including Stratonikeia, in 197 B.C. from Philip V they retook it (*recipere*) with the help of Antiochos.

The dedications to commemorate Nikagoras' campaign are probably dated to the period 201-198 B.C. They indicate that he recaptured (ἀναστρέφειν and *recipere* provide some precision for the Rhodian loss and reacquisition of Stratonikeia; see also Aymard, *REG* 58 (1945) XIII; Robert, *Mélanges Lévy*, 564-65; Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 30.31.6. For Philip's presence in Caria see Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros*, 18-22 (= *I. Strat.* 4, a decree of Panamara dated to the twenty-third year of Philip [199-198 B.C.]); see also Holleaux, *Ét.*, 4: 204-8, 222ff.; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 60ff.; Walbank, *Philip*, 125ff. Livy's comment (33.30.11), citing Valerius Antias, that the Romans gave Stratonikeia to Rhodes is incorrect and is contradicted by Livy's own earlier statement (33.18-22; see further Magic, 880).

6. For the **coinage of Stratonikeia** (c. 167 B.C. to the third century A.D.) see H. von Aulock, *JNG* 17 (1967) 7-15; and, for example, *BMC Caria*, lxviii-lxxiv, 147-59, nos. 1-72; *SNG* (von A) 2653-98; for the *Senatus Consultum de Stratonicensibus* see Sherck, *RDGE* 18.23 (= *I. Strat.* 505).

7. For the ἀγορὰ of Stratonikeia see Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur gr. Inschr.*, 183-87, no. 158 (= *I. Strat.* 1004); L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 529-36 (= *I. Strat.* 1003); J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges Lévy*, 554-55; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 153.

For the **division of Stratonikeia into tribes and demes** see Michel, *Recueil* 477 (= *I. Strat.* 1039, not earlier than the second century B.C.; see also N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 335-36). Some of the deme names have survived in the demotics, written out or abbreviated, that are attested in inscriptions from Panamara and Lagina. Thus: Borandeis, Hierokometai, Koliorgeis, Koraieis, Koranzeis, Loboldeis, Londargeis, Panamareis, Tarmianoï, Themeseis, Tral[leis] or Tral[deis], ...ondreis; see Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 197ff. Nonnos, the honoree of *I. Strat.* 1030 (268 B.C.), had the ethnic (and future demotic) Koliorgeus. The demotic of Lagina is never found under its own name after the establishment of Stratonikeia; but as the most frequently discovered demotic in the Stratonikeian inscriptions is Hierokometes, Robert had suggested it refers to Lagina (*Ét. anat.*, 556-59). However, an inscription from the fourth century B.C. records Λαγινεύς as a demotic of Koranza (which later would become a deme of Stratonikeia; Sahin *, *Anadolu* 12 (1973) 189ff.; id., *Stratonikeia*, 2). The only tribal name yet discovered is Korollos, a native, not Hellenic, name (C. T. Newton, *Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae* II.2 [London, 1863] p. 794, ll. 4-5).

8. On **Stratonikeian month names** see J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges Lévy*, 560 and nn. 2-4. The non-Macedonian months of Stratonikeia that are known were Thesmophorion (*SEG* IV.286 = *I. Strat.* 105), Diostheon (*SEG* IV.263 =

I. Strat. 15), and Herakleon (*BCH* 11 [1887] 227 = *I. Strat.* 11). The Ptolemaic inscription recording a vineyard sale was dated in the Macedonian month of Panemos (*I. Strat.* 1002).

9. On **the Chrysaoric League and the temples in the territory of Stratonikeia** see Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 193-425; Magie, 996-98; Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros*, 4ff.; Sahin *, *Stratonikeia*, 8ff.; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 209-35; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 128-31, 233ff.

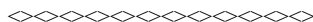
10. Regarding the **site of the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus**, Laumonier, *Cultes indig.*, 200-201, points to Herodotus (5.118), who mentions a place, Leukai Stelai, near the Marsyas River, which, Herodotus says, was a meeting place for the Carians. But, as Laumonier notes, Herodotus does not indicate whether this was the sanctuary of Zeus Chrysaoreus. The fact that the earliest definite evidence for the Chrysaoric League comes from Labraunda prompted Crampa to suggest that at this time the League "as such did not yet exist" (*I. Labraunda*, 1: 34; cf. 2: 50). On the location of the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus "near" Stratonikeia see Laumonier (*BCH* 60 [1936] 322-24), who suggests that some ancient remains 4 km east of Eskihsar may be those of the sanctuary. On the problem of the identification of the Leukai Stelai see also Sahin*, *Stratonikeia*, 11-15; Harper, *Fest. Dörner*, 1: 386-88; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1979) 466.

11. On the **location and site** of Stratonikeia see Bean, 69-71.

XII
Phrygia

Akmoneia

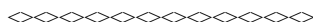
There is no literary or epigraphic evidence that indicates Akmoneia in Phrygia was a Hellenistic foundation. Tscherikower, following an earlier suggestion of Ramsay, thought *(a)* that some of the coins might reflect Attalid influence or *(b)* that the situation of the town might remind one of Seleucid colonies. This is all quite subjective and rather weak evidence, as Tscherikower himself admitted. We should need more substantial proof before claiming that Akmoneia was a Hellenistic foundation.



See Ramsay, *CBP*, 625; Tscherikower, 33-34; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 175-76. Cf. L. Robert, *JS* (1975) 157, who writes: "Tout ce qu'on a pu écrire sur Akmonia à l'époque hellénistique et sur les Séleucides et les Attalides est vain."

Amorion

Radet claimed, on the basis of three factors, that Amorion in Phrygia had been a Macedonian colony: (1) the appearance of the name Alexander on coins of Amorion from the time of Augustus, (2) the discovery of an inscription near Amorion that was set up by someone named Makedon, and (3) the use of Macedonian month names at Amorion.¹ Regarding the first point, it is highly unlikely that the Macedonian king is meant; far more probably this Alexander was a local magistrate.² As for the second point, the name "Makedon" used as a personal name cannot be evidence for the Macedonian origin of this individual, especially since he had a brother named Pamphilos, and both were, in turn, the sons of Pamphilos.³ And, finally, the use of Macedonian month names was widespread throughout Asia Minor and was not confined to colonies.⁴ Therefore, based on the available evidence, we should not consider Amorion a Macedonian colony.



In general see R. M. Harrison, *AS* 38 (1988) 175-84, 39 (1989) 167-74, and 40 (1990) 205-18.

1. Radet (*De Coloniis*, 40-41) is followed by Hermann and Swoboda (*Gr. Staatsaltertümer*⁶, 2000) and Hansen (*Attalids*², 175).

2. For **coins with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΜΟΡΙΑΝΩΝ** see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 3398 and *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 120 (Α ΕΖΑΝ ΠΟ). For the claim that the Alexander of the coinage was the Macedonian king see Radet, *op. cit* ; contra, Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 198, commenting on nos. 7 and 8. For

the suggestion that Alexander was a magistrate, see Head, *BMC Phrygia*, xxviii and 50, no. 23.

3. For the **inscription set up by Makedon and Pamphilos** see A. E. Kontoleon, *AM* 14 (1889) 91, no. 11; Bickerman, *JS*, 81 n. 2k. For Macedonian months at Amorion see Kontoleon, 90, no. 9; also Tchakyroglou, *Mous. k. Bibl.* 4 (1880) 159 and 166.

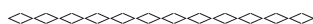
4. For the use of **Macedonian month names** in Asia Minor and throughout the Middle East see Samuel, *Creek and Roman Chronology*, 144 and n. 5 and references cited there.

Antioch Near Pisidia

According to Strabo (12.8.14) Antioch near Pisidia was settled by colonists from Magnesia on the Maeander.¹ While the founder is not definitely known it was probably Antiochos I.² Further evidence for the relationship between the two cities may be seen in an inscription (*I. Mag.* 79-80) from Magnesia that records a decree of an Antioch (see 80.13) accepting an invitation of the Magnesians to join in celebration of the festival of Artemis Leukophryene. It has been reasonably conjectured that the decree dates to around 200 B.C. and that it was passed by Antioch near Pisidia. At two places in the surviving portion (79.15, 80.12) the decree refers to the **συγγένεια** that existed between the two cities. The inscription also indicates that at this time Antioch had a *boule*, *demos*, *strategoï*, and *grammateis*. It is possible that the *vici* of the later Roman colony at Antioch replaced the tribes of the Hellenistic town.³ The Magnesian month name Smision is attested in *I. Mag.* 81.7, which is probably an Antiochene decree. Antioch may have contained a large Thracian population. In 1922 Ramsay announced the discovery of an "inscription of pre-Roman time ... containing a list of citizens [of Antioch], all Thracians." Unfortunately the inscription was never published.⁴ A large statue of a seated Zeus, a type frequently found on Seleucid coins, has been found at Antioch.⁵ The earliest extant coinage dates from the late first century B.C.⁶ Under Augustus Antioch became a colony with the name Colonia Caesarea.⁷

Strabo says (12.3.31) that Antioch was located near the temple of Men Askaenos. The remains of the temple, which dated from Hellenistic times, have been identified at Kara Kuyu, a high peak just southeast of the city. Strabo also says there was a second temple of Men in the *chora* of Antioch; the remains of this have not yet been found.⁸

Antioch, which was in Phrygia near Pisidia, was adjacent to the site of the modern Yalvaç. Coinage with the river god Anthios calls attention to Antioch's location on that river.⁹



In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 714; Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 247-314; Tscherikower, 37-38; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Antiocheia 15"; Magie, *RRAM*, 1315-16; Levick, *RCSAM*, 18, 42ff., 86, and passim; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 185-88.

1. Magnesia also sent settlers to Antioch in Persis; see *I. Mag.* 61 (= *OGIS* 233).
2. The **founder** is not likely to have been Seleukos I; he controlled this area only in the short period between Korupedion and his death. On the relatively short duration of the Seleucid hold on the nearby Pisidia see SELEUKEIA in Pisidia. A terminus is provided by *I. Mag.* 79-80, which probably dates to around 200 B.C. (see discussion and references in Magie, 941-42, 1315-16; see also *RC* 31-34, letters to Magnesia on the Maeander, c. 205 B.C., from Antiochos III, Antiochos son of Antiochos III, Ptolemy IV, and Attalos I, recognizing the festival of Artemis Leukophryene). Note that in *JRS* 12 (1922) 186 Ramsay suggested the founder was Seleukos I, but that in *Klio* 23 (1930) 243 he opted for Antiochos I! Levick (18) vacillated between the two.
3. For the suggestion that the **Roman vici replaced the Hellenistic phylai** see Levick, 78 and n. 1.
4. Ramsay, *JRS* 12 (1922) 186. In fact, no trace of Ramsay's unpublished list of **Antiochene citizens with Thracian names** has ever turned up. Jones mistakenly used this list as part of the evidence for Thracians in Apollonia in Phrygia (*CERP*², 411). In *NInd.*, 360 n. 3 L. Robert refers to the Thracian name of a *monétaire* of Antioch that he studied in *Revue numismatique*. In fact the reference is to *MG*, 31-32, where Robert discussed Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. R. Münz.*, 141, no. 3. There were also Thracians in the population of two other Hellenistic colonies on the Phrygian/Pisidian frontier, APOLLONIA and NEAPOLIS. M. M. Hardie recorded the first lines of a dedication found at the temple of Men at Antioch as ἀναπράτων) might be a possible reading. This does not appear to be likely.
5. For the **statue of the seated Zeus** see Ramsay, *JHS* 38 (1918) 183 n. 138; Buckler, Calder, and Cox, *JRS* 14 (1924) 30-31.
6. For **coinage** of the late first century B.C. see, for example, *SNG* (yon A) 4914-87 and *SNG* (Cop) *Pisidia* 8-13. For the coinage of the Imperial period see the corpus published by A. Krzyzanowska, *Monnaies coloniales d'Antioche de Pisidie* (Warsaw, 1970). For coins of Antioch near Pisidia previously—and incorrectly—ascribed to Antioch on the Maeander see Babelon, *Inv. Wadd.* 3566-70; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 356-58; id., *Gr. R. Münz.*, 140-43; Hill, *NC* (1914) 300; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 74 n. 9; 256 n. 11; L. Robert, *MG*, 31 and n. 1; id., *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 445 and n. 66c, 448 and n. 76; and ANTIOCH on the Maeander.

For the **ethnic** ANTIOXE N see, for example, *I. Mag.* 80.13; Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. R. Münz.*, 141, no. 3.

7. On the **Roman colony at Antioch** see especially Levick, *RCSAM*, 34ff.; id., *RE* Suppl. XI, s.v. "Antiocheia," 49-61; Krzyzanowska, 11-16; von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 1: 25.

8. Levick has suggested (*RCSAM*, 18; see also Droysen, op. cit.) that the site of the Hellenistic colony "was probably already occupied by a temple village devoted to the Phrygian god Men and run by his priests. Presumably the land was provided at Men's expense." Following Strabo's statement that there were **two temples of Men**, one near (Ἀσκαηνός (see Lane, *CMRDM*, 1: 57, 69-70, for example).

9. For the **location of Antioch** see Levick, *RCSAM* 42-43; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 188; and maps at the end of both. For the **location of Antioch** in the part of Phrygia that bordered on Pisidia (Strabo 12.8.13) rather than in Pisidia see Strabo who correctly writes (12.3.31 and 12.8.14) Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ. Note also that Strabo, quoting Artemidorus (12.7.2), does not include Antioch among the cities of Pisidia. Cf., however, Pliny *NH* 5.94; Acts 13.14; Ael. *NA* 16.7; Ptol. 5-4-9; Hierokles 672.2; Stephanos s.v. "Antiocheia 4"; *Not. Ep.* 1.29, etc.—all of whom locate Antioch in Pisidia.

A fragmentary decree of Tralleis records various Phrygian cities that had sent messages of condolence (*AM* 26 [1901] 238, no. 2 = *I. Tralleis* 31). Among these were Ἀντιοχέω] γὰρ τῶν πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ (BCH 114 [1990] 697 n. 66). The restoration

is certainly conceivable; but should one assume, a priori, that Pappakonstantinou erred?

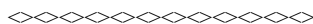
For **coins with the river god Anthios** see, for example, *SNG (Cop) Pisidia* 50 and *SNG (von A)* 4943. Further on the setting and location of Antioch see Levick, 44ff. (maps and photographs at end); Ramsay, *Cities fist. Paul*, 247ff.; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 89-90.

Apameia Kelainai

Strategically located at the junction of the roads that join Phrygia and Pam-phylia to Lydia and Ionia, Kelainai was already an important city under the Persians. According to Xenophon (*Anab* 1.2.7-8) it was the site of a palace of Cyrus, a fortified palace of the Great King, and a large park. Not surprisingly Alexander chose it to be the capital of the satrapy of Phrygia. As such it was the residence of Antigonos Monophthalmos.¹ Later Antiochos I Soter moved the inhabitants of Kelainai to a nearby site in the plain in front of the Sultan Dag, close to the confluence of the Marsyas and Maeander rivers. There he founded Apameia, naming it after his Bactrian mother.² While the new name was used on coins, official documents, and Byzantine lists, the old was not forgotten and continued to be used by poets and prose writers throughout antiquity.³ The Seleucids maintained a palace at Apameia (Livy 35.15.6). From an epigram of the third century B.C. we learn that a certain Gaul, Brikkon, considered Apameia to be his *patris*. Other evidence shows the presence of natives and Iranians in Apameia. An honorific inscription for a gymnasiarch, Kephisodoros, was voted by the *boule* in the time of Eumenes II (*MAMA* VI.173). Among other things, Kephisodoros had erected cult statues of Eumenes and Attalos in the gymnasium.⁴ The earliest coins definitely attributable to Apameia are dated to after the period of Attalid rule.⁵

The town name and the ethnic had a number of variant forms. On inscriptions from the town and nearby, as well as on coins, it is simply "Apameia" or "Apameus." Farther away, a distinguishing term was often added. Nicolaus of Damascus referred to it as "Phrygian Apameia" (in Ath. 8.332f). A list of victors from Samos mentions an Ἀπαμεῖς ἀπὸ Κεῖβωτοῦ.⁶ There have been many attempts to explain the term "Kibotos," none completely successful.⁷ At or near Apameia a number of streams joined the Maeander. Three of these, the Marsyas, Therma, and Orgas are represented with the Maeander on an Apameian coin from the time

of Gordian with the legend MAI, MAP, ~~ΘΕΡ~~, and OP (SNG [von A] 3508). In Roman times Apameia was a major commercial center (Strabo 12.8.15) and had extensive territory (Dio Chrys. 35.14). The site of Apameia is at the present Dinar.⁸



In general see G. Hirschfeld, *AKAW* (1875) 1-26; id., *RE* s.v. "Apameia 6"; G. Weber, *Dinair, Célèness, Apamée* (Besançon, 1892) (I have not seen this); Ramsay, *CBP*, 396-424; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Kelainai"; Tscherikower, 32-33; Magie, *RRAM* 125, 983-84; Jones, *CERP*², 69-71; P. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1991) 85-103; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 188-89.


1. L. Robert has called attention to the evidence for Iranians who were established at **Kelainai when it was under Persian rule** (e.g., *BMC Phrygia*, 83, nos. 83-84, a Hellenistic bronze of Apameia with the Iranian name Maiphernes; see further *NInd.*, 348-49; *BCH* 107 [1983] 504; *BCH* 108 [1984] 471). The precise location of Kelainai vis-à-vis Apameia is not known; see Ruge and Magie; cf. Ramsay, 398, 412-13. For Kelainai under Alexander, Antigonos, and Eumenes, who wintered there in 321 B.C. see Magie, 983; Bosworth, *Comment.*, 173 and references cited there; see also Wehrli, *Antig.*, 80; Billows, *Antigonos*, 296, who suggests that prior to the advent of Antiochos "the population of Kelainai already contained a large Greco-Macedonian element and that this was due to Antigonos" (cf. Tscherikower, 155-56).

2. For **Antiochos I as the founder of Apameia** see Strabo 12.8.15. Orth (*König. Macht.*, 141 n. 11. followed by Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator*, 301 n. 50) claimed Seleukos I as the founder. He referred to Livy (38.13.5) and Solinus (p. 167.8-10, ed. Mommsen, second edition). The former mentions *novaeque urbi Apameae nomen inditum ab Apama sorore Seleuci regis*. Two points: Apama was Seleukos I's wife, not his sister. It is not clear whether Livy simply erred (so Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, 2: 52 n. 2) or whether he was reflecting Seleucid and Ptolemaic usage of the term "sister" as an honorific title (so Radet, *RPh* [1893] 58; see also Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 180; Orth, *König. Macht.* 72. On Apama see L. Robert, *BCH* 108 [1984] 467-72). Furthermore the Latin says the town was named for Apama but does not indicate who was the founder. Solinus *does* specifically say that Seleukos founded Apameia. However, inasmuch as Seleukos first came into possession of Phrygia after his victory over Lysimachos at Korupedion in 281 B.C. (see APOLLONIA in Phrygia), it is highly unlikely that he would have had the opportunity to found Apameia. That fact and the superior authority of Strabo favor Antiochos I as the founder. (Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Apameia 6," claimed Antiochos III *Soter* (*sic*) as the founder; this (typographical?) error for Antiochos I is perpetuated in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* s.v. "Apameia," 874). For the name "Apameia" on coins and official inscriptions see below. "Apameia" is also found in Hierokles (673.4) and the *Not. Ep.* 1.46, 2.49, etc.

3. Tscherikower (33), following Ramsay (*CBP*, 430), suggested that the use of the name "Kelainai" was revived in the second century ^{A.D.} In fact, as L. Robert pointed out (*Hellenica* 2 [1946] 76), the old name was continuously used in antiquity by poets and prose authors; see, for example, Livy 38.13.7; Ov. *Fast.* 4.363; App. *Syr.* 36; Paus. 10.30.9; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 35; and further references in Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Kelainai." Apameian coins with representations of the hero Kelainos, Zeus Kelaineus, and Dionysos Kelaineus are quite common (e.g., *BMC Phrygia*, 88ff., nos. 114, 117, 185; A. Löbbecke, *ZfN* 15 [1887] 49). A metrical epitaph on a sepulchral stele from Sardis, which was dated by L. Robert, on the basis of the letterforms, to the mid-third century ^{B.C.}, refers to the town as "Kelainai" (*AJA* 64 [1960] 53-56). The epitaph is for a woman, Matis; the name could be Greek or Phrygian (Robert, 55).

4. The **epigram for the Gaul** was originally published by G. Daux, *BCH* 92 (1968) 924, then republished with commentary by C. B. Welles, *Klio* 52 (1970) 477-90 (see esp. p. 482). The appearance of the name **Ἀρεα** prompted Welles to conclude that this was the Spartan king Areus I and, hence, the reference was to the Chremonidean War. This, of course, would have dated the epigram to the third century ^{B.C.} However, L. Robert has correctly noted that the name refers to the god Ares rather than to the Spartan king (*BE* [1971] 415; see also Orth, *König. Macht.*, 141 n. 11). Hence we must set aside, as Robert noted, Welles's dating of the inscription. For evidence of natives and Iranians at Apameia see Robert, op. cit., 55-56; id., *NInd.*, 348ff. For corrections to *MAMA* VI.173 (= W. H. Buckler, *JHS* 55 [1935] 72-75) see J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1939) 400.

5. **Cistophori** with the monogram **Α** coins should be assigned to either Parion or APOLLONIA on the Rhyndakos and not to Apameia (*ANS MN* 24 [1979] 53-60, analyzed by Le Rider, *BCH* 114 [1990] 686-89). However, two recent discussions have argued convincingly against Mørholm's suggestion and in favor of Apameia. R. Bauslaugh (*NC* [1990] 47 n. 12) pointed to the evidence of Strabo 13.1.14. The latter implies that Parion

was not a subject city of the Attalid kingdom; this is supported by the existence of autonomous tetradrachms minted by Parion. Furthermore Bauslaugh claimed that the countermarks themselves argue against Mørholm. Hence he argued convincingly in favor of Kleiner's attribution. Finally Le Rider has added further strong support in favor of the attribution of these cistophori to Apameia (*BCH* 115 [1991] 363-65). He pointed out that the monograms found on a number of cistophori normally contain at least the first three letters of the city's name. In the case of the monogram  this would exclude Parion (the rho is lacking) and Apollonia (the omicron is lacking) but would allow for the attribution to Apameia.

A bronze coin of Apameia is variously dated to "circ. 190(?)" by Head (*BMC Phrygia*, 74, no. 32), the "early second century B.C. (?)" in *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 160, and "before the time of Augustus or at the beginning" of his reign by Imhoof-Blumer (*Kl.M.*, 208, no. 8a). For the coinage of Roman Apameia (ethnic: A AME N) see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, xxxvff. and 88ff.

6. On the **ethnic of the city** see especially Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 81 and references cited there. For **ΑΠΑΜΕΥΣ** (a) on coins, see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 74ff.; (b) in inscriptions of Apameia (Imperial date), see *MAMA* VI.181, 182; and (c) in inscriptions of Iasos in Caria, see *LW* III.294, 297; Habicht, 81 n. 138.

Pliny (*NH*. 5.106) claimed that the town was first called Kelainai, then Kibotos, and, later, Apameia. But it is hardly likely, as Habicht says (81), that Kibotos was ever the actual name of the town. For coins with chests on the reverse see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 211-12, nos. 19-20; *BMC Phrygia*, 96, nos. 155-58; *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 211-12; *SNG (von A)* 3492-93; Trebilco, 90-91. For Apameia in the *conventus* list see Habicht, p. 65, col. II.18.

7. For a review of the various attempts to explain the term "kibotos" see Habicht, 81; Magie, 983-84 and references cited there. Briefly, Hirschfeld noted (*AKAW* [1875] 15) that since merchandise arrived at Apameia in chests, the surname "Kibotos" reflected the city's commercial importance. As regards the **Κιβότος** could be the acropolis on which the old Kelainai stood, which on Hirschfeld's drawings looks rather like a chest" (81 n. 146). Far less likely is Ramsay's suggestion (*CBP*, 669-72, followed by Tscherikower, 32) that as a result of a local flood legend (Plut. *Parallela Graeca et Romana* 5 [306E-307A]; Trebilco, 89-90) the Jewish community of Apameia designated one of the local mountains as the resting place of the ark and furthermore influenced the choice of "Kibotos" for Apameia. Among other things, the appearance of two, three, and five *kibotoi* (rather than just one) on certain Apameian coins (see above, note 6) undercuts this hypothesis (see Magie,

984). For Apameian coins of the end of the second century/first half of the third century A.D. showing a man and a woman both inside and beside an ark (shaped like a rectangular box) and the explanatory name Nile see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 101, no. 182; *SNG* (von A) 3506, 3513 (= Y. Meshorer, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 5 [1981] 38-39), and 3570; see also Magie, 984; E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, vol. 3.1, new English ed., rev. G. Vermes and E. Millar (Edinburgh, 1986) 29; Trebilco, 86-90. *Nota bene* that *κιβωτός* is the term used in the Septuagint to describe Noah's ark (Gen. 6.15, etc.). Hirschfeld was undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the already existing surname of the city prompted the association with the ark story and not vice versa (*AKAW* [1875] 15-16); see also Trebilco, 92-95.

8. For the **location** of Apameia see Hirschfeld, *AKAW* (1875) 1ff.; Ramsay, 397-401 and map opposite p. 397; L. Robert, *NInd.*, 355-56; M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain près d'Apamée de Phrygie*, DAWW 189 (Vienna, 1987) 11-12 and map on p. 9; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 188 and map at end. The Marsyas flowed through Apameia (Strabo 12.8.15), while the Maeander "passed outside, or only through the extreme outskirts, of Apameia" (Ramsay, 401). On the rivers at and near Apameia see the full discussion, with references to earlier studies by Ramsay, 397-412. On the territory of Apameia see also Jones, *CERP*², 70. Strabo (12.8.15) and Dio Chrys. (*Or.* 35, given at Kelainai) have much to say about Apameia.

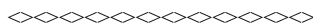
Apolloniam

According to Stephanos, Apollonia was the refounding of an older town called Mordiaion.¹ The circumstances of the Hellenistic refounding are not dearly known. Some scholars, pointing especially to the name, suggest it was an Attalid colony. The toponym "Apollonia," however, does not of itself prove an Attalid connection. Others cite a problematic inscription of the second century A.D. recording a dedication of an *Νευάτορος* as proving the existence of a founder cult of Seleukos I Nikator.²

From evidence of the Imperial period we know of the presence in Apollonia of *κόλων*, on the other hand, probably reflects Roman usage.³

Apollonia minted coins in the late Hellenistic period. Some bronze coins of the second/first century B.C. previously attributed to other Apollonias were in fact issued by Apollonia in Phrygia. The coinage of the Imperial period extends from the Julio-Claudians to Gallienus.⁴ By the late fourth century A.D. the town name Apollonia had disappeared. Its place in Byzantine lists was taken by Sozopolis.⁵

Apollonia was in eastern Phrygia close to the Pisidian frontier.⁶ It was located forty-five kilometers east of Apameia and seventy-six kilometers southwest of Antioch at the site of the modern Uluborlu.⁷



In general see G. Hirschfeld, *GGA* (1888); id., *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 21"; Tscherikower, 37; Magie, *RRAM*, 457 and 1315; Jones, *CERP*², 127-28, 411-12; von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 20-23; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 387-88.

1. Under "Apollonia 17" Stephanos gives Φρυγίας ἡ πάλαι Μάργιον; both probably refer to the same place. Athenaeus (3.81a) says Apollonia was also called Mordion. Strabo twice (12.6.4 and 12.8.13) calls the city Apollonias.

2. For **the suggestion that Apollonia was an Attalid foundation** named in honor of Apollonis, the mother of Eumenes II, see, for example, Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 21"; cf. J. and L. Robert, however, who have correctly noted that a settlement named for Apollonis probably would have been called that (so APOLLONIS in Lydia) rather than Apollonia; see L. Robert, *REA* 36 (1934) 525-26; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2:239 and n. 2. Hence, based on the toponym alone, we should not consider Apollonia an Attalid settlement. For **the inscription recording a cult of Nikator** see *MAMA* IV.226 (=SEG VI.592 = W. M. Ramsay; *Klio* 23 [1930] 243-44). There are a number of problems regarding this inscription. The stone was found at Büyükkabaca near the ancient Tymandos, which was four hours east of Apollonia; hence the stone may come from either town (*MAMA* IV, p. xiii). Furthermore, in the lack of other evidence the dedication does not prove Seleukos was the founder (see Habicht, *Gott.*² 105; also Magie, 1315; Bickerman, *IS*, 244 n. 1. Contra, Levick, *RCSAM*, 17 n. 6; Jones, *CERP*², 411 n. 10; both accept *MAMA* IV.226 as evidence for Seleukos as founder). Finally, Seleukos first came into possession of this region after defeating Lysimachos at Korupedion in 281 B.C. (*nota bene* that Appian's remark [*Syr.* 55] that Seleukos received Phrygia in the partition after the battle of Ipsos is incorrect; see Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 28; Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator*, 212-14). It is unlikely that he had the opportunity to found a settlement here in the months between Korupedion and his death. Of course this does not exclude the possibility that one of his successors, perhaps Antiochos I or II, founded Apollonia. But this is speculation. On the duration of the Seleucid presence in Pisidia see SELEUKEIA in Pisidia; see also Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 1: 323; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 28; G. Saitta, *Kokalos* 1 (1955) 145-50.

There are extant some **coins of the Imperial period with a portrait of Alexander the Great** and the legend Α Ε ΑΝ Σ (sic) ΚΤΙ Τ Α Ο -ΝΙΑΤ (see, for example, von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 53, nos. 9-12 [= *SNG* (von A) 4990; *SNG* (Cop) *Pisidia* 96; cf. 95; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 364, no. 1], no. 13) and Α Ε Α ΚΤΙ Α Ο -ΝΙΑΤ Ν (*MSPisid.* 2: 54, nos. 24-33). On the basis of the numismatic evidence Droysen suggested that Alexander the Great founded

Apollonia (*Hist.*, 2: 661; see also Waddington, *RN* [1853] 178-83 = *Voyage num.*, 138-43; for the literary evidence connecting Alexander and Thracians with Apollonia see below). In fact these coins were minted under the Severan emperors and reflect the idolization of Alexander that was characteristic of that age. O. Treuber first attributed these coins to Severus Alexander or Caracalla ("Beiträge zur Gesch. der Lykier" [Diss., Tübingen, 1886] 12-13; see also Hill, in *BMC Lycia*, cv; E Pfister, *Hist.* 13 [1964] 65; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 218). M. Bieber ("The Portraits of Alexander the Great," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93.5 [1949] 426) assigned them to the reign of Elagabalus, while E Rebuffat (*RN* [1986] 65-71) preferred a date around 202 A.D., when Septimius Severus was returning with Caracalla from Antioch to Rome. For the "Alexandrolatry" of the Severi see C. Edson, *CPh* 53 (1958) 62 n. 8; A. Johnston, *Hist.* 32 (1983) 68 n. 35; OTROUS and THESSALONIKE.

Two identical inscriptions that probably postdate the Decree of Caracalla refer to a *φυλὴ Βενέτων* (J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 18 [1898] 98, no. 39). Anderson believed the Benetoi might be the "'Blue Faction', not a tribe called by the Thrako-Illyrian name Benetoi, though the latter would be quite suitable." In fact the precise nature of this *phyle* remains unclear (see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 368).

3. The evidence for *ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ* KO N N—often in abbreviated form and with the last word (or last two words) omitted—is found on most of the coins of Apollonia from Titus to Gallienus (von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 55-63, nos. 57-61, 64-206; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 246-59). As additional evidence for Thracians in Apollonia Jones (*GERP*², 411) cited an unpublished "list of names the majority of which are Thracian," which was mentioned by Ramsay (*JRS* [1922] 186). In fact Ramsay said the list was a "list of citizens, all Thracians" from Antioch near Pisidia. In any event the inscription was never published (see L. Robert, *NInd.*, 360 n. 3) and has never turned up. There were also *Lykioi Thrakes kolones* at NEAPOLIS.

Theories regarding the origin of the *κατα*. Despite this, the Roberts' suggestion has merit, and we should consider the possibility, as Mitchell speculated, that the *kolones* were Roman colonists. With the division of the population at Apollonia suggested by Mitchell

we may compare the evidence from a recently published inscription. Fragments of this were found at the villages of Kozluca and Bogaziçi, approximately 30 km southwest of Burdur in the region of ancient Milyas (Hall, *AS* [1986] 139). The inscription, which is dated to 5/4 B.C., records a dedication made jointly by three groups: the Milyadeis, Roman *negotiatores* (or ἑρῶντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες παρ' αὐ[τ]οῖς). We thus have epigraphic evidence for Thracians in Pisidia that is possibly a century earlier than the epigraphic and numismatic evidence at Apollonia and NEAPOLIS. Like the Thrakes at Apollonia, the "Thracians living among them" were probably descended from the Hellenistic colonists. It is not clear, incidentally, whether they were originally settled in colonies and later dispersed or whether they were originally settled throughout the area.

4. For some bronze **coins of the Phrygian Apollonia** of the second and first centuries B.C. (Zeus Laureate on the obverse, winged thunderbolt with the legend Α Ο ΝΙΑΤ Ν on the reverse) that were previously attributed to APOLLONIA on the Rhyndakos (*SNG* [Cop] *Mysia* 17; von Fritze, *Ant. Münz. Mysiens* 202 [= *Inv. Wadd.* 642] and 203) and APOLLONIA Salbake (Hirsch, *Cat. Consul Weber* 3106) see the important discussion in J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 258-59; von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 52, nos. 1-8. For the coinage of the Imperial period see von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 52-63. For two coin types of Apollonia in Phrygia under Tiberius previously attributed to Apollonia Salbake see M. Grant, *NC* (1949) 150-56. For coins of Apollonia with the Maeander symbol, which Waddington had attributed to the Phrygian city (*RN* [1853] 180) but which in fact belong to APOLLONIA on the Maeander, see the latter entry.

5. The first appearance of the name **Sozopolis** is in 381 A.D. at the Council of Constantinople (Mansi, *Sac. Concil.*, 3: 570). See also, for example, Hierokles 673.1 and *Not. Ep.* 1.373, 2.438, etc. For Sozopolis see G. Hirschfeld, *Monatsbenchte* (1879) 318; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 400-401; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Sozo(u)polis 1." It is probable that Sozopolis was not just a simple renaming of Apollonia but was in fact a different place; see Ramsay, *op. cit.*; Ruge, *op. cit.*, who also suggests that Stephanos' "Sozousai" is probably Sozopolis. Note that Apollonia in Thrace also had the name Sozopolis from the third century A.D. (Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Sozopolis 2"; Ramsay, *JRS* 12 [1922] 185), and in Cyrenaica, Apollonia became Sozousa.

6. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.2) places Apollonia between Apameia and Antioch. Stephanos records Apollonia 17 as being in Pisidia and Apollonia 18 as being in Phrygia. As mentioned above, both probably refer to the same Apollonia that was, like ANTIOCH near Pisidia, in the frontier region of Phrygia that bordered on Pisidia. Strabo (12.6.4 and 12.8.13) places Apollonia in Phrygia; cf. Ptol. 5-4-9: ἀπὸ μὲν δουσίων Πισιδίας. Hierokles (673.1) and the *Not. Ep.* (loc. cit.) locate it in Pisidia. Note that Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Appollonia 21," places the town in Phrygia, while Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Sozo(u)polis," reflecting Byzantine geography, puts the latter in Pisidia.

7. For the **location** of Apollonia see Mersich, *TIB* VII: 387 and map at end. For a description of the site and territory of Apollonia see L. Robert *NInd.*, 356 and references. The Hippophoras River, which is represented on some coins of Apollonia (von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 55, nos. 54-56; 63, nos. 184-206; Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 23 [1923] 336-37, nos. 410-11), is the modern Uluborlu çay, which flows by the city. For photographs of Uluborlu see *MAMA* IV, pls. 5-7. The demonstration that Uluborlu was the site of Apollonia was made by F. V.J. Arundell in 1833 (*Discoveries in Asia Minor* [London, 1834] 1; 236-45). Grainger (*Seleukos Nikator*, 186), who, incidentally, believed that Seleukos founded Apollonia, pointed out that Apollonia, and APAMEIA Kelainai, ANTIOCH near Pisidia, LAODIKEIA Katakekaumene, and SELEUKEIA in Pisidia, "enclose the Pisidians in a crescent of forts" (see above, p. 57).

An inscription records the reallocation of three tracts of land, previously held by the people of Timbriada, to Apollonia (Sterrett, *PAS* 3 [1888] no. 548 = Ramsay, *JHS* 38 [1918] 139, no. VI). The dating of the inscription is not secure; it has been variously dated to the early second century B.C. (G. Hirschfeld, *GGA* [1888] 590) and the late first century B.C. (Ramsay, *JHS* [1918] 139ff.; Mitchell, *Proc. X Int. Cong. Cl. Arch.*, 1: 317). Furthermore it is not clear that the precise location of the tracts can be fixed. Hence the inscription is not useful for determining the territorial extent of Apollonia (see also Levick, *RCSAM*, 45 n. 1, discussing the boundary of ANTIOCH near Pisidia).

Blaundos

From the late first to the third century A.D. the inhabitants of Blaundos often laid claim to Macedonian ancestry.¹ In fact it is possible, though no specific evidence exists as yet, that originally there was a Seleucid colony at Blaundos.

A number of different spellings are attested for the ethnic of the city of Blaundos. The earliest coins (i.e., after 133 B.C.) have the spelling **BAATNΔEΩN** reappeared on both coins and inscriptions.² Blaundos was located very near the Lydian-Phrygian border,³ close to the present village of Sütümenli.⁴



In general see Hamilton, *Researches*, 1: 124, 127-31; KP II, pp. 144-50; III, p. 51; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Blaundos"; Tscherikower, 33; Magie, *RRAM*, 1001; Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 56-60.

1. For coins with **Βλαυνδέων Μακεδόνων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος**, third century A.D.). On the claim of Macedonian ancestry by the inhabitants of other Lydian and Phrygian cities see, for example, DOKIMEION, HIERAPOLIS, HYRKANIS, NAKRASON, OTROUS, and PELTAI and Appendix III. See also AIGEL in Cilicia, Ionians and Dorians at SYNNAIDA, and Achaeans at EUMENEIA.

2. For **ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ** on coins and inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 46-57, nos. 30-61, and nos. 73-93; *Inv. Wadd.* 4920-28; *SNG (Cop) Lydia* 74-79, 81-86, 92-100; *SNG (von A)* 2919-25, 2927-32, and 8222; as well as KP III.59.13-14; *IGR* IV.717; *MAMA* IV.281, 315.

Among the cistophoric coinage is a group (Kleiner-Noe, *ECC*, 81, ser. 7) with the legend BA **ΜΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ** as we might expect. However, Le Rider quotes Drew-Bear, who remarks that inasmuch as the two forms of the toponym—with the beta and the mu—coexisted in the second/third century A.D., it is quite conceivable that a similar situation existed in the Hellenistic period; see also Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 92-93, no. 27, and commentary, 56-59.

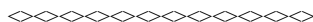
3. There is **no agreement as to whether Blaundos was in Lydia or Phrygia** (see Ramsay, *CBP*, 570). The Flavian *conventus* list has Blaundos in the district of Sardis (*JRS* 65 [1975] 65, col. 1.27). And in the Byzantine period it was normally included in Lydia. Thus the *Not. Ep.* locate it there (2.182: "Balandos"; 1.162, 3.218, 4.172, etc.: "Blandos"). On the other hand, the Tralleis inscription groups it with Phrygian cities. And Ptolemy lists it among the cities of Phrygia (5.2.17: "Bleandros"). Concerning Blados, Blandos, and Blaundos see Ramsay, *CBP*, 592 n. 1; id., *HGAM*, 133; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 144-45; Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Blandos"; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Blaundos."

4. For the relative proximity of Hierapolis, Dionysopolis, a *koinon* of the Hyrgaleian plain, and Blaundos see *MAMA* IV.315. On the **location of Blaundos** see Hamilton, *Researches*, 1: 124f.; KP II, pp. 144-45; Drew-Bear, pl. 38 (map). The identification of the site is assured by the discovery there of numerous bronze coins of Blaundos; see LW III.261. In addition *IGR* IV.717 (which mentions the Macedonian Blaundians), discovered at Göbek, was allegedly brought there from the nearby Sülmenli (Hamilton, *Researches*, 1: 124, 130ff.). The Hippourios, a stream that flowed near Blaundos, is known only from the numismatic evidence (see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, 48-49, nos. 50-53; *Inv. Wadd.* 4925; *RSN* 23 [1923] 296-97, nos. 305-6; *SNG* [Cop] *Lydia* 80-82, 98; *SNG Iron A*] 2923, 2930). On the identification of the Hippourios see R. Kiepert, *FOA* VIII, p. 11.

Brouzos

There is no conclusive proof to show that Brouzos was a Hellenistic colony. The suggestion that it was has been based on either of two arguments. In 1861 C. Cavedoni said that the inscription **Σ** instead of Z, and this could be mistaken for a ². The second argument is based on a Brouzian coin type, similar to one found at STEKTORION and OTROUS, which depicts a male figure (Poseidon) with his foot on the prow of a ship, usually looking backward. Ramsay thought it showed the god as a leader of overseas colonists.³ We should want other supporting information before designating Brouzos as a Hellenistic colony.

The coinage of Brouzos dates from the second and third centuries A.D.⁴ The location of the town is indicated by an inscription of Brouzos honoring Septimius Severus that was found at Kara Sandikli (six kilometers northwest of Sandikli).⁵



1. For Cavedoni's suggestion see *Annali dell' istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 33 (1861) 149, but cf. Ramsay, *CBP*, 683; Tscherikower, 34.
2. For **coins of Brouzos with Σ** instead of Z see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 217-18, nos. 5-7.
3. On the **Poseidon coin type** see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 216, nos. 2-4. Ramsay suggests that the figure he interprets as Poseidon appears to be represented as "guardian and leader of immigrant warriors from across the sea" and that this would fit with his theory that Brouzos was settled by Seleucid military colonists (*CBP*, 685-87). He provides no evidence for this claim. Contra, Imhoof-Blumer (*Kl.M.*, 216, note to no. 4), who points to the cult of Poseidon as earthshaker at Apameia, Ankyra, and Eukarpeia and suggests we should interpret Poseidon on the Brouzos coin likewise as earthshaker rather than as the leader of colonists.
4. For the **coinage** of Brouzos (**ethnic: ΒΡΟΤΖΗΝΩΝ**), see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 110-15, nos. 1-32; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 216-18; *SNG* (von A) 3521-31; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 225-37.
5. For the **inscription honoring Septimius Severus** see *IGR* IV.681. Ptolemy places Drouzon (probably Brouzos) after Eumeneia (5.2.17). In the list of Hierokles (676.8-677.7) Brouzos comes after Eukarpeia, Hierapolis, Otrous, and Stektorion and before Debalikia (location unknown; see Belke, *TIB* VII: 231, and Honigmann's note to 677.5), Lysias, and Synnada. In the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, which are in hierarchic rather than geographic order (see above, pp. 7f.), the list reads Eukarpeia, Lysias, Augustopolis, Brouzos, Otrous, Lykaones, Stektorion (1.346: Brozos; cf. 2.410, 3.436, 4.363, 7.423, 9.305, 10.359, 13.366 [Bryzos]).

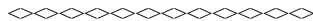
Although it was a member of the "Phrygian Pentapolis," Brouzos does not appear along with Eukarpeia, Hierapolis, Stektorion, and Otrous in the list of cities in the Flavian *conventus* list from Ephesos. The reason is not clear. It may be because it was not yet a city in the Flavian period (Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 81 and 87). But inasmuch as the inscription breaks off after Stektorion (col. II.39), it is possible that Brouzos was mentioned in the part now lost.

For the **location** of Brouzos see Belke, *TIB* VII: 215.

Dionysopolis

Stephanos (s.v. "Dionysoupolis") says that Dionysopolis was a foundation of Attalos and Eumenes, who, according to legend, had discovered a wooden statue of Dionysos at the site. Presumably we are concerned with Eumenes II and his younger brother, Attalos II. It is possible that the former gave the order to colonize the site, while the latter was the real founder, as was probably the case at Apollonis in Lydia.¹ The extant coinage extends from the second or first century B.C. to the third century A.D.² Dionysos was the great god of the

Attalid royal family. The name of the foundation, the story connected with its establishment, as well as the frequent appearance of Dionysos on its coins attest to the importance of the god in the colony. Another coin type bears the river god Maeander.³ Although the precise site of Dionysopolis has not yet been found, its general location is now fixed with certainty on the right (north) bank of the curve of the Maeander River, in the area of the Çal Dag and the Çal Ova.⁴



In general see Tscherikower, 33; Ramsay, *CBP*, 126-28; id., *Social Basis*, 80-83; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Dionysopolis 2"; L. Robert, *VAM²*, 127-49 and 356; Magie, *RRAM*, 1020-21; Hansen, *Attalids²*, 177; Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 82; von Aulock, *MSPhyrg.*, 2: 13-17; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 234.

1. Radet thought that by Attalos and Eumenes Stephanos meant Attalos I and his son Eumenes II (*De Coloniis*, 56), but this is unlikely. As Tscherikower noted (33; see also Robert, *VAM²*, 260), Attalos I ruled over Phrygia for a very short time. Furthermore we know that Eumenes II acted with one of his brothers, probably Attalos II, in founding APOLLONIS in Lydia. Le Rider wondered if Eumenes and Attalos founded Dionysopolis following the defeat of the Gauls in 166 B.C. in order to protect the Maeander valley (*BCH* 114 [1990] 701). This is a reasonable speculation. Ramsay suggests that Dionysopolis was founded by the Attalids to counter the Seleucid Blaundos (*HGAM*, 44 n.; cf. L. Robert, *RA* [1934] 90-91). Ramsay also claimed that in 222 A.D. Dionysopolis celebrated the 400th anniversary of its founding (*Social Basis*, 82; *JÖAI* 27 [1932] Beiblatt 250-52). Apparently his sole evidence is *BMC Phrygia*, 186, no. 24. Now this coin does commemorate the 70th anniversary of the refounding by Antoninus Pius. But I am at a loss to discover the evidence for the 400th year.

2. For **coinage** of Dionysopolis see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 182-87, nos. 1-27; von Aulock, *MSPhyrg.*, 13-17, 52ff. The ethnic on the coins is written ~~Σ~~, which Noe had assigned to SARDIS (*ECC*, 80) and Kleiner to SYNNADE (*ECC*, 80), should be attributed to Dionysopolis (*BCH* 114 [1990] 696). Kleiner (79) dated this coinage to c. 160-150 B.C., Morkholm suggested c. 168-166 B.C. (*ANS MN* 24 [1979] 52), and Le Rider (701) preferred a date after the defeat of the Gauls in 166 B.C.

3. For **the importance of Dionysos to the Attalids and to the colony of Dionysopolis** see Hansen, 451-52; Ramsay, *CBP*, 126. For Dionysos or grapes on the coins see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 182, nos. 1-5, etc. Ramsay points out that even in modern times grapes "grow most luxuriantly" in the Çal Ova (*CBP*, 127). For the **river god Maeander on the reverse of certain coins** see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 183, nos. 6-7; *Inv. Wadd.* 5935.

4. The **location of Dionysopolis** has been the subject of much discussion. Ramsay originally placed it on the left (south) bank of the Maeander, near the modern Ortaköy and hence close to the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos. He—mistakenly—believed the city was founded on land taken from the sanctuary (*CBP*, 126-31). On Apollo Lairbenos see *MAMA* IV, pp. xv and 95-115; Oppermann, *RE* Suppl. V, s.v. "Lairbenos," 521-35; Broughton, "Roman Asia," 681-82; K. M. Miller, *Numen* 32 (1985) 46-70. Ramsay called attention to an inscription found near Ortaköy (*CBP*, 147, no. 37 = *IGR* IV.758 = *MAMA* IV.277) in which the ethnic "Dionysopolitan" occurs. Nevertheless Ramsay himself was aware that the location was far from certain; he also referred to an epitaph of a native of Dionysopolis—*CBP*, 147, no. 36—from near Üçkuyu, 4 km north of Bekeilli in the northeast Çal Ova on the right bank of Maeander, and commented: "This place may contest with Orta-Keui the distinction of being the site of the city" (*CBP*, 128). The editors of *MAMA* IV (p. xiv) placed Dionysopolis south of Ortaköy at Sazak.

In *VAM* (first edition, 1935) Robert argued at length—and convincingly—that Dionysopolis should be located on the right bank of the Maeander somewhere in the region of the Çal Dag and the Çal Ova. Among other things, Robert pointed out that if one wanted to locate Dionysopolis near the temple of Apollo Lairbenos, it was paradoxical that Lairbenos does not explicitly occur in any of the coin types of Dionysopolis and that the Dionysopolitans rarely occur as worshippers at the temple of Apollo Lairbenos (137-39). He also called attention to the provenience of *CBP*, 147, no. 37, and to an inscription of Imperial date (*IGR* IV.756 = *MAMA* IV.315) copied at Bekeilli that listed Hierapolis, Dionysopolis, Blaundos, and the Hyrgaleian plain in that order. (Ramsay later changed his mind about the location of Dionysopolis, and in *Social Basis*, 80-83, which was published posthumously in 1941, he opted for a location near Bekeilli.) Finally, Habicht pointed out (82) the connection between Blaundos and Dionysopolis in Cicero (*Q.Fr.* 1.2.4) and called attention to an unpublished inscription found south of Sevliler in the Çal Ova that confirms "that the territories of the Hyrgaleis and of the Dionysopolitae adjoined on the northern bank of the Maeander, that is to say that Dionysopolis was in fact located in the area in which Robert had assumed it was."

According to Pliny (*NH* 5.106) and the Flavian *conventus* list published by Habicht (p. 65, col. II.21; see also p. 82) Dionysopolis was in the *conventus* of Apameia. In the *Not. Ep.* (1.452, 2.521, etc.) it is located in Phrygia Capatiana.

Dokimeion

Dokimeion had its origin in the early Hellenistic period.¹ Three epigrams give Dokimos as the name of the founder, while some Imperial coins of the city have a portrait of him. It is quite probable that this person is also the like-named general of Antigonos who defected and surrendered Synnada to Lysimachos in 302 B.C. (Diod. 20.107.3-4; Paus. 1.8.1). Assuming this Dokimos founded Dokimeion, we do not know if he did it in his capacity as a general of

Antigonos or as an independent dynast.² If the colony was founded around the end of the fourth century B.C., then it would rank as one of the oldest in Asia Minor.³ In the second and third centuries A.D. the inhabitants of Dokimeion claimed a Macedonian origin for the town. Coins of that period were often minted with the legend OKIME N MAKE O N. An inscription records a dedication by Limnaios and Diomedes, brothers and workers in Dokimian marble (Δοκιματογλύφοι); Linanaios is a Macedonian name.⁴

The surviving coinage of Dokimeion ranges from the first to third century, A.D. Kybele occurs on many of the coins, a reflection of the importance of her cult in the city.⁵

Dokimeion was famous in Roman times for its marble quarries. The marble was known locally as "Dokimite" or "Dokimian," but the Romans called it "Synnadic" (Strabo 12.8.14), apparently because the administrative offices were at Synnada and/or because the marble passed through Synnada on its way to Ephesos and Italy. Mount Persis, the site of the quarries, was portrayed on coins of Dokimeion.⁶ We do not know the extent to which the quarries were worked in Hellenistic times.⁷

Dokimeion was located twenty-five kilometers northeast of Afyon Karahisar at Iscehisar *.⁸



In general see Tscherikower, 35; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 80-81; L. Robert, *JS* (1962) 5-54; id., *ATAM*, 221-56; Magie, *RRAM*, 1002; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 317-19; Belke, *TIB* VII: 237-38; C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 22 (1992) 92-96.

1. In the ancient and Byzantine literature the name of the city is variously spelled Dokimia (Strabo 12.8.14), Dokimaion (Ptol. 5.2.17), Dokimeion (Stephanos, s.v.), and Dokimion (Hierokles 677.11; also *Not. Ep.* 1.334, etc.).

2. For the three epigrams that mention Dokimos see Ramsay *AM* 7 (1882) 134; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 666 (= *CIG* 6861); W. Peek, *AM* 56 (1931) 124, no. 8 (corrected by L. Robert in *RPh* [1934] 267-68 and *JS* [1962] 24-25 nn. 10-11). For the coins of the city with the head of Dokimos and the legend OKIMO see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 189, nos. 7-9; *Inv. Wadd.* 5949-50; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 223f., nos. 6-7; *Weber Coll.* 7083; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 354; *SNG* (von A) 3547. I do not agree with Ramsay's claim (*Social Basis*, 286-87) that Dokimos and Dokimia were "native personal and local names ... of Anatolian character" and that there is no connection between the Macedonian Dokimos and the town Dokimeion. The Dokimos who surrendered Synnada in 302, B.C. to Lysimachos may be identical with Perdikkas' general of 319 B.C. (Diod. 18.45.3; see Kaerst, *RE* s.v. "Dokimos 4 and 5"; Billows, *Antigonos*, 382-83). Hansen thought Dokimos, acting as an agent, founded Dokimeion as a village in the territory of Synnada (*Attalids*², 173; cf. Stephanos s.v. "Synnada"). Tarn believed Dokimeion was simply

a military colony named for the official who founded it (*GBI*, 11). Jones, on the other hand, pointed out that Hellenistic kings named cities only after themselves or members of the royal family and never after private individuals. Hence he suggested that Dokimos was acting as an independent dynast and that he founded Dokimeion to be the capital of his principedom (*CERP*², 49; see also Leschhorn, 319). In fact, given the probable early date for the founding, it is possible that the distinction of king, prince, dynast, and agent—and the responsibilities of each—were not fully defined at the time.

3. Strabo (12.8.14) describes Dokimeion as a "village" (οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καρδάκων κώμῃ in M. Segre, *Cl. Rh.* 9 [1938] 190, ll. 3-4; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, 83). Therefore, two possibilities emerge: (1) Dokimeion was originally a native village and not a colony and was still a village in the early first century A.D. (Ramsay, *Social Basis*, 286-87, suggested it did not become a city until c. 51 A.D.), or (2) Strabo is using the term retrospectively, as he probably did when he described Stratonikeia as a *katoikia*.

4. For **coins with the legend ΔOKIMEΩN MAKEΔONΩN** (and variants) see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 5955-59, 5963; *BMC Phrygia*, 188, nos. 1-3; 191f., nos. 19, 21-22, 25-33; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 224, nos. 7-11; Robinson, *JHS* 34 (1914) 41, no. 15bis; *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 352, 357, 360; *SNG (von A)* 3545, 3549, 3551-52, 3554-56, 8356. Claims of Macedonian or Greek descent were widely made in towns of the first to third century A.D.; for Macedonians see, for example, HIERAPOLIS, NAKRASON, BLAUNDOS, OTROUS, PELTAI, HYRKANIS, and AIGELAI; and Appendix III. See also Ionians and Dorians at SYNNAIDA and Achaians at EUMENEIA. For the **dedication by Limnaios and Diomedes** see A. Hall and M. Waelkens *AS* 32 (1982) 151-55. For coins with just the **ethnic** AOKIMEION see, for example, *SAG (von A)* 3542f.

5. For **coins with Kybele** see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 5953-54; *BMC Phrygia*, 190ff., nos. 14, 18, etc.; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 224, nos. 8-9; *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 358; *SNG (von A)* 3549-50, 3554, 3556; for a more comprehensive list see H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* (Paris, 1912) 360 n. 2; L. Robert, *JS* (1962) 53-54 and accompanying notes.

6. For **the marble and the marble quarries** see Robert, *JS* (1962) 23ff.; id., *ATAM*, 221-56 (photographs of the quarries on pp. 230-35); J. Röder, *JDAI* 86 (1971) 253-312; D. Monna and P. Pensabene, *Marmi dell' Asia Minore* (Rome, 1977) 29-77; M. Waelkens, *BMAH* (1982) 33-54; M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Epigraphica* 53 (1991) 113-74, esp. nn. 1-4, and *Anatolia Antiqua* (Istanbul and Paris, 1987) 182-83. On the various designations ("Dokimian," "Dokimite," "Synnadic," "Phrygian") by which the marble was known see Hall and Waelkens (151-52 nn. 7-9). Dokimian marble was frequently used for sarcophagi in Asia Minor; see, for example, *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 56.2; 158.1, 5. See also Waelkens, *Dokimeion: Die Werkstatt der repräsentativen kleinasiatischen Sarkophage* (Berlin, 1982) esp. 105-27; articles cited in Hall and Waelkens, 152 n. 11. See also the literature cited in R. M. Harrison, *AS* 40 (1990) 206 n. 3.

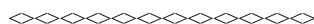
In Roman times a direct road connected Synnada and Dokimeion (*Tab. Peut.* VIII.3-4; *MAMA* IV.60.9-10: a milestone of the second or third century A.D. apparently in Latin: [*a Sy]nna[dis Doci]mio*; T. Zawadzki, *REA* 62 [1960] 84-89). For coins of Dokimeion with a representation of the mountain and the name Persis: Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 223, no. 3; E. S. G. Robinson, *JHS* 34 (1914) 41, no. 15bis; *SNG* (von A) 3554. Ramsay mentions a similar coin in the collection of Mr. Lawson of Smyrna (*AM* 7 [1882] 145). Coins with the mountain but without the name are more common; see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 5944, 5948. In general see Robert *JS* (1962) 52-53, nos. 40, and 41. A coin type of SYNNADA also has a mountain (unnamed), which was probably Mount Persis; see SYNNADA, note 6.

7. For the early working of the quarries see Tibullus (3.3.13-14), who mentions columns of Phrygian marble. Strabo (12.8.14) contrasts the great megaliths extracted in his own day with the small stones that were taken out "at first" (κατ' ἀρχάς); Pliny (*NH* 36.102) describes the Basilica Aemilia at Rome (first built in 179 B.C.) as remarkable for its Phrygian (i.e., Dokimian) marble columns. H. Blümner, in *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste* (Leipzig, 1884) 3: 53, took this passage as evidence for the use of the Phrygian marble in 179 B.C. The passage, however, indicates only that Pliny admired the building and its marble; it says nothing about *when* the marble was first used. Since the basilica went through a number of rebuildings in the first century B.C. (and early first century A.D.), it is not possible to specify whether the Phrygian marble dated from the original building or, as is certainly more likely, from one of the later restorations; see, for example, G. Fuchs, *Rom. Mitt.* 63 (1956) 23-25; M. E. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy* (Washington, D.C., 1947) 59. In the restoration of 54 B.C. L. Aemilius Paullus reroofed the building on its old columns (*isdem antiquis columnis*, Cic. *Att.* 4.16.8; on this difficult passage see the commentary of Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*² [Dublin, 1906] 2: 156-57). There is no particular reason to believe these columns were from the structure of 179 B.C. (Blake suggested [56 n. 11] they were from the restoration of 78 B.C.), nor is there any indication of the type of marble that was used.

8. On the **location** of Dokimeion see the *Tab. Peut* VIII.3-4; Ramsay, *JHS* 8 [1887] 482; Robert, *JS* (1962) 24-26; id., *ATAM*, 228-29 (map); Belke, *TIB* VII: 237 and map at end.

Dorylaion

Dorylaion was located at a strategically important site. According to Diodorus (20.108.6-7) Lysimachos camped there before the battle of Ipsos because it had ample grain and other supplies and was protected by a river. Noting the importance of the site, Radet suggested that if one could attribute a colony at the site to any of the Diadochoi it would be to Antigonos Monophthalmos.¹ Louis Robert subsequently called attention to a dedication from Eskisehir * of Imperial date made by Diophanes son of Arrhidaios. The latter of course is a Macedonian name, and Robert saw it as sufficient to attest the existence of a group of Macedonian colonists in the town.² It is possible that there had been a Macedonian colony. However, one would need more evidence before making this claim. The coinage dates from the Imperial period.³ Dorylaion was located 3.5 kilometers northeast of Eskisehir* at the mound of Sar* Üyük.⁴



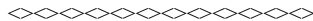
In general see G. Radet, *Nouv. arch. des miss. scient.* 6 (1895) 491-513; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Dorylaion"; *MAMA* V, pp. xi-xiv; Magic, *RRAM*, 1000; von Aulock, *MSPhyrg.*, 2:17-21; Belke, *TIB* VII: 238-42.

1. For Antigonos as **founder** of a colony at Dorylaion see Radet, 509-10; id., *En Phrygie*, 89.
2. For the **dedication of Diophanes** see *AM* (1900) 120; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 101 n. 1.
3. For the coinage of Dorylaion (**ethnic: ΔΟΡΥΛΑΕΩΝ**) see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 3557-66; von Aulock, *MSPhyrg.*, 2: 17-21, 63ff.
4. For the **location** of Dorylaion see *MAMA* V, pp. xi-xii and photographs, pl. 2; Belke, *TIB* VII: 238.

Eukarpeia

While the existence of Eukarpeia is attested as early as the time of Strabo (12.8. 13), it was only in 1956 that evidence first appeared indicating the existence of a military colony there. In that year W. M. Calder published two inscriptions, one from Emircik near Eumeneia (*SEG* XV.810, probably the end of the second century A.D.) and one from Sandikli (*SEG* XV.812, after 212 A.D.).¹ The first mentions a *κληροῦχον* *καὶ*

πόλεων. The titlature indicates that there had been a military colony at Eukarpeia. However, the two inscriptions provide no indication as to when Eukarpeia was founded or by whom. There is no numismatic evidence earlier than the time of Augustus.² Eukarpeia was a member of the so-called Phrygian Pentapolis (the other cities were Otrous, Hierapolis, Stektorion, and Brouzos). Most likely Eukarpeia was located in the area of the Sandikli plain.³



1. Tscherikower did not mention Eukarpeia in his list of colonies. Droysen was inclined to consider it a colony but hesitated because of the lack of evidence (*Hist.* 2: 714); see also Radet, *De Coloniis*, 32. **SEG XV.810 and 812** were published by Calder in *AS* 6 (1956) 49-51. Eukarpeia is also mentioned in the Flavian *conventus* list (Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 65, col. II.24, and commentary, p. 83) and in *MAMA* VI.223.

An inscription found at Çorhisar in the Sandikli plain reads: **αὐτοῦ** see further OTROUS, note 3). Drew-Bear (*BCH* 115 [1991] 374 n. 56) suggested (a) the inscription was brought to Çorhisar (Drew-Bear informs me that at *BCH* [1991] 374 n. 56 "Koçhisar" is a *lapsus*) from the site of Eukarpeia, (b) contra Ramsay, *JHS* 8 (1887) 478, Çorhisar is not the site of Otrous, (c) the text deals not with Otrous (as Ramsay suggested) but rather with Eukarpeia. As a result Drew-Bear suggested that the Alexander recorded in the inscription is the great king and that he was considered to be the founder of Eukarpeia. Three comments. (a) The provenience of the stone is not known. Ramsay says he found it "on a large basis in the cemetery at Tchör Hissar" (*JHS* [1887] 478). A decade later he wrote: "When an inscr. is found standing free on an ancient site, it seems fair to conclude that it belongs to that site. Hence I cannot accept the suggestion made in *BCH* 1893 p. 278 that this stone may have been brought from Brouzos: that is possible, but probability is against it" (*CBP*, 702). Legrand and Chamonard, *BCH* (1893) 278, erroneously state that Ramsay located Otrous at Koçhisar; in fact, as I mentioned above, Ramsay placed it at Çorhisar (for the location of Çorhisar and Koçhisar see Bede, *TIB* VII: 266-27 and map at the end). (b) Drew-Bear is quite correct in noting that there is nothing to substantiate Ramay's claim that Çorhisar was the site of Otrous. (c) Drew-Bear is also undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the Alexander mentioned in the inscription is the Macedonian king rather than the Asiarch of the early third century A.D. (see the discussion in OTROUS).

2. For the **coinage** (from Augustus to Volusian, **ethnic**: **ΕΥΚΑΡΠΗΤΙΚΟΤ** is found on Imperial coinage from the time of Augustus; see, for instance, *BMC Phrygia*, 205-6, nos. 13-14) see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, lix and 203-10, nos. 1-33; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 227-28; *SNG* (von A) 3575-81 and 8363-64.

In *CERP*², 66, Jones theorized that the "Corpeni" (Pliny *NH* 5.105) were "perhaps the tribe which occupied the district later shared between four small cities, Eucarpia, Bruzus, Hieropolis and Otrus, which all issued coins in the second and third centuries A.D. Under Augustus coins were struck with the legend 'of the Eucarpitic (district)' ... the district ... was occupied by a tribe called the Corpeni which in the course of Augustus' reign gave to its capital the name of Eucarpia, a Greek name suggested by the tribal name, and began to issue coins with the legend 'of the Eucarpitic (district)'" ; note that already in *JHS* 8 [1887] 469 Ramsay had replaced "Corpeni" in Pliny's list with the "Eucarpeni." Drew-Bear rightly rejected the etymology "Eukarpeia << Corpeni" (*BCH* [1991] 373-75). Among other things, he pointed out that the correct form of the ethnic was *Εὐκαρπηῖοι (374 n. 55).

Drew-Bear suggested that "Corpeni" referred to a city of the same name and not to a tribe. Taking this reconstruction one step farther Drew-Bear suggested that the homeless cistophorus with the legend KOP (Kleiner-Noe, *ECC*, 100-101) belonged to the city of the Corpeni. Like Adramyttion (see R. Bauslaugh, *NC* [1990] 48), we then would have another example of a short-lived minting of cistophori under the Attalids, this time in Phrygia. The attribution of the KOP cistophorus to the Corpeni is possible, particularly in view of the likelihood that there were cistophori issued by a number of Phrygian cities under the Attalids. Among the cities that possibly issued cistophori were APAMEIA Kelainai, BLAUNDOS, DIONYSOPOLIS, LYSIAS, and SYNNAIDA. Nevertheless, the presence of a fish on the reverse is puzzling. Perhaps the reference is cultic rather than geographic.

3. **Location.** Ramsay suggested Eukarpeia was located at Emirhisar (*CBP*, 690-92, followed by Drew-Bear, 374 n. 56; see also Belke, *TIB* VII: 250-51 and map at end), but the identification is not secure (see Ruge, in *RE* s.vv. "Phrygia," 827; "Eukarpia," 996; and "Otrus," 1888). On the Pentapolis and the location of its cities see Ramsay, *CBP*, 678-79; Ruge, *RE*, s.v. "Otrus," 1887-88; Belke, *TIB* VII: 358. The general area where we should search for Eukarpeia is well defined. Strabo (12.8.13) mentions Eukarpeia along with Peltai, Tabai, and Lysias. Hierokles (676.8ff.) lists it with Hierapolis, Otrous, Stektorion, Brouzos, Debalikia (location unknown; see BROUZOS, note 5), Lysias, and Synnada. The *Tab. Peut.* (VIII.5) places it on the road between Dorylaion and Eumeneia (see Ramsay, *CBP*, 691). Cf. the *Not. Ep.*, where the listing is hierarchic rather than geographic (see above, pp. 7f.): Hierapolis, Eukarpeia, Lysias, Augustopolis, Brouzos, Otrous, Lykaones, and Stektorion (1.343; cf. 2.407, 3.433, etc.).

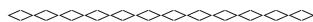
Eumeneia

Stephanos (s.v. "Eumeneia") says that Eumeneia was founded by Attalos II and named for his brother, Eumenes II.¹ While no inscriptions of the Hellenistic phase of the town survive, there are some Hellenistic coins that may date to

before 133 B.C. If in fact Eumeneia did issue coinage prior to 133 B.C., this would indicate that the Attalids had granted it city rights.²

The epithet **ΕΤΜΕΝΕΥΕ**, but other forms are also found.⁷ For a short time in the first century B.C. the city was renamed Fulvia in honor of the wife of Marcus Antonius.⁸

Eumeneia was located in the territory acquired by the Attalids after the defeat of Antiochos III. It was on the Glaukos River, at the site of the present Isikli *. The strategic importance of Eumeneia is made clear both by the fact that in Hellenistic times the Attalids settled colonists there and by the fact that during the first three centuries A.D. and later Eumeneia was a garrison town.⁹



In general see Ramsay, *CBP*, 353-95; Robert *VAM²*, 151-60; Magic, *RRAM*, 984-85; Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 53-114; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 251-52.

1. Eutropius attributes the **founding of Eumeneia** to Eumenes II (4.4.2).

2. For **coins** possibly prior to 133 B.C. see *Inv. Ward.* 6008-10; *BMC Phrygia*, 211, nos. 1-5; *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 377-78; Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 62-63. Magic (1985, following Head, *BMC*, lx) assumes these coins dated to before 133 B.C. and that the Attalids gave Eumeneia city rights. For coins of the late second (post 133 B.C.) and first centuries B.C. see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 211-12, nos. 6-19; *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 379-82; *SNG (von A)* 3582-83 and 8365-66.

3. For coins with **ΕΤΜΕΝΕΙΑ** and **ΑΧΑΙ** N on opposite sides) and no. 8; *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 388-89, 395-98; *SNG (von A)* 3586, 3588, 3592-98. The

same title is found on the base of a statue of the people of Eumeneia: Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 67, no. 2. For the alliance of Eumenes II and the Achaian League and the use of Achaian troops against Antiochos III see Polyb. 21.3b (9); Livy 37.20.1 and 39.9; and App. *Syr.* 26, 31; after the battle of Magnesia the Achaians set up a statue of Attalos (*Syll.*³ 606). The origin of the ancestors of the "Eumeneian Achaians" has been much discussed. Ramsay thought they came from Aeolic Kyme and not from the Greek mainland (*CBP*, 371). Reinach objected to equating them with the descendants of soldiers provided by the Achaian League (*RA* [1909] 368-69), and Jones suggested that the "Eumeneian Achaians" might have been native Phrygians who "concocted" an Achaian ancestry (*CERP*², 54). In support of the notion that the designation "Achaioi" referred to the mythological origins of the Eumeneians it should be noted that the founding of the Panhellenion at Athens by Hadrian apparently spurred some cities of Asia Minor to discover relationships with cities of the Greek mainland (on the Panhellenic movement of the second century and the founding of the Panhellenion in Athens see S. Mitchell, *Acta of the Eighth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Athens* 1982 [Athens, 1984] 131-32; G. M. Cohen, *Anc. Soc.* 22 [1991] 49; on the Panhellenion see, for example, P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* [Cairo, 1934] 102-11; A. S. Benjamin, *Hesperia* 32 [1963] 57-86; H. Weber, *AM* 84 [1969] 188-89; S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle* [Paris, 1976] 113-16, 125-35, 343-45; A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, *JRS* 75 [1985] 78-104 and 76 [1986] 88-105; J. H. M. Strubbe, *Anc. Soc.* 15-17 [1984-1986] 280-84). And it is during the reign of Hadrian that coins with *Ἡρῆ τ' Ἀργεῖη*; Hes. *Theog.* 11-12; Aesch. *Supp.* 299; C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* (Boston and New York, 1902) 1: 4-10. A Eumeneian coin minted under Hadrian bore the legend *HPA AP EIA* (*Inv. Wadd.* 6036). For the Eumeneian *eugeneia* see Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 67, no. 2. On *eugeneia* in general see Robert, *JS* (1973) 202; id., *BCH* 101 (1977) 128; Strubbe, *Anc. Soc.* 15-17 (1984-1986) 153ff. For the claim of AIGEAI to *syngeneia* with Argos see L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 119-29. Cf. Doris and Xanthos in 201/5 B.C. (J. Bousquet, *REG* [1988] 14ff.).

4. The evidence (all from the Imperial period) for the **tribes of Eumeneia** is as follows: Argeias—*NIP*, 79, no. 11; 88, no. 21; *CBP*, 530, no. 378; Heraïs—*NIP*, 106, no. 45; *MAMA* IV. 358; Athenais—*CBP*, 379, no. 208; Apollonis—Calder, *AS* 5 (1955) 38 (correctly predicted by Ramsay in 1897: "The prominence of Apollo in ... Eumeneia suggests that a tribe Apollonis probably existed" [*CBP*, 372]); Demetrias—*NIP*, 72, no. 5; Artemeisiasw—*NIP*, 71, no. 4; 73, no. 6; and Hadrianis—*JRS* 16 (1926) 80, no. 204 (on the tribe Hadrianis see also W. Günther, *IM* 26 [1976] 111-15). Drew-Bear also suggests (*NIP*, 71-72) that an eighth tribe, Dionysias, may be restored in *MAMA* IV.335. On the tribes at Eumeneia see also N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 363-64.

5. The evidence for the **Eumeneia Philadelpheia** is numismatic and dates from the period of Gallienus: Mionnet, 4: 296, no. 576; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*,

164-65 (where Robert retracts his earlier denial in *RPh* [1934] 286 n. 1 that the festival could have been founded by the Attalids); Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 252. Cf. the city of PHILADELPHIA in Lydia, which was also founded by Attalos II.

6. For **Apollo Propylaios** see, for example, Drew-Bear, *GRBS* 17 (1976) 260-61, no. 15; *NIP*, 66, no. 1; Ramsay, *CBP*, 374, nos. 195 and 196 (= *IGR* IV. 742); *SEG* VI. 213; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1953) 129; Tod, *ABSA* 11 (1904-1905) 28, no. 1. A double-axe, the symbol of Apollo Propylaios, appears in relief on all of these dedications; note, however, that Ramsay does not mention its appearance on *CBP* 196. For coins of Apollo holding the double-axe see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 217ff., nos. 41-43, 47-49; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 394; *SNG* (von A) 3590-91. Ramsay thought that Apollo Propylaios was the Greek equivalent of the native Men Askaenos, whose presence in the region of Eumeneia is attested (*IGR* IV.739 = Lane, *CMRDM*, 1, no. 101) and who also had a double-axe as his symbol (*CBP* 356). But in *IGR* IV.739 Men Askaenos is listed along with a whole series of other gods. In addition, the double axe was a symbol used by many local divinities in Asia Minor (see Drew-Bear, in *GRBS* [1976] 261 and notes; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 3 [1946] 61; for the rider god with the double-axe see *BMC Phrygia*, 218ff., nos. 50-51, 59; *SNG* [Cop] *Phrygia* 396-97; *SNG* [von A] 3595, 3597). Ramsay also suggests that the sanctuary of Men Askaenos was at Attanassos near Eumeneia and that Eumeneia was founded on land that had been the property of the Phrygian god (*CBP*, 355 and 241-43). However, the location of Attanassos (see, for example, *Not. Ep.* 1.328, 2.391, etc.) is not known. Furthermore, the theory that Hellenistic (including Attalid) kings seized temple lands for their colonies is problematic (see, for example, Broughton, in "Roman Asia," 643-44; id., *Studies Johnson*, 242-43 and n. 25; in general see Magie, 1017). On Men Askaenos see also ANTIOCH near Pisidia.

7. In addition to the usual **ethnic** ΕΤΜΕΝΙΕΣΑ (*IG* II² 8503); in general see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 84; *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 438; Drew-Bear, in *NIP*, 104-5.

8. For the renaming of Eumeneia as Fulvia see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 6046; *BMC Phrygia*, 213, nos. 20-21 (despite the fact that Antonius renamed the city for his wife, Head believes the portrait on these coins is that of Cleopatra, see his note 1 on p. 213); Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 231, nos. 1-2; *SNG* (von A) 8367; Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 64; Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 85.

9. On the **location** of Eumeneia in Phrygia at the present Isikli * see *NIP*, 112-14 and maps on pls. 38, 40; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 251 and map at end. Eumeneia is listed in Ptolemy (5.2.17) as well as Hierokles (667.4) and the *Not. Ep.* (1.323, 2.386, etc.). It also appears on the *Tab. Peut.* (VIII.5). For a milestone of the first or second century A.D. from the Apameia-Eumeneia road see Drew-Bear and

Eck, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 294 n. 5. The territory of the city apparently included land on the south bank of the Maeander, extending as far as the mountain of Boz Dag (*NIP*, 104-5, no. 42, and commentary). Regarding its location Pliny mentions (*NH* 5.108): *Eumenia Cludro flumini adposita*, together with the Glaukos River. The Glaukos appears on Eumeneian coinage: *Inv. Wadd.* 6021, 6040; *BMC Phrygia*, 214, nos. 26-28; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 386-87; *SNG* (von A) 3587; Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 23 (1923) 319, nos. 362-64. On the problem of the identification of the Glaukos and the Cludros see Drew-Bear, in *NIP*, 13. On the strategic importance of Eumeneia see E. Ritterling, *JRS* 17 [1927] 30f.; *MAMA* IV.328.

On the confusion between Eumeneia in Phrygia and the probably nonexistent like-named city in Caria see EUMENEIA in Caria.

Hierapolis

The name Hierapolis, "sacred city," suggests this was a religious center in the pre-Hellenistic period.¹ Under the Seleucids it was refounded. Hierapolitans in the Imperial period with the surname or ethnic *ῥαπολίς* of Apollonias give clear evidence for the Seleucid foundation and for the division of the Hellenistic city into tribes. While the founder is not known, most likely it was either Antiochos I or II. The discovery of portrait busts of Attalos and Eumenes in the theater suggests a subsequent refoundation under the Attalids.³

The importance of Apollo Archegetes as the founding god of the city is attested by his appearance—in the Roman period—on coins and inscriptions, as well as by the name "Apollonias" of one of the tribes. The earliest evidence for the organization of the city comes from a Hierapolitan decree of the second century B.C. proposed by three *strategoi* in honor of the recently deceased Queen Apollonis (*OGIS* 308).⁴ The earliest extant coinage likewise dates from the same period.⁵ Under the Empire Hierapolis was the center of a flourishing textile industry.⁶ While the town name was "Hierapolis"—and not "Hieropolis"—the spelling of the ethnic could be either "Hieropolitan" or "Hierapolitan." The spelling of the ethnic changed from the former to the latter around the time of Augustus.⁷ The temple of Apollo Lairbenos, which was approximately thirty kilometers northeast of Hierapolis, probably did not come under its control until the second century A.D.⁸ Hierapolis was located at the modern Pamukkale, eighteen kilometers northeast of Denizli.⁹

In general see Ramsay, *CBP*, 84-119; C. Humann et al., *Alt. v. Hierapolis*; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Hierapolis 3"; Tscherikower, 31-32; Magie, *RRAM*, 987-88; Bean, *TBM²*, 199-212, pls. 79-83; and *PECS* s.v. "Hierapolis"; F. Kolb, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 255-70; P. Verzone, "Hierapolis di Frigia nei lavori della missione archeologica italiana," in *Quaderni de la ricerca scientifica* 100 (Rome, 1978) 391-475; T. Ritti, *Hierapolis I: Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche* (Rome, 1985); Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 267-75; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 268-72.

1. For the **literary testimonia** see Ritti, 3-42. For **the suggestion that Hierapolis was an old Phrygian holy center** see Ramsay, *CBP*, 85ff. Magic (987) believed it was sacred to the Great Mother. Stephanos (s.v. "Hierapolis") claimed that the town name originated from the many temples there. Bean referred to a suggestion that the city was named by the Attalids (who he believed had founded it) in honor of Hiero or Hiera, the wife of Telephos, the mythical ancestor of the Pergamenes (*TBM²*, 201).
2. Magie denied that the appearance of "**Macedonians**" in inscriptions of Imperial times could be used as evidence that Hierapolis had been a Seleucid military colony (988; contra, Hermann and Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsaltertümer*⁶, 200, n. 13); note, however, that Magie also believed (128) that it might have been the Attalids who refounded Hierapolis. On the likelihood that Macedonian colonies were generally founded by the Seleucids rather than the Attalids see NAKRASON.
3. The **inscriptions with the tribal names** were found on the edges of the seats of the theater of Hierapolis; see Kolb, *ZPE* (1974) 255-70, pl. VIII; Ritti, 118-22, pls. 18-20. The tribes Seleukis, Antiochis, and Laodikis obviously were in honor of the Seleucids, while Eumenis and Attalis paid tribute to the Pergamenes. Stratonikis could have been named either for Demetrios Poliorketes' daughter, who was the wife of Seleukos I and Antiochos I, or for the daughter of Ariarathes IV, who married both Eumenes II and Attalos II. J. and L. Robert prefer the first identification (*BE* [1976] 668). For the identification of the tribe Apollonias with Apollo Archegetes rather than with Queen Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I, see Kolb, 262-64. The publication of these inscriptions firmly lays to rest the controversy as to whether Hierapolis was a Seleucid or Attalid foundation (for the various views on the subject see the references cited in Kolb, 255-56 and notes). The new evidence that **Hierapolis was organized into tribes** also effectively refutes the suggestion of Ramsay (*CBP*, 105, followed by Jones, *CERP*², 73) that the city was divided into guilds rather than tribes. Note, however, that Ramsay's suggestion was *ex silentio*: he knew about guilds but had no evidence for the existence of tribes; nor did he have any evidence that there had been a "Greek foundation in Hierapolis" (*CBP*, 105-8; on the evidence for guilds at Hierapolis see Ramsay, *op. cit.*; Jones, *CERP*², 395 n. 73). W. Judeich has suggested that the names Mailouis (*Alt. v. Hierapolis* 70.2), Mamoles (*ibid.* 81.2), and Motalis (*ibid.* 344.1; see L. Robert, *VAM²*, 141 n. 2) found on Hierapolitan inscriptions were tribal names

(*Alt. v. Hierapolis*, 175, followed by C. Cichorius, *Alt. v. Hierapolis*, 33; see also Magie, *RRAM*, 1008). In fact the discovery that the tribes at Hierapolis had dynastic names renders it unlikely that the latter three were tribal names of Hellenistic Hierapolis. L. Robert has suggested that these referred to "groupement[s] indigène[s] dans la campagne" (*BCH* 107 [1983] 511-15 and *JS* [1983] 45-63). In general for the tribes see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 365-67.

Founder. Seleukos I came into control of Phrygia as a result of the battle of Korupedion in 281 B.C. It is, however, unlikely that he had the opportunity to found Hierapolis in the few months that he lived after the battle. The region was then under continuous Seleucid rule only during the reigns of Antiochos I and II. After that it fell away from central Seleucid control as a result of the revolts of Hierax and Achaios. Antiochos III reasserted Seleucid rule over Phrygia after the defeat of the latter in 213 B.C.. Although there is evidence for Antiochos III founding Jewish colonies in Lydia and Phrygia, there is nothing to indicate that he founded any major settlements in the region. It is most likely therefore that either Antiochos I or II founded Hierapolis. Kolb notes (269) the very close proximity of Laodikeia on the Lykos, which was probably founded by Antiochos II, and suggests that Antiochos II would not have established another city so close to Laodikeia. On the other hand, Antiochos I did found, among other settlements, APAMEIA Kelainai and NYSA in Carla. This prompts Kolb to hypothesize that Antiochos I was also the founder of Hierapolis. This is speculative, as Kolb admits, but it is reasonable.

For the **portrait busts, which are dated to the early third century A.D., of Attalos and Eumenes** see Verzone, 433; Ritti, 120. Cf. the situation at DIONYSOPOLIS, which Stephanos says (s.v. "Dionysopolis") was a foundation of Attalos and Eumenes; cf. also the statue base of Imperial date in the Manisa museum for "King Attalos," who was the founder of PHILADELPHIA in Lydia.

4. For **Apollo Archegetes** see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 231ff., nos. 23, 34, 46; Ritti, 108-14; *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 4a.1, 153.5, and p. 21; Kolb, 262-64; G. Carettoni, *Annuario* 25-26 (1963-64) 414; L. Robert, *Laodicée*, 296, who points out that Apollo was both the ancestral god of the Seleucid family and the patron god of colonization. See also LAODIKEIA on the Lykos and ATTALEIA in Pamphylia. For Apollo Archegetes at Komana in Cappadocia see R. P. Harper, *AS* 19 (1969) 27, no. 3 (a national ancestral god, according to J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1971] 668). On the **dating of OGIS 308** see L. Robert, *VAM²*, 260 n. 1.

5. For **the earliest coinage** see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, lxvi and 228, nos. 1-3; *SNG* (von A) 3613-16.

6. For the **textile industry at Hierapolis** see Strabo 13.4.14; H. W. Pleket, *BABESCH* 62 (1987) 182-83.

7. On the name form "Hierapolis" see especially L. Robert, *Hierapolis Castabala*, 18-22; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 26 (1949) 19 n. 1. For the **name** Hierapolis see, for example, Strabo 12.8. 17 and 13.4.15; Ptol. 5.2.17; Hierokles 665.2; *Not. Ep.* 1.38, etc. For the **ethnic** IEPO O IT N see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 228-29, nos. 1-9; for

IEPA O IT N or IEPA O EIT N, 229ff., nos. 10ff.; also *OGIS* 527.3 and Pliny *NH* 5.105. According to the *Acta Philippi* 108 (ed. M. Bonnet [Leipzig, 1903; reprint, Bonn, 1972] 41) Hierapolis was also called Ophioryme.

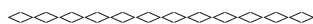
8. For **the control of the temple of Apollo Lairbenos by Hierapolis** see L. Robert, *VAM²*, 141-42; see also K. M. Miller, *Numen* 32 (1985) 46-52; and DIONYSOPOLIS. The earliest coins of Hierapolis with Apollo Lairbenos on them date from the second/third century A.D. (see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 236-38, nos. 54-66; *SNG* [von A.] 3626-29). Contra, Oppermann (*RE* Suppl. V, s.v. "Lairbenos," 534, tentatively followed by Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 504, 506), who suggested that the temple of Apollo Lairbenos was in the territory of Hierapolis in the Hellenistic period.

9. On the **location** of Hierapolis in Phrygia see Ramsay, *CBP*, 84-85; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 268 and map at end. For a description, plan, and photographs of the site see Bean, op. cit. Hierapolis (modern Pamukkale) should not be confused with the like-named city (modern Koçhisar) that was in the Phrygian Pentapolis (see Habicht's discussion in *JRS* 65 [1975] 86).

Jewish Colonies (see under Lydia)

Kidyessos

Radet, relying on a passage of Ptolemy that he quotes (5.2.18: **Σπυληνοί**). Therefore we should not, on the basis of currently available evidence, consider Kidyessos a Macedonian colony.¹ Kidyessos was located thirty-one kilometers west of Afyon Karahisar at Çayhisar.²



1. See Radet, *De Colonüs*, 39, followed by Hermann and Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsaltertümer*⁶, 200. On the Mokadenoi see Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 65, col. I.4-5, and p. 72.

2. On the **location** see Mersich, *TIB* VII: 301 and map at end.

Laodikeia on the Lydos

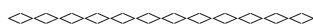
There are two traditions regarding the founding of Laodikeia on the Lykos. Both traditions are recorded by Stephanos and Eustathius. The first, highly improbable, account ascribes the founding to "Antiochos son of Seleukos" and claims he named it after his sister Laodike (Stephanos s.v. "Antiocheia 11";

Eust. *Comment.* to Dionys. Perieg. 918 [*GGM*, 2: 379]). But no sister of that name is known for either Antiochos I or Antiochos III. According to the second tradition, Antiochos II founded it and named it after his wife, Laodike (Stephanos s.v. "Laodikeia 2"; Eust. *Comment.* 915 [*GGM*, 2: 377-78]). This is quite likely, and since Antiochos divorced Laodike in 253, we may assume the colony was founded in the period 261-253 B.C.

The inhabitants included Ionians.¹ According to Pliny, the site had previously been occupied by a village named, successively, Diospolis and Rhoas (*NH* 5.105). The former name may reflect the importance that Zeus had as the principal god of Laodikeia.² The worship of Apollo was also of importance. There was a tribe Apollonis in the city. And in the second and third centuries A.D. the city frequently sent delegations to the oracle of Apollo at Klaros.³ At Laodikeia an annual, municipal festival, the Antiocheia, was celebrated in the similarly named month in honor of the founder of the colony.⁴ It was apparently the major festival of the city. A Laodikeian decree of the end of the third century B.C. is dated by an eponymous priest.⁵ No indication is given as to which god the priest served. Most likely, however, he was a "priest of the City." It was at Laodikeia that Achaïos, rebelling openly against Antiochos III, took the title "king" in 220 B.C. (Polyb. 5.57.5).

By the end of the third century B.C. Laodikeia had a developed civic organization as well as a gymnasium. It was passing *psephismata* that, among other things, honored judges from Priene and accepted the invitation to the Leukophryena of Magnesia on the Maeander. It was also able to build, apparently with its own funds, a *strategion*. About the same time a certain Olympichos gave an *aleipterion* and an *oikos* to the city.⁶ We have evidence for the names of two months: the honorific month of Antiocheion and the Macedonian Gorpaios.⁷ We also know the names of six tribes: Apollonis, Athenais, Attalis, Ias, Laodikis, and Sebaste.⁸ The coinage of Laodikeia extends from 189 B.C. to the mid-third century A.D.⁹

Laodikeia, bounded by two streams, was just south of the Lykos River. The ruins are seven kilometers north of Denizli between the villages of Eskihsar and Goncall.¹⁰



In general see Ramsay, *CBP*, 32-78; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 5"; Tscherikower, 31; L. Robert, in des Gagniers et al., *Laodicée*, 247-364; Magic, *RRAM*, 986-87; Bean, *TBM*, 213-21; *PECS* s.v. "Laodicea ad Lycum"; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 315-17; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 323-26.

1. On the **founder** see des Gagniers, in *Laodicée*, 2. **The presence of Ionians** is suggested by one of the tribe names, Ias; see L. Robert, in *Laodicée*, 325-31.

Ramsay's suggestion (*CBP*, 33) that the founding population included Syrians is unlikely; see L. Robert, in *Laodicée*, 333.

2. For the **worship of Zeus** see Ramsay, *CBP*, 51; des Gagniers, in *Laodicée*, 7; according to Stephanos (s.v. "Laodikeia"; see also Eust. *Comment.* to Dionys. Perieg. 915 = *GM*, 2: 378) the colony was founded in response to a directive of Zeus, which was communicated by an oracle of Apollo. For coins of the Imperial period with Laodikeian Zeus see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 515-16 and *SNG* (von A) 3844-45.

3. On **Apollo and the tribe Apollohios** see Robert, in *Laodicée*, 295-303. For the worship of Pythian Apollo at Laodikeia and elsewhere as *archegos* / *archegetes* of a colony, see Robert, in *Laodicée*, 295-96; id., *CRAI* (1968) 442; Mastrocinque, *La Caria*, 211 n. 847; and HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia. Apollo was also the *archegos* and protector of the Seleucid dynasty (e.g., *OGIS* 219.26; M. Rostovtzeff, *JHS* 55 [1935] 58f.). Surprisingly, Apollo is rarely found on the coinage of Laodikeia.

4. For **the Antiocheia** at Laodikeia see *I. Priene* 59.19-20 (c. 200 B.C.); T. T. Duke, in *Studies D. M. Robinson*, 2: 851-52; Robert, in *Laodicée*, 251-53. For the **month Antiocheon** see *I. Mag.* 59a. 17 (c. 200 B.C.); *MAMA* VI.5.16-17 (third century B.C.); L. Robert, *RPh* (1936) 123-26; id., in *Laodicée*, 252. See also Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 342-43.

5. For **the eponymous priest and the city cult** see *I. Mag.* 59b.9-10; Robert, in *Laodicée*, 316-25. The image of the city-goddess Laodikeia is often found on coins of the Imperial period, e.g., *BMC Phrygia*, 292, no. 92; 313, no. 215. On the eponymous priest as priest of the personified and divinized city see Habicht, *Gott.*², 257, following Robert, in *Laodicée*, 324-25.

6. For **the civic organization** see *I. Priene* 59 and *I. Mag.* 59 (decrees of Laodikeia). For the acceptance of the invitation to the celebration of the Leukophryena at Magnesia see *I. Mag.* 59; E. Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie* (Giessen, 1933) 74-76. *MAMA* VI.5, which honors three commissioners in charge of building the *strategion*, was found at Laodikeia (a fragment of another Hellenistic decree found at Laodikeia was published by Robert, in *Laodicée*, 248-51). *MAMA* VI.4 (end of third century B.C.) records the gift of Olympichos (not the Hellenistic dynast, see Robert, in *Laodicée*, 253-54). For the gymnasium see *MAMA* VI.4 (and *I. Priene* 59.19, which mentions the *γυμνασιὸς ἀγών* of the Antiocheia).

7. For the **month** of Antiocheon, see above, note 4; for Gorpaios, *MAMA* VI.10.2 (mid-second century B.C.).

8. For the **tribes**: Apollonis, *AM* 16 (1891) 146; Athenais, *BCH* 11 (1887) 353, no. 9; Attalis, *JHS* 17 (1897) 408, no. 10; Ias, *MAMA* VI.18.6; Laodikis, *RA* 20, 3d ser. (1892) 288; and Sebaste, *JHS* 56 (1936) 78; see also Robert, in *Laodicée*, 296f. and 328-31; N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 367-68.

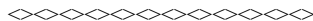
9. For the **coinage (ethnic)**: AO IKE N) see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 278-324, nos. 1-262; *SNG* (von A) 3796-3866; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 262-75; *Inv. Wadd.* 6207-6326. It is not clear whether the early cistophori of Laodikeia were

actually minted at Tralleis (Kleiner, *ECC*, 98-99) or at Laodikeia (Mørholm, *ANS MN* 24 [1979] 58-59). On the date of the early cistophori see STRATONIKEIA in Lydia.

10. For the **location** of Laodikeia see Pliny *NH* 5.105; Strabo 12.8.16; des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, 2; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 323 and map at end. Laodikeia was variously designated as **ΦΡΥΓΙΑ** on the left and **ΚΑΡΙΑ** on the right (e.g., *BMC Phrygia*, 317, no. 228). For a description of the site, plans, and photographs see Bean, *TBM*², 213-21, pls. 84-85.

Lysias

In the third and second centuries B.C. a petty dynastic family whose chief members were named either Lysias or Philomelos controlled territory in west-central Phrygia. It is probable that some member of this family founded the town of Lysias; we do not know precisely when the founding took place.¹ The only coins that have survived date from the second and third centuries A.D.² The location of Lysias has been a major problem.³ Its exact site is still not known. Earlier scholars placed it either north-northeast (Efeköy) or south-southeast (between Oynigan and Anzli) of Synnada. But according to the Flavian *conventus* list Lysias belonged (like the cities of the "Phrygian Pentapolis") to the *conventus* of Apameia and not to that of Synnada. This would suggest that Lysias was located farther west than previously thought, possibly somewhere in the area between Synnada and the Pentapolis.



In general for the evidence on the Lysias/Philomelos dynasty and the probable connection of the dynasty with the town of Lysias see A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur gr. Inschr.* 1 (1911) 48-54; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 357-63; L. Robert, *VAM*², 156. See also Tscherikower, 36; Bengtson, *Strategie*, 2: 5-6; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 319-2]; von Aulock, *MSPhyrg.*, 2: 28-30.

1. We can identify at least three persons named Lysias and possibly three named Philomelos. Polyaeus (4.9.5) mentions a Lysias ("Lysias I") who was a general

of Seleukos I Nikator and possibly the ancestor of the dynasty. A Delphic decree of 242 B.C. honors Lysias ("Lysias II") son of Philomelos ("Philomelos I") **Μακεδών** as *euergetes* and *proxenos* (*GDI* 2736=*FD* III.4.156; for the date see Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 359-60) Lysias II is probably to be identified with the Lysias who fought with Seleukos III (226-223 B.C.) against Attalos I (*OGIS* 272, 277) and possibly with Lysanias, who made a gift to Rhodes after the earthquake of 228 B.C. (Polyb. 5.90. 1; on the date see Berthold, *Rhodes*, 92 n. 34). In the second century B.C. a Philomelos ("Philomelos II") son of Lysias ("Lysias III") made a dedication at Didyma (*I. Didyma* 458). Depending upon whether we date the Didyma inscription toward the beginning or the end of the second century we can posit two reconstructions: (a) if the inscription dates from the beginning of the century, then "Philomelos II" is possibly to be identified with the Philomelos ("Philomelos III") who came to the assistance of Termessos during Gn. Manlius' expedition of 189 B.C. (Polyb. 21.35.2), while "Lysias III" may probably be identical with Lysias II; (b) if the Didyma inscription dates from the latter part of the second century, then Philomelos II cannot be identical with Philomelos III, and Lysias III cannot be identified with Lysias II. The **identification of the founder(s) of the towns of Lysias and Philomelion is not certain** ("L'origine de ces deux cités demeure entourée de mystère," Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 363). J. G. C. Anderson suggested (*JHS* 18 [1898] 107 and n. 1) the founder of Lysias was Lysias I, whom he identified as a "general of Seleucus Nikator in 216 B.C." (*sic*). It is certainly possible that a general of Seleukos I Nikator, in that capacity, or after the latter's death, as an independent dynast, founded Lysias (and, perhaps, Philomelion as well). Cf. the situation of DOKIMEION and THEMISONION. Holleaux pointed out (362) that at the beginning of his reign Seleukos II had written to "the kings, dynasts, cities and *ethne*" (*OGIS* 229.11) and that these "dynasts" had acquired their independence in the first half of the third century B.C. Noting that the Lysias/Philomelos family was probably one such dynasty, he quite reasonably suggested that the state of which Lysias and Philomelion were the chief cities could already have been founded by the time of Seleukos III. Less likely is Leschhorn's suggestion (321) that the founders of the two cities were Lysias II/III (see option a above) and Philomelos II. Ramsay's suggestion (*CBP*, 421 n. 4) that Lysias was a foundation of Antiochos III is unlikely. Walbank's hypothesis that Philomelion was founded by Philomelos I or II (*Comment.* on Polyb. 21.35.2; see also Magic, *RRAM*, 1313; and Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 321) ignores the possibility that it could have been founded by Lysias and named for his father. See further the discussions of Wilhelm and Holleaux.

2. For the **coins (ethnic: ΑΤΣΙΑΔΕΩΝ)** that the city minted see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 331-32, nos. 1-11; *SNG* (von A) 3879-82, 8423; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 615-19; von Aulock, *MSPhyrg.*, 2: 28-30, 94ff., nos. 596-717.

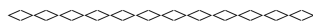
For the possible reattribution of some cistophori, previously assigned to Sardis (Noe, *ECC*, 80) or Synnada (Kleiner, *ECC*, 80), to Lysias see SYNNADA.

3. For the **location** of Lysias see Radet (*Nouv. arch. miss. scient.* [1895] 469-70), who suggests either Belkaracaören or Efeköy. Anderson, (*JHS* 18 [1898] 107-8)

and Ramsay (*CBP*, 754-55) prefer a site between Oynigan and Anizli; contra, Belke, who suggests Yanikören (*TIB* VII: 331, 415, and map at end). The ancient and Byzantine evidence provides only general indications for the location of Lysias but often associates it with cities of the Pentapolis (see Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 86-87). Strabo (12.8. 13) mentions Lysias immediately after Eukarpeia; Pliny (*NH* 5. 108) lists Lysias right before Orthosia (= Otrous? see Robert, *VAM*², 158). In Ptolemy (5.2.17) the list reads Konna (north of Afyon), Lysias, Kerkopia (unknown), Eukarpia, Prymnesia, Dokimaion, Synnada. In the *S. Abercii Vita* (ed. Th. Nissen [Leipzig, 1912]) 75, Abercius of Hierapolis is described as being on a lofty mountain "opposite the city of Lysias" (on this passage see also Ramsay, *CBP*, 754-55). Hierokles (676.8-677.7) lists in order the five cities of the Pentapolis, two *kleroi*, Debalikia (location unknown; see BROUZOS, note 5), Lysias, and Synnada. In the Flavian *conventus* list the order is Hierapolis, Lysias, Otrous, Stektorion (Habicht, p. 65, col. II.36f.). Cf. the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, which are in hierarchic, rather than geographic, order (see above, pp. 7f.): Hierapolis, Eukarpeia, Lysias, Augustopolis, Brouzos, Otrous, Lykaones, and Stektorion (1.342, 2.406, etc.).

Metropolis

It is possible that Metropolis in Phrygia (i.e., the so-called southern Metropolis) originated as a Hellenistic colony. Two pieces of evidence suggest this possibility. In the first place it already existed in 189 B.C. (Livy 38.15.13).¹ Second, some inscriptions of Imperial date record the presence of men with Macedonian names.² According to Strabo (14.2.29) Metropolis was on the highway that ran eastward from Ephesos through Laodikeia and Apameia in the *Metropolitanus campus* (Livy 38.15.13, the modern Çöl Ova). Metropolis was located on the east side of the modern Tatarlı.³



In general see Ramsay, *JHS* 4 (1883) 53-71; id., *CBP*, 749-50; id., *HGAM*, 402-3; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Metropolis 3"; *MAMA* IV, pp. xii and 40-44; Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 19ff.; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 262, 270; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 65; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 339-40.

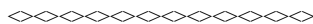
1. **Further evidence for Metropolis already existing in the second/first century B.C.** can be seen in a fragmentary Hellenistic inscription of Tralleis (*AM* 26 [1901] 238, no. 2 = *I. Tralleis* 31) that mentions Metropolis as one of a number of Phrygian cities that sent decrees of condolence. The inscription also mentions Blaundos but uses the spelling "Mlaundos." On the coinage this form is confined to the pre- or early Roman period (see BLAUNDOS). However, in an inscription of the second/third century A.D. the anthroponym Malaundas is found (Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 92, no. 27; see also pp. 56-59 and Drew-Bear's comments quoted in Le Rider, *BCH* 114 [1990] 697-98).

2. For the **Macedonian names**—Alexander, Attalos, Seleukos, Amyntas—see Ramsay, *JHS* (1883) 57-64, nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6; J. R. S. Sterrett, *PAS* 3 (1888) 255, no. 375, 1. 8; O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, index; Radet, *De Coloniis*, 39. Hansen (*Attalids*², 175), relying on Radet, claimed Metropolis was a Seleucid colony.

3. Under the Empire Metropolis was in the *conventus* of Apameia (Pliny *NH.* 5.106; the Flavian *conventus* list, Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 65, col. II. 19, and commentary on p. 82). Hierokles (673.3) and the *Not. Ep.* (1.387, etc.) locate it in Pisidia. On the **location** of Metropolis at Tatarh see Ramsay, *CBP*, 749ff.; L. Robert, *VAM*² 227-28 n. 3; id., *ATAM*, 262; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 339 and map at end. Drew-Bear (*NIP*, 19-20, no. 11; map, pl. 38) published the first epigraphic attestation for the name Metropolis: a fragmentary inscription found at Tatarh. See also D. H. French, *EA* 17 (1991) 51-53 and map 1, p. 64.

Moxoupolis and Krithine

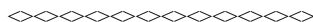
An honorific inscription (*OGIS* 238) for Menodoros of Adramyttion copied at Karahüyük in southwestern Phrygia was set up by the *phylakitai* of the hyparchy around Eriza as well as by colonists living at Moxoupolis and Krithine (κατοικοῦντες ἐν Μοξουπόλει καὶ Κριθίνῃ). The arguments as to whether these originally were Seleucid or Attalid settlements are inconclusive.



Ramsay claimed that the letterforms and the fact that Menodoros was from Adramyttion pointed to a date of the second century B.C. for the colonies. He also suggested that the Pergamenes established them as a counterbalance to the Seleucid Themisionion (*CBP*, 258). Schulten (*Hermes* 32 [1897] 531-32) suggested the settlements were Seleucid, founded by Antiochos II (see also Haussoullier, *Ét. Milet*, 94; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 1: 166: "probably Seleucid"; and *SEG* XXXVIII.1168). Schulten believed that the appearance of Macedonian month names argued against an Attalid origin (loc. cit.; but cf. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 126-27). Bickerman hesitated (*IS*, 128 n. 6: "j'admets jusqu'à nouvel ordre que le texte est de l'époque séleucide, mais sa date reste incertaine; il peut aussi bien avoir été rédigé sous les Attalides"). Bérard, who originally published the inscription (*BCH* 15 [1891] 556-62), argued on the basis of the letterforms for a date in the third century B.C. From the mention of *phylakitai* and the fact that Menodoros was ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων (but cf. Bickerman, *IS*, 128), he concluded—with less likelihood—that the colony was Ptolemaic; in this he was followed by Mahaffy (*Empire of the Ptolemies* [London, 1895] 492). In fact *phylakitai* were also Seleucid functionaries; see L. Robert, *CRAI* (1967) 292; M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Munich, 1988) 149.

Neonteichos

In 1975 Michael Wörle published an inscription discovered near Denizli. The inscription, dated to the forty-fifth year of the Seleucid era (267 B.C.), records an honorific decree passed by two villages, Neonteichos and Kiddiokome. Kiddiokome was certainly not a colony. And Neonteichos, despite its name, was probably not one either.

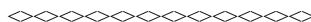


The inscription was published in *Chiron* 5 (1975) 59-87 (for the editio princeps see *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 22.2 [1975] 159-62). J. and L. Robert have suggested— somewhat ambiguously—that because of the term *teichos* in the name, that Neonteichos may have been a colony (in *BE* [1976] 667). On the other hand, I have argued that the location of the village on a large estate (rather than directly on royal land) renders it unlikely Neonteichos was a Seleucid colony (*Seleucid Colonies*, 27-28). Its **ethnic** was NEOT[EI]XEITAI(II. 30-31)

Otrous

The only evidence that supports the suggestion that Otrous may have been a Hellenistic colony is numismatic and of Imperial date. The coinage of Otrous includes two types—a warrior (Otreus) stepping into a galley and Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius—which clearly symbolize migration and which may recall an early phase in the history of the town.¹ Thus it is possible that Otrous originated as a Hellenistic colony. But more substantial evidence is needed before we can definitely make this claim. The location of Otrous is not known, though the fact that it was a member of the Phrygian Pentapolis (Eukarpeia, Hierapolis, Otrous, Stektorion, and Brouzos) helps place it in the Sandikli, plain.²

At Çorhisar, which is in the Sandikli plain, an inscription, dated palaeographically to the Imperial period, has been found that read: *Μακεδόνα κτίστην τῆς πόλεως*. It is probable that the inscription honors Alexander the Great as the founder of the city. Claims by cities, particularly under the Severi, to have been founded by Alexander the Great were relatively common. Of course the claim, first appearing so long after the career of the great king, is not sufficient evidence to posit the existence of a Macedonian colony. Furthermore we do not know from which ancient settlement the inscription came. Ramsay has suggested that Çorhisar is the ancient Otrous.³ This is, however, only a conjecture.



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Otrus," 1884-88; Ramsay, *CBP*, 685-89; von Aulock, *MSPhryg.*, 1: 81-83; Belke, *TIB* VII: 353.

1. For **coins (third century A.D.) portraying the warrior on the galley and Aeneas** see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 345, nos. 12, 14; *Inv. Wadd.* 6368-69, 6371; *SNG* (von A) 3905, 8430, 8431; see also F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Nomisma* 5 (1910) 33, no. 30. The tradition of a Phrygian migration from Europe to Asia Minor and then within Asia Minor was an old one in Greek literature. Both Herodotus (7.73) and Strabo (10.3.16), for example, mention the migration of Phrygians from Europe to Asia Minor. And in the *Iliad* (3.184-89) Priam tells Helen how he fought with the Phrygians, who were led by Otreus and Mygdon, against the Amazons; see also K. Regling, *Klio* 8 (1908) 489; P. Carrington, *AS* 27 (1977) 117-26; BROUZOS and STEKTORION. Coin types of Otrous and Stektorion with (a) a figure stepping onto a galley and (b) Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius recall this tradition. B. V. Head (*BMC Phrygia*, lxxxvi-lxxxvii), Imhoof-Blumer (*Nomisma* [1910] 33-36), von Aulock (82-83), and Carrington (124) recognized the figure stepping onto the galley as Otreus, the Phrygian king, who was also considered to be the founder of Otroua in Bithynia (Strabo 12.4-7). Supporting this identification is the fact that Otreus' companion, Mygdon, was honored at the nearby Stektorion. Babeloh's suggestion (*Inv. Wadd.* 6369-71, followed by Regling, 489-92) that the figure is Aeneas is less likely. According to Ramsay (*CBP*, 686-89) the two coin types relate to the Hellenistic settlement at Otrous, the implication being that the settlers came partly from Europe, i.e., overseas, and partly from Bithynia. Furthermore, Ramsay suggests, Alexander the Macedonian (see below, note 3) was a descendant of one of these settlers. Regling suggests (489) that the Hellenistic settlers in Phrygia adopted the tradition of the Phrygian heroes known from the *Iliad* as their own. Finally, Carrington speculates (125) that the two coin types of Otrous represent an attempt by two *native* (emphasis his) cities to advertise that they were part of the Greek world. This, of course, was a common phenomenon in Roman Imperial Asia Minor. Tscherikower (35) was undecided as to whether or not Otrous was originally a Macedonian colony. Ramsay (*CBP*, 687-88) said that Otrous was an Attalid colony opposing the Seleucid Brouzos. There is no evidence for this claim.

The **ethnic** is OTPOHN N. For the toponym Otrous see Ruge, 1884-85.

2. **Location**: Ramsay placed Otrous at Çorhisar (*CBP*, 687; on Çorhisar see Belke, *TIB* VII: 226-27); Radet suggested it was at Kusura (*Nouv. archiv. miss. scient.* 6 [1895] 534); Legrand and Chamonard placed it near Kelenderes (*BCH* 17 [1893] 278); at Kelenderes (Kilandiras) a dedication in honor of Septimius Severus was found in which the restoration [ὁ δ]ῆμος Ὀ[τρωνῶν] appears likely (*IGR* IV.693). But the force of this identification is weakened by the fact that at the same place an inscription containing the name Hieropolis was also found (Ramsay, *BCH* [1882] 505); R. Kiepert could not decide whether the site was at Emirhisar, Çorhisar, Kelenderes, or, perhaps, elsewhere (*FOA* VIII, p. 13a). The ancient and Byzantine

evidence provides only general indications of the location of Otrous but often associates it with other cities of the Pentapolis in the Sandikli plain. Pliny probably mentions Otrous immediately after Lysias (*NH* 5.108; L. Robert has shown that Pliny mistakenly inserted a series of Phrygian places in the list of Cadan towns at sec. 108 and that Orthosia in 108 is really Otrous [*VAM*², 157-59]; the manuscripts have Othrusa or Otrusa). In Hierokles the order is Eukarpeia, Hierapolis, Otrous, Stektorion, and Brouzos (676.8-677.2); in the Flavian *conventus* list from Ephesos the order is Hierapolis, Lysias, Otrous, and Stektorion (Habicht, *JRS* [1975] 65, col. II.36-39). Cf. the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, which are in hierarchic, rather than geographic, order (see above, pp. 7f.): the list usually reads Hierapolis, Eukarpeia, Lysias, Augustopolis, Brouzos, Otrous, Lykaones, and Stektorion (1.347, 2-411, etc.).

3. For the **inscription honoring Alexander** see Ramsay, *CBP*, 702, no. 638 (= *IGR* IV.692). For the reading **αλεξανδρῆς** have the same meaning in the Roman period. See L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 438; M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *JS* (1991) 213 n. 63. Legrand and Chamonard (*BCH* [1893] 278) suggested the stone may have been brought from Brouzos (Kara Sandikli).

The tradition of claiming **Alexander the Great as the founder of a particular city**, especially under the Empire, was widespread in the Middle East. For examples from Asia Minor see Appendix II. In Roman Syria a coin of the Severan period from Gerasa has the legend A E (AN PO) MAK(E N) KTI(TH) EPA N (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 [1965] 25-28), and a coin of Capitolias with a portrait of Commodus bears, on the reverse, the legend KA I(T E N) A E (AN PO) MAKE(N) ENAP(XH) (Seyrig, *Syria* 36 [1959] 66f., 76, no. 9); see further Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 218-21. For an example of "Alexandrolatry" under the Severi in Europe see THESSALONIKE, note 7. With regard to the Çorhisar inscription C. P. Jones has noted in a private communication that the accusative case and the lack of the dedicator's name suggest that this was one of a series of statue bases of major city founders and benefactors (cf., for example, PERGAMON and ARSINOE Ephesos). Thus it is probable that the Alexander on the inscription was the Macedonian king; see, for example, Tscherikower (34-35; see also F. Pfister, *Hist.* 13 [1964] 65; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 22-22). What settlement was claiming Alexander as its founder is, as I have mentioned, not known. Ramsay believed it was Otrous. On the other hand, Drew-Bear has argued (*BCH* 115 [1991] 374-75 n. 56) that the inscription (*a*) was brought from the site of EUKARPEIA, (*b*) referred to

Eukarpeia, and (c) commemorated the Macedonian king as the founder of that town.

Another, less likely, possibility is that the person honored was a prominent citizen who claimed descent from the original Macedonian settlers. This was not unusual. The use of "Makedon" as a name, surname, or ethnic was common, especially in Asia Minor of the third century A.D.; see Appendix III. Ramsay (*CBP*, 702-3, followed by E Cartington, *AS* 27 [1977] 125) as well as Legrand and Chamonard (*BCH* [1893] 278) have suggested he was a local citizen. If "Alexander the Macedonian" lived at the beginning of the third century A.D., he might be identical with "Alexander the Asiarch," whose name appears on coins of Otrous from c. 200 to 215 A.D.; see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 6368, 6371; *SNG* (von A) 3905, 3906, 8430, 8431; *BMC Phrygia*, 344-45, nos. 6, 12-14; see also M. Rossner, *Studii Clasice* 16 (1974) 113. For another epigraphic attestation from the same region for an "Alexander" see Ramsay, *CBP*, 703, no. 638bis.

Peltai

Peltai was an "inhabited city" at the time of the *anabasis* of Cyrus the Younger (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.10). In the second and third centuries A.D. the city was minting coins with the legend Ε ΘΗΝ Ν ΜΑΚΕ ΟΝ Ν.¹ This claim of Macedonian ancestry, also made by other Phrygian cities in the same period, suggests that a Hellenistic colony may have been established at Peltai, probably by the Seleucids. By the second century B.C. Peltai had a *boule*, which, in a surviving inscription, voted a decree of thanks in honor of the Mysian city of Antandros (Michel, *Recueil* 542).² Peltai was one of the few cities of Phrygia that minted coins in the second century B.C.³

The precise location of Peltai is not yet known. A coin of the city, *Inv. Wadd.* 6378, has a depiction of a river god as well as the legend ΜΑΙΑΝ ΠΟ , an indication that Peltai or its territory was located on the Maeander. Other coins of Peltai with an unnamed river may be portraying either the Maeander or the Glaukos (a tributary).⁴ Pliny (*NH* 5. 106) locates Peltai in the *conventus* of Apameia (in the upper Maeander valley), as does the Flavian *conventus* list from Ephesos. It is probable that Peltai was located in the area southwest of Eumeneia.⁵



In general see Ramsay, *CBP*, 239-41; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Peltai"; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 357.

1. For coins with Ε ΘΗΝ Ν ΜΑΚΕ ΟΝ Ν (or abbreviations of same) see, for example: *Inv. Wadd.* 6375-77, 6379-89, 6391-92; *BMG Phrygia*, 348ff., nos. 12-21, 23-33; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 283f., nos. 7-13; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia*

638-42; *SNG* (von A) 3908-14, 8432-34. On the claim of Macedonian ancestry by other cities in the second and third centuries A.D. see, for example, HIERAPOLIS, NAKRASON, OTROUS, DOKIMEION, HYRKANIS, and Appendix III. See also Ionians and Dorians at SYNNAIDA and Achaians at EUMENEIA. Ramsay suggested the Attalids founded Eumeneia (at the present Isikli *) as a stronghold to counter the Seleucid Peltaï, which was 15-16 km southwest (*CBP*, 10, 353; also Hansen, *Attalids*², 178).

2. For **the dating of Michel, *Recueil* 542** see Ramsay, *CBP*, 241 n. 1; L. Robert, *REA* 36 (1934) 524; against Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 100 n. 1, who dates the decree to the third century B.C.

3. For **coins of the second century B.C. (ethnic: E THN N)** see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 347, nos. 1-7; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 634-36; *SNG* (von A) 3907. Following this period there was a long interval before the city again issued coinage in the second and third centuries A.D.; see, for instance, *BMC Phrygia*, 348-52, nos. 8-33.

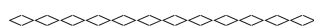
4. ***Inv. Wadd.* 6378** is the only extant coin of Peltaï that both portrays the river god and gives the name. The Roberts have shown that the Maeander appears only on coins of cities that were touched by or whose territory adjoined the river (*La Carie*, 2: 240 n. 6; *BCH Suppl.* 1 [1973] 450-51). For other Peltaian coins with an unnamed river god see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 284, no. 13 (Glaucos?); *BMC Phrygia*, 349, nos. 17-18 (Maeander?); *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 637. For river and sea gods on coins see Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 23 (1923) 174-421.

5. **Location:** for Peltaï in the Flavian *conventus* list see Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 65, col. II.28. Strabo (13.4.13), Ptolemy (5.2.17), and Stephanos (s.v. "Peltaï") all place Peltaï in Phrygia; cf. *Not. Ep.* 1.316, 2.379, etc. In another reference Strabo groups together Peltaï, Tabai, Eukarpeia, and Lysias (12.8.13). The Ravenna Geographer has Themissionion (= Themisonion), Vicum, Della (= Peltaï), Tripolis, Ierapolis (2.18.43, p. 30, ed. Schnetz). A highway ran from Eumeneia to Peltaï (and then on to Laodikeia). Evidence for this road comes from a Roman milestone (*IGR* IV. 771, c. 249 A.D. = Buckler et al., *JRS* 16 [1926] 64, no. 184) discovered at its original position approximately 5 km southwest of Isikli* (Eumeneia). It is likely that a connecting road joined Peltaï to the Eumeneia-Apameia highway (*Tab. Peut.* IX.1; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 168-69; id., *CBP*, 240; Ramsay locates Peltaï near Karayahsiler*); cf. Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 54 and map, pl. 40; Ruge, s.v. "Peltaï"; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 357 and map at end.

Philomelion

A dynasty whose members were alternately named Lysias or Philomelos held sway over territory in southeastern Phrygia in the third and second centuries B.C. Two cities in this region, Lysias and Philomelion, are attributed to the family. However, we know neither when the towns were established nor which particular person was the founder.¹ The earliest coins date from the late

second or early first century B.C.² Philomelion, on the Common Road, which began at Ephesos (Strabo 14.2.29), was located south of the Aksehir * Gölü at the like-named town.³



In general see A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur gr. Inschr.* I (1911) 48-54; Holleaux, *Ét.*, 3: 357-63; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Philomellon"; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 138-39; Bengtson, *Strategie*, 2: 5-6; Magie, *RRAM*, 1313; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 320-21; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 359-61. Tscherikower does not list this settlement (although he does mention Lysias).

1. For the possible **founder** see LYSIAS and Wilhelm and Holleaux. Wilhelm believed (5a-53) that it was only after 188 B.C. (i.e., under the Attalids) that Philomelion became a significant town. There is no reason to accept G. Neumann's suggestion that the name "Philomelion" was taken from a bird (*Untersuchungen zum Weiterleben hethitischen und luwischen Sprachgutes* [Wiesbaden, 1961] 60-61; see also Smith, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Philomelium"; but cf. L. Robert, *NInd.*, 333-34).

2. For **coins** of Philomelion (**ethnic**: I OMH E N) see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, lxxxviii-xci, 353-60, nos. 1-43; for coins of the third century A.D. with the river god Gallos see, for example, 359-60, nos. 32, 35-42; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 285, no. 4.

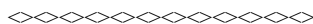
3. Ptolemy (5.2.17) **located Philomelion** in Phrygia, while Hierokles placed it in Pisidia (672.12). Leake's suggestion (*Asia Minor*, 58-59) that Philomelion was located at Ilgin was rejected by F. V.J. Anmdell (*Discoveries in Asia Minor* [London, 1834] 1: 281-83) on the grounds that the latter is *east* of ANTIOCH near Pisidia, while Strabo (12.8.14) says that Philomelion was *north* of Antioch (note, however, that at the time Leake did not know the location of Antioch). Based on Strabo's description of Philomelion as being in the plain on the north side of the mountain ridge of Phrygia Paroreia, and Antioch being south (12.8. 14), Arundell (op. cit.) first suggested that Philomelion had been located at the modern Aksehir*. This identification was generally accepted (see, for example, E. Honigmann, *Byzantion* 14 [1939] 650-51; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 [1965] 89 n. 4; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 359 and map at end) and was confirmed by the discovery of a fragmentary, early Byzantine inscription from the village of GöI çayir (previously Yahsiyan) to the northwest of Ajsehir* by T. Drew-Bear. The first line in the inscription read Φιλομήλιον (T. Drew-Bear, C. Naour, and R. S. Stroud, *Arthur Pullinger: An Early Traveller in Syria and Asia Minor* [Philadelphia, 1985] 64-66 = SEG XXXV.1397); see notices of the inscription in Drew-Bear, *GRBS* 17 (1976) 259; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1972) 456. On Aksehir* see H. Wenzel, *Sulian Dag and Akschehir-Ova* (Kiel, 1932) esp. 62ff.

In *JRS* 16 (1926) 104, Ramsay suggested that Philomelion might possibly have been the refounded Thymbrion (see also Kiepert, *FOA* VIII; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 140); however, since Thymbrion is still mentioned by Pliny as being in the same *conventus* as Philomelion, this is hardly likely (*NH* 5.95; see also *I. Didyma* 148.18; Anderson,

JHS 18 [1898] 116). Curiously, in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (140), published in 1890, Ramsay attacked the identification of Philomelion with Thymbriion.

Stektorion

There is no specific evidence to indicate that Stektorion was a Hellenistic colony. In the third century A.D. the town issued a coin type similar to that found at the nearby BROUZOS and OTROUS of a male figure looking backward while stepping into a galley. At Stektorion the figure, probably the local hero Mygdon, holds a weapon in his right hand and protects himself with a shield.¹ While the coin may be reasonably interpreted as referring to a migration, we do not know if it refers back to the Hellenistic period or earlier. Stektorion was probably located northeast of the present village of Mentés*.²



In general see Ramsay, *CBP*, 689-90; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Stektorion"; Belke, *TIB* VII: 389.

1. For examples of the **coin type from Stektorion of a male figure stepping into a galley** see Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 290, no. 2; id., *M. Gr.*, 412, no. 153; *BMC Phrygia*, 385, 386, nos. 11, 18; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 691. For the identification of the figure as Mygdon see Imhoof-Blumer, *Nomisma* 5 (1910) 34-36; note to *Kl.M.*, 290, no. 2; *BMC Phrygia*, xcvi. In the *Iliad* (3.184-89) Priam recounts to Helen how he fought with the Phrygians, who were led by Otreus and Mygdon, against the Amazons; and Pausanias (10.27.1) mentions a tomb of Mygdon on the border of Stektorion. This renders more likely the identification of the figure on the coin as Mygdon rather than Hektor, as Regling suggested (*Klio* 8 [1908] 489-92; contra, Imhoof-Blumer, *Nomisma* [1910] 33-36; see also Carrington, *AS* 27 [1977] 117-26; Strubbe, *Anc. Soc.* 15-17 [1984-1986] 259; 287 n. 202). Ramsay suggested (685-86) that since the figure on the OTROUS coin holds no weapon in his raised right hand, this represents a peaceful emigration to Otrous. On the other hand, on the Stektorion coinage the figure has a helmet, holds a weapon with his right hand, and protects himself with a shield. According to Ramsay, this represents expulsion from overseas of the people who settled at Stektorion. Ramsay attempted, unsuccessfully, to find the tomb of Mygdon (*CBP*, 689-90).

For the **coinage, primarily from the time of Marcus Aurelius to Philip** (ethnic: TEKTOPHN N) see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 6493-6508; *BMC Phrygia*, 383-86, nos. 1-18; *SNG* (von A) 3957-61, 8441.

2. The **location** of Stektorion northeast of Mentés* is suggested by a Latin inscription with *civitas Stectoren* that was found there (*CBP*, 704, no. 640). Stektorion was a member of the "Phrygian Pentapolis" (along with Eukarpeia, Hierapolis, Brouzos, and Otrous). Ptolemy (5.2.17) places it near Blaundos. In the list of Hierokles (677.1) Stektorion comes after Eukarpeia, Hierapolis, and Otrous and

before Brouzos; in the *conventus* list from Ephesos it is placed after Hierapolis, Lysias, and Otrous (Habicht, *JRS* 65 [1975] 65, col. 11.39). Cf. the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, where the order is hierarchic rather than geographic (see above, pp. 7f.): Stektorion generally follows Hierapolis, Eukarpeia, Lysias, Augustopolis, Brouzos, Otrous, and Lykaones (1.349, 2.413, etc.). See also Belke, *TIB* VII: 389 and map at end.

Synnada

The evidence for Synnada being a Hellenistic colony is not very clear. In a confused entry Stephanos (s.v. "Synnada") attributes its foundation to Akamas son of Theseus, who supposedly migrated to Phrygia after the Trojan War and founded the city, using "Macedonians from Greece" to populate it. Clearly Stephanos has conflated a tradition about an earlier migration with one about a later Macedonian colonization.¹ Like the inhabitants of other Phrygian cities, in the first to the third century A.D. the Synnadans claimed descent from Greece. On their coins they often claimed to be "Ionians" and/or "Dorians."²

Antigonos' general Dokimos was in command of Synnada and surrendered it to Lysimachos in 302 B.C. At the time there was a major royal treasure at Synnada (Diod. 20.107.3-4; Paus. 1.8.1). If a colony had been established there by Antigonos or Dokimos, then it would rank as one of the oldest in Asia Minor.³ By the second century B.C. Synnada was regularly passing decrees. An inscription, dated palaeographically to that period, contains two honorific decrees (one complete). The second was proposed by the *strategoi* and recorded in the public archives.⁴

Strabo remarks that the city was not very large; he also says that olive growing was practiced in the surrounding plain (12.8.14).⁵ The "Synnadic marble," famous in Roman times, came from quarries near Dokimeion (Strabo 12.8.14).⁶ It apparently got its name from the fact that under the Romans the administrative offices for the quarries were at Synnada and/or because the marble passed through Synnada on its way to Italy. Unlike most of the towns of east-central Phrygia, Synnada did issue coins (cistophori and autonomous bronzes) in the second and first centuries B.C. Under the Empire the city minted coins until the time of Gallienus.⁷ The location of Synnada at the modern Suhut * is fixed by the discovery there of a number of inscriptions bearing the name Synnada.⁸



In general see L. Robert, *JS* (1961) 97-166 and (1962) 5-74; Magie, *RRAM*, 1001-2; Belke, *TIB* VII: 393-95.

1. In the Byzantine literature the name is spelled "Synada" (e.g., *Not. Ep.* 1.330); the ancient documents have "Synnada" (e.g., Pliny *NH* 5.105). On the **confusion in Stephanos** s.v. "Synnada" see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 711; Jones, *CERP*², 386 n. 26. Billows (*Antigonos*, 296 and n. 16), referring to the mythological foundation legend, has suggested that Synnada may have been an old Phrygian city that received a Macedonian colony. He notes that despite the fact that the earliest datable reference to it is in connection with the activity of Dokimos, the importance of its location on the Royal Road suggests it may have been settled prior to the Hellenistic period.

A boundary stone (*MAMA* IV.75) containing the word *Λακεδαιμονίων* (*VAM*², 251 n. 1). For **Akamas** on coins see *BMC Phrygia*, 397, no. 27 (also 397, no. 30, though cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 294, note to no. 15); Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 293, no. 8; A. Loebbecker, *ZfN* 15 (1887) 52-53. For Akamas as a mythical founder of cities in Phrygia see Magie, 1499. For the tradition in Greek literature of pre- and post-Trojan War migrations from Europe to Asia Minor as well as postwar movements within Asia Minor see OTROUS; P. Carrington, *AS* 27 (1977) 117-26.

2. For **coinage of the ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ with the additional ΔΩΠΙΕΩΝ and/or ΙΩΝΩΝ** see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 396ff., nos. 23, 26, 99-30, 67, 70-73; *Inv. Wadd.* 6525-29, etc.; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 294, no. 15; 296, no. 26; 297, nos. 29-30; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 717, 720, 735; *SNG* (von A) 3991, 3998-99, 8447; see also L. Robert in *Centennial Publication ANS*, 582 n. 27; Ramsay, *Social Basis*, 245. For coin types with Zeus Pandemos, the unifier of these population groups, see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 399, no. 39; *Inv. Wadd.* 6526; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 294, no. 14; *SNG* (von A) 3984. Hermann and Swoboda (*Gr. Staatsaltertümer*⁶, 200 n. 10) thought these Ionians and Dorians were descendants of men brought in by the Attalids to reinforce the colony. I know of no evidence for this suggestion. For other cities in Asia Minor claiming descent from Greeks and Macedonians see EUMENEIA and PELTAI and Appendix III.

3. Hansen suggested **Antigonos** founded the colony at Synnada (*Attalids*², 173; see also Billows, *Antigonos*, 296); Tscherikower thought it was the work of Dokimos (35 and 156). Less likely is Droysen's suggestion (*Hist.*, 2: 711) that Synnada was a Seleucid refoundation built as a stronghold against the Galatians. A.M. Woodward's suggestion that Spartan colonists settled in Synnada (as well as Tabai and Kibyra) as part of the Seleucid colonization program is not convincing (*Studies D. M. Robinson*, 2: 868-83; contra, L. Robert, *BCH* 107 [1983] 565). For Dokimos and DOKIMEION see that article; Wehrli, *Antig.*,

80-81. Wehrli, incidentally, does not include Synnada among the foundations of Antigonos.


4. For the **two decrees of the second century B.C.** see Michel, *Recueil* 545 = Ramsay, *BCH* 7 (1883) 300-302.

5. On Strabo's claim regarding the **cultivation of the olive at Synnada** see, for example, Ramsay, who originally dismissed the claim as a scribal error (*JHS* 8 [1887] 482) but who later was willing to consider the possibility that olive trees could have been grown there (*Social Basis*, 244-45); in general see L. Robert, *JS* (1961) 141-48.

6. For the "**Synnadic marble**" and a road that, in Roman times, connected Dokimeion and Synnada, see DOKIMEION. A Synnadan coin type of late Imperial times has on it a mountain (unnamed): *BMC Phrygia*, 396 no. 26; *Inv. Wadd.* 6526; Imhoof-Blumer, *M. Gr.*, 413, no. 157; *Weber Coll.* 7186. The suggestion that this was possibly Mount Persis at Dokimeion (see, for example, B. V. Head, in *BMC Phrygia*, 396, no. 26) where the quarries were located is unlikely. It would be unusual for a city to mint coins portraying a mountain (river, etc.) that was not within its territory. See also DOKIMEION for coins of that city with a representation of the mountain.

7. For **Synnadan coinage of the mid-second century B.C.** see *SNG* (von A) 3971 and 8443. For examples from 133 B.C. and later see *BMC Phrygia*, 392-93, nos. 1-7; *SNG* (von A) 3972-73; *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 705-9.

A **cistophorus** attributed to Synnada bears the legend BA  to Sardis

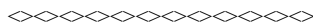
and those with  he thought might be assigned to either Synnada, LYSIAS, or NYSA (*BCH* 114 [1990] 689-701). Of these three possibilities, Le Rider dismissed Nysa as the least likely, because it is removed geographically from Dionysopolis and Blaundos: a somewhat circular argument. But is there a delta to the left in the monogram, or is it a lambda? If it is a lambda, the coins may possibly be assigned to Lysias.

For **coins under the Empire** see, for example, *BMC Phrygia*, 393-406, nos. 8-73.

8. G. Perrot first published the inscription that established the **location** of Synnada (*RA* [1876] 195 = *MAMA* IV.59; 293-305 A.D.); see also *MAMA* IV.69 (third century A.D.); Belke, *TIB* VII: 393 and map at end

Themisionion

It is likely that Themisionion was a Hellenistic foundation. Nevertheless we cannot definitely identify the founder. We know of at least three persons named Themison in the Hellenistic period: a nauarch of Antigonos Monophthalmos (*Diod.* 19.62.7, 20.50.4; see Billows, *Antigonos*, 436), a friend and official of Antiochos II (*Ath.* 7.289f, 10.438d), and a friend of Antiochos III (*Polyb.* 5.79.12 and 82.11). Furthermore it is not possible to say whether the colony was named by the king to honor a royal favorite or whether it was founded by one of the Themisons as an independent agent.¹ The only extant coins date from the early third century A.D.² While the location of Themisionion is not definitely known, most suggestions would place it southeast of Denizli in the Acipayamovasi, possibly at Karahüyük.³



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Themisionion"; Tscherikower, 32; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 321-22; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 403.

1. On **the three Themisons** see Schachermeyr, *RE* s.vv. "Themison 3, 4, 5." For the suggestion that the town was named for Antiochos II's minister and favorite see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 713; Ruge, *op. cit.*; Tscherikower, *op. cit.*; Hansen, *Attalids*², 175. If the town was named by the king for his minister, this may have happened when Themison was proclaimed Herakles (*Ath.* 7.289f-290a) and Antiochos received the name "Theos" from the Milesians (*App.*, *Syr.*

65). Berve (*Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* [Munich, 1976] 1:426) believed Antiochos II's minister, acting as an independent dynast, founded the city. Jones (*CERP*², 49) also pointed to its founding by a dynast but was reluctant to indicate which Themison it was. Tarn was likewise doubtful the Themison in question was the favorite of Antiochos II (*GBP*, 11 n. 6). Pausanias (10.32.4-5) mentions the flight of the inhabitants of Themisonion to a cave thirty stades away to avoid marauding Gauls (see Ramsay, *CBP*, 264). We do not know, however, whether he refers to the Gallic invasion of 278 B.C. or the later raids of the 230s B.C., when the Gauls were allied with Antiochos Hierax.

2. For the **coinage (ethnic)**: EMI NE N) see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Phrygia* 749-51.

3. For the general **location** of Themisonion in southwestern Phrygia see Ptol. 5.2.17; Hierokles 666.3; Pausanias (10.32.4) says it was "above Laodikeia." The *Tab. Peut.* (IX.1) places it on the road to Perge; see further, Ramsay, *CBP*, 253 and n. 3; Ruge, 1640; Mersich, op. cit. and map at end. The placing of Themisonion at Karahüyük has been suggested by Ramsay (*CBP*, 252-53, following Waddington) and is based on the following: Livy indicates (38.14.1-2) that Manlius, in his march from the Maeander valley toward Pamphylia, came to the *Casum amnem* (other MSS read *Cahum*, *Chaum*, *Causamenem*) three days after he had left Tabai. From the river, Manlius took a day to reach Eriza, then another to get to a fort called "Thabusion" that overlooked the Indos River and was near Kibyra. Now there are extant coins of Themisonion with a river god and the legend KAZANH on the reverse (e.g., *BMC Phrygia*, 418, no. 4; *Inv. Wadd.* 6564-65; *SNG* [Cop] *Phrygia* 750). Ramsay suggested that the *Casum amnem* and the Kazanes were one and the same and that they are in fact the Karahüyük Çay, the river that flows past the modern Karahüyük (accepted with reservations by Magie, *RRAM*, 1157). Robert (*VAMP*, 112 n. 4 and 116 n. 6) would apparently search for Themisonion in the Acipayamovasi (i.e., the plain of Karahüyük) but is sceptical about the choice of Karahüyük.

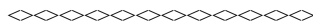
An inscription probably from 114 B.C. found at Karahüyük records an honorific decree voted by the *boule* and *demos* and mentions, among other things, *strategoi*, a gymnasiarch, *grammateus*, and eponymous priest (G. Cousin and C. Diehl, *BCH* 13 [1889] 334-40, no. 4 = Michel, *Recueil* 544; on the date see Cousin and Diehl, 339-40; Ramsay, *CBP*, 260 and n. 3). The preserved section does not indicate the name of the city that passed the decree. Hansen (*Attalids*², 199) assumed it was Themisonion; Ramsay (*CBP*, 260) thought it "probably" was. Cousin and Diehl thought it might have been Eriza.

XIII

Lycia

Arsinoe patara

Patara was a port on the Lycian coast (Diod. 20.93.3). According to Strabo (14.3.6), Ptolemy II Philadelphos restored (Ἀρσινόειτῆς ἀπὸ Λυκίας.² From the Zenon papyri mentioned above we learn that Arsinoe Patara was a way station for travelers on the southern Asia Minor coast. It was also an important naval base. The site of Arsinoe in Lycia is south of Xanthos at a place called Kelemis *.



In general see Tscherikower, 36; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, pp. 145-46; Bean, *LT*, 82-91; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 108; M. Wörle, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 105-6; M. Zimmerman, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 201-17.

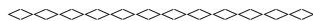
1. Stephanos records an Arsinoe in Lycia (s.v. no. 11). For the importance of Arsinoe Patara as a naval base see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 157. *P. Mich. Zen.* 10 = *PCZ* 59052 plus additions. *P. Mich. Zen.* 10 contains a letter from Antimenes to Zenon and a letter sent to the former from Sosipatros detailing how two travelers, Ariston and Doris, had been forced by a storm to put in at Patara and then to hire a boat for thirty-five drachmas to take them to Arsinoe (ll. 5 and 13; for another letter of Antimenes [?] possibly regarding this voyage see *PCZ* 59029). Although Wilcken believed that the Arsinoe in *P. Mich. Zen.* 10.5 is Patara (*Arch. f. Papyr.* 8 [1927] 277; see also Zimmerman, *ZPE* [1992] 203-4), it is likely that the travelers were actually going to an Arsinoe farther east, either in Cilicia or Pamphylia. (In his commentary to *P. Mich. Zen.* 10 Edgar suggested the Arsinoe of ll. 5 and 13 was the one in Cilician; in his earlier introduction to *PCZ* 59052 he mistakenly suggested that the Pamphylian and Cilician Arsinoes were one and the same. See also L. Robert, *EEP*, 255 n. 2; and see ARSINOE in both districts.)

2. For **Patarans on Cyprus** see *SEG* XX.174; T. B. Mitford, *ABSA* 56 (1961) 4, no. 4. For a certain Krates of **Arsinoe in Lycia** who owned a vineyard in Philadelpheia in 170 B.C. see *P. Rylands* IV.583.4, 47; L. Moretti, *Ricerche sulle leghe*

greche (Rome, 1961) 214, no. 29. See also Zimmerman, *ZPE* (1992) 204-5. Patara is included in the list of conquests of Antiochos III given by Hieronymus (*In Dan.* 11.15-16 = *FGrH* 260 F46); see also Holleaux, *It.*, 3 :149 n. 5. For a sketch map and photographs of the site of Arsinoe Patara see Kalinka, 141-43; see also Bean, 85-91.

Kardakon kome

An inscription found at Telmessos (Fethiye) and published by Segre in 1938 contains a letter of King Eumenes II in 181 B.C. to an official in the region of Telmessos regarding a petition that had been submitted by *ἐν Καρδάκων κώμῃ*.¹ As this area had been occupied by Antiochos III in 197 B.C. it is reasonable to suggest that he brought these settlers here, just as he brought Jewish colonists to Lydia and Phrygia.² It is possible that these Kardakians were the ones—or the descendants of those—who had fought with the Seleucid king at Raphia in 217 B.C. (Polyb. 5.79.11).³ Subsequently the area passed to the Attalids. From the inscription we learn that the settlers had fallen on hard times: the yield from their fruit trees was small, and their land was in poor condition. In order to alleviate their distress Eumenes agreed to remit the price of some land that the colonists had bought from Ptolemy,⁴ to remit the arrears owed on the poll tax and lower it in future, to assist in restoring the village fortress, and to grant tax immunity of three years to new settlers and two years to returning inhabitants.⁵ The liability for the poll tax and the absence of any mention of a military obligation prompted Rostovtzeff to suggest that at the time of the letter the settlement had declined from a military colony to a simple village. The exact location of the settlement is not known.



In general see M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos* 9 (1938) 190-207; Maier, *Gr. Mauer.*, 1: 248-50 no. 76; Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 646-49, 1477; Magie, *RRAM*, 1026; M. Wörle, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 241-42 and n. 206.

1. The **inscription found at Telmessos** was published by Segre in *Clara Rhodos* 9 (1938) 190-207.
2. Segre (193-95), Rostovtzeff (646), Maier (249), and Schmitt (*Antiochos*, 104) suggest the **founder** of the *Kardakon kome* was Antiochos III; Cohen (*Seleucid Colonies*, 30) also suggests the Kardakians may have been civilian rather than military settlers. Bar-Kochva (*Seleucid Army*, 216 n. 27) denies they were Hellenistic colonists and, following a suggestion of Launey (*Recherches*, 486 n. 4), raises the possibility that the Kardakians were brought to Lycia by the Persians.
3. The **identity of the Kardakians** is not certain. They may have been identical with the Kardouchoi, possible ancestors of the modern Kurds (A. J.

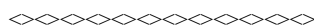
Reinach, *REA* 13 [1911] 54 n. 2; Launey, *Recherches*, 508 n. 5). See also Segre's discussion of the Kardakes, 194 and nn. 1-2.

4. **The Ptolemy who sold the land to the Kardakians** was undoubtedly Ptolemy son of Lysimachos, the Ptolemy of Telmessos who had owned land there (Livy 37.56.4-5); see Segre, 198-99. He was quite probably the grandson of the like-named Ptolemy son of Lysimachos who was prominent at Telmessos in the second and third quarters of the third century B.C. On the vexed question of the identity of Ptolemy son of Lysimachos (elder and younger) see, for example, the discussion and references in Briscoe, *Comment.* on Livy 37.56.4-5; Magie, 762-64. Magie's suggestion (764) that this Ptolemy was one of the Egyptian kings is unlikely.

5. For an example of **tax exemption** for new settlers see the JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia and Phrygia.

Philotera

A fragmentary inscription from Telmessos, dated on the basis of the letterforms to the beginning of the second century B.C., mentions a Philotera. This is the only extant reference to the town. According to Strabo (16.4.5) Ptolemy II Philadelphos had a sister named Philotera after whom he called the like-named city on the Red Sea coast.¹ Undoubtedly he established the Lycian one as well and, in similar fashion, named it for his sister. We do not know the precise location of the Lycian Philotera.²



In general see M. Wörle, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 83, 104-6, for the inscription and commentary.

1. Presumably Philadelphos also founded Philoteria on the Sea of Galilee, which was taken over by Antiochos III in 218 B.C. (Polyb. 5.70.3-4). Stephanos (s.v. "Philotera") refers to this settlement as Philotera. See further Tcherikover, *HCI*, 102.

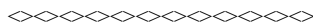
2. Because of the discovery of the inscription—which was probably a royal letter—at Telmessos, Wörle suggests that Philotera was located somewhere in western Lycia.

XIV
Pamphylia

Arsion

The existence of an Arsinoe in Pamphylia is attested by two inscriptions and is mentioned by Strabo. A Cypriot inscription, dated palaeographically to the late third century B.C., honors a commandant of Charadros in Cilicia, Theodoros son of Demetrios, who was an "Arsinoean from Pamphylia." And an inscription on a funerary urn in Alexandria from the year eight of an unknown king tells us the vase contained the remains of a native of Arsinoe of Pamphylia.¹

Pamphylia was already under Ptolemaic control in 278 B.C. and—with interruptions—remained under Ptolemaic control until it fell to Antiochos III in 197.² Within this time frame it is most probable that Ptolemy II Philadelphos founded Arsinoe. Arsinoe was located very near a region that was an important source of shipbuilding timber later exploited by Cleopatra VII (Strabo 14.5.3). It is quite likely, therefore, that Philadelphos founded Arsinoe in connection with his naval program.³ The precise location has not yet been discovered. Strabo says that after Korakesion (the modern Alanya) there was a polis named Arsinoe (14.5.3): μετὰ δὲ τὸ Κορακήσιον Ἀρσινόη πόλις. It is likely that Arsinoe was a coastal settlement east of Korakesion.⁴



In general see L. Robert, *EEP*, 255 n. 2; id., *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 157 n. 2; Magie, *RRAM*, 1142; Bagnail, *Ptol. Poss.*, 113. Tscherikower does not list this foundation; see his discussion of Arsinoe in Cilicia, 38-39.

1. For the **Cypriot honorific inscription** see *SEG* XX.293 (= Mitford, *AJA* 65 [1961] 134, no. 35), 1. 4: ἐξ Ἀρσινόης ... ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας.

Prior to the discovery of the epigraphic evidence for Arsinoe in Pamphylia it was argued that the Arsinoe near Korakesion in Strabo 14.5.3 was an error and that the text should be emended to either Syedra (Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Syedra") or Aunesis (Müller, in *GGM*, 1: 487-88); contra now, Bean and Mitford, *AS* (1962) 196 n. 22; Robert, *EEP*, 255 n. 2. It is possible that this Arsinoe or Arsinoe in Cilicia is referred to in *P. Mich. Zen.* 10.5 and 13; see ARSINOE Patara.

2. The situation of Pamphylia in the third century B.C. was, as Meyer has remarked, "etwas unklar" (*Die Grenzen*, 137). Ptolemy II Philadelphos appointed a Pamphyli [arch] over the region in 278 B.C. (L. Robert, *DocAMM*, 53-58; J. and L. Robert *BE* [1967] 601), and Theocritus (17.88) listed Pamphylia among Philadelphos' possessions. What is not clear is how extensive his rule was or how long it lasted. According to the Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54.14) Ptolemy III

Euergetes I claimed Pamphylia as his conquest. When Philadelphos lost control of Pamphylia is not clear. Presumably this happened during the Second Syrian War, i.e., before 253 B.C. Antiochos II probably then controlled Pamphylia until he lost it to Euergetes I, undoubtedly during the Third Syrian War (246-241 B.C.). The Ptolemies again lost most of Pamphylia two decades later. H. Seyrig called attention to four series of posthumous Alexanders from Perge, Aspendos, Sillyon, and Phaselis, which are dated by an era (Phaselis and Perge, years 1-33; Aspendos, years 1-31; Sillyon, years 3-11) that, according to Seyrig, probably began in 221 B.C. Then Seyrig suggested that these cities freed themselves shortly after Euergetes' death in 221 B.C. (*RN* [1963] 38-51; on the other hand, Boehringer [*Zur Chronologie*, 52-62] claimed that we are dealing not with a common "Pamphylian Era" but rather with eras starting at different years for each city, i.e., 219 B.C. for Perge and Sillyon, 218 for Phaselis, 210 for Aspendos; however, the discovery of an obverse die link between the coinage of Perge and Aspendos disproves Boehringer's suggestion; see Mørholm, *EHC*, 143). Finally, in 218 B.C. Achaïos overran most of Pamphylia (Polyb. 5.77.1), and this effectively ended Ptolemaic rule over most of the region. On the shifting pattern of Ptolemaic and Seleucid control over Pamphylia see Huss, *Aussen.*, 190-91; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 110-14; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 44-45, 137; and SELEUKEIA in Pamphylia. The two possibilities for the **founder** of Arsinoe in Pamphylia are Ptolemy II and III. Of these Philadelphos is the far more likely candidate. He was, of course, married to Arsinoe II and named numerous other colonies for her. Furthermore he was especially active founding colonies on the south coast of Asia Minor.

3 For **Philadelphos' shipbuilding activities in Cyprus** see ARSINOE Marion.

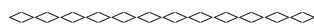
4. Previously it was suggested that **Strabo's account** was confused and that Korakesion itself might have been refounded as an Arsinoe (Jones, *CERP*², 199, followed by Bean and Mitford, *AS* 12 [1962] 195-96; see also J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1965] 421, and *Amyzon*, 157 n. 8). In addition, Jones suggested that ARSINOE in Cilicia and Nagidos, which Strabo distinguished (14.5.3), were also identical (*CERP*², 199). However, the publication in 1989 of an inscription of the later third century B.C. from Arsinoe in Cilicia clearly showed the two cities coexisting (E. Kirsten and I. Opelt, *ZPE* 77 [1989] 55-66, esp. 61-62; C. E. Jones and G. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 [1989] 317-46, esp. 333-34). This renders less likely the view that Arsinoe in Pamphylia and Korakesion were identical (*nota bene* that in 1938 L. Robert suggested that Arsinoe in Pamphylia was located a little to the east of Korakesion, *EEP*, 255 n. 2). The problem of Hamaxia, which Strabo (14-5.3) says was east and which the *Stadiasmus* (208) says was west of Korakesion, remains unresolved; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1965) 42e; L. Robert, *DocAMM*, 67; G. P. Jones, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 334, against Bean and Mitford, *AS* (1962) 187 and *DAWW* 102: 78-79, who identify Hamaxia with Sinekkalesi.

For the identification of **Korakesion and Alanya** see J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon* 157ff. (photographs, pp. 158-59). For the few ancient remains at Alanya see Bean,

TSS, 101-7; *PECS* s.v. "Korakesion (Alânya)." For a map of the region see Bean and Mitford, *AS* (1962) 186.

Attaleia

Strabo describes Attaleia in Pamphylia as follows: **ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙΤΕ**.⁴ Attaleia, which possessed the best harbor on the coast, was located at the site of the present Antalya.⁵



In general see G. Hirschfeld, *Monatsberichte* (1874) 713f.; E. Petersen, in K. Lanckoronski *, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, 1:14-15; Tscherikower, 36; Magie, *RRAM*, 1133; Hopp, *Unter.*, 103-4.

1. Leake (*Asia Minor*, 192), Hirschfeld (loc. cit.), Tscherikower (loc. cit.), and Radet (*RA* [1890] 218) understood Strabo to mean that Attalos established the new foundation next to Korykos and then surrounded *both* towns with a larger wall. Petersen (in *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, 1:14 and n. 3) rejected Strabo's use of **διωριος** to describe the relative location of Korykos to Attaleia and suggested that there was no Korykos in Pamphylia; see also Ruge, *RE* s.vv. "Korykos 3" and "Attaleia 3," as well as Magie, 1133. The problem is that there were a number of localities called Korykos on the southern Asia Minor coast. There was a Korykos in Lycia (Strabo 14.3.8, 5.7; *Stadiasmus*, 227-28 [*GGM*, 1: 490]; O. Benndorf, in *Festschrift Otto Hirschfeld* [Berlin, 1903] 83 n. 2) and a more famous one in Cilicia (Strabo 14.5.5; see also *MAMA* II, pp. 90-93; A. Machatschek, *DAWW* 96 [1967] 13); on the confusion between the two see Magie, 1168 and references; also Ormerod, *JRS* 12 (1922) 42-44.

The evidence for a Korykos in Pamphylia is equivocal. Stephanos (s.v. "Attaleia") said Attalos Philadelphos folded Attaleia but mistakenly transferred Attaleia to the *Cilician* Korykos. The *Suda* (s.v. "Korykaios") placed Korykos

in Pamphylia, said it was the site of Attaleia, and added that it was on a promontory. This is embarrassing because while Cilician Korykos—according to Strabo 14.5.5—was built on a promontory, Attaleia in Pamphylia was not. Dionysios Periegetes mentions a Korykos in Pamphylia along with Perge and Phaselis (855; = *GGM*, 2:156; cf. Nikephoros *Geog. Synop.* 847-77 = *GGM*, 2: 465); but, as Ormerod notes, "if Attaleia is intended, it is badly misplaced" (*JRS* [1922] 43 n. 1). The only other evidence for a Pamphylian Korykos is Strabo's use of the term *ἑμπορος* (14.4.1). If he is accurate in his usage, then we must conclude that Attalos simultaneously built two adjacent colonies. This is unlikely. The normal practice in such situations was to establish a foundation at a site adjacent to a native town, not to colonize simultaneously the native town as well. If, however, Strabo used the term mistakenly or rather loosely, then we may follow Petersen's suggestion, deny the existence of a Pamphylian Korykos and posit two separate Pergamene colonies, one in Lycia and one in Pamphylia.

2. Petersen and von Luschan (*Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien*, vol. 2, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratiss* [Vienna, 1889] 178) suggested that Attalos founded Attaleia when he took part in the expedition of Manlius. But Magie rightly objected (1133) that (a) there is no evidence Manlius entered the Pamphylian plain and (b) it is unlikely that Attalos would have named a foundation after himself during the reign of his brother, Eumenes. Hopp (*Unter.*, 103-4) prefers the later date, though he allows that Attalos might have discovered the site in 189. For Attalos' march on Selge in 158 B.C. see Pomp. Trog. *Prol. Libri* 34 (ed. Seel [1935], p. 320).

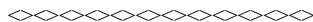
3. The similarity of cults at Attaleia and Pergamon led Petersen to suggest (in *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, 15, followed by Hansen, *Attalids*², 178, 453) that some of the colonists came from the latter. On **Dionysos** at Attaleia see *IGR* III 780.8; at Pergamon he was called Kathegemon (Hansen, *Attalids*², 451-52 and references; see also DIONYSOPOLIS). For Athena on Attaleian coins see, for example, *BMC Lycia*, 110-14 (on fourteen of twenty-seven coins); see also *SEG* VI.647.12-13 (Athena Polias); J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1948) 229; for Athena at Pergamon see Hansen, 447-50. For **Apollo Archegetes** see *IGR* III 780.7, 781.4-5; LAODIKEIA on the Lykos and HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia.

4. For the **coinage** of Attaleia (Hellenistic and Imperial) see N. Baydur, *JNG* 25 (1975) 33-72 and 26 (1976) 37-78. For the **ethnic** see, for example, Ramsay; *BCH* 7 0883) 260, no. 2, 1. 8; *LW* III. 1224.21, etc.; *BMC Lycia*, 110-14, nos. 1-27. By contrast, the ethnic for ATTALEIA in Lydia was ATTA EATH see Petersen, in K. Lanckoronski *, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, 1: 15; L. Robert, *BCH Suppl.* 1 (1973) 437.

5. For **the site of Attaleia** at Antalya see Bean, *TSS*, 41-44; *PECS* s.v. "Attaleia." There is no basis for Beaufort's claim (*Karamania*², 134-38; see also A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der Alten Geographie* [Hamburg, 1877] 2: 268) that Antalya was the ancient Olbia.

Ptolemais

Strabo is our only evidence (14.4.2) for a Ptolemais in Pamphylia, which he says was located between the Melas (modern Manavgat) River and Korakesion. Its precise location is not known. Bean and Mitford suggest it may have been on the coast at the modern Figla Burun.¹ Ptolemaic control over various parts of Pamphylia extended—with interruptions—from at least the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphos until 197 B.C. It is probable that Ptolemy II, who was particularly active establishing colonies along the southern coast of Asia Minor and on Cyprus, founded Ptolemais.² There is no coinage that can definitely be attributed to Ptolemais in Pamphylia.³



In general see Tscherikower, 37; Kirsten, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemais 10"; Bean and Mitford, *DAWW* 102: 62 n. 105 and map A; Bean, *TSS*, 29; Bagnail, *Ptol. Poss.*, 113.

1. **Practically all conjectures place Ptolemais on the coast** (see above references; also, for example, Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44: 135; J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 18 [1915] Beiblatt 8; Kiepert, *FOA* VII; Jones, *CERP*², 199). However, Leake, noting that it is not mentioned in the *Stadiasmos*, places it inland at Alara (*Asia Minor*, 197). On the duration and extent of the shifting Ptolemaic control over Pamphylia see ARSINOE in Pamphylia and references cited there. C. C. Edgar's suggestion (commentary to *P. Mich. Zen.* 1) that at 14.4.2 Strabo was referring to a Ptolemais "not far from Patara" (i.e., presumably PTOLEMAIS in Caria) is incorrect. Strabo is clearly referring to the Pamphylian Ptolemais.

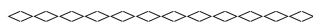
2. Regarding a **possible founder**, Tscherikower (37) prefers Ptolemy II; Huss (*Aussen.*, 191) does not commit himself but does not favor Ptolemy IV.

3. There is a series of coins with the head of Apollo on the obverse and an amphora (occasionally with an eagle) and the legend ΤΟ Ε or ΤΟ ΕΜΑΙΕ Ν on the reverse; for examples see PTOLEMAIS Lebedos, note 2. These coins have been conjecturally attributed to various cities. Thus, J. Friedländer grouped them with Ptolemais in Pamphylia (*NZ* 2 [1870] 346-48 and *ZfN* 6 [1879] 239-41; see also Dieudonné's discussion, *JIAN* 5 [1902] 50). However, the attribution is very uncertain. Hill, for instance, rejected it outright, preferring a city in the central or southern coast of western Asia Minor (*BMC Parnphylia*, lxxx). Other possible attributions are PTOLEMAIS in Caria and PTOLEMAIS Larisa. See further discussion and references in PTOLEMAIS Lebedos and especially Robert, *BCH* (1946) 516-19. The Ptolemais coins that Imhoof-Blumer listed under Pamphylia in *Gr. Münz.*, 689-90, nos. 468-73, in fact belong to the Lebedian foundation; on these coins see Dieudonné, *JIAN* (1902) 46-47, nos. 2 and 3; 50.

Seleukeia

An inscription from Perge records a decree of the second century B.C. made by the "*boule* and *demos*" of Seleukeia on the motion of the prytaneis honoring a doctor.¹ Undoubtedly this Seleukeia is, as Wilhelm suggests, the Pamphylian city. The only literary reference to Seleukeia in Pamphylia is the *Stadiasmus* (216-17), which places it between Side and the Eurymedon River. The precise location is not yet known. Bean and Mitford have argued that the most likely identification is at the site of some ancient ruins ten kilometers north of Manavgat and an hour's walk from the village of Sihlar*.² In addition to the remains of an agora and a small temple, Bean and Mitford found an inscription there in which they restored ἐπ[ὶ] γων[ίᾳ].³ The restored name Claudioseleuceia would, according to Bean and Mitford, provide strong evidence that Seleukeia was located here. And as it was in 43 A.D. that the emperor Claudius detached Pamphylia from its unpopular union with Galatia and joined it to Lycia, the new inscription—and the name Claudioseleuceia—may be dated to some point after that.⁴ By the time of the Council of Nikaia (325 A.D.) the older name, Seleukeia, was again being used.⁵

Despite the attractiveness of Bean and Mitford's reconstruction it is not secure and has been attacked by Louis Robert and Johannes Nollé.⁶ In the first place Robert argued that the restored name "Claudioseleuceia" referred to the city already known by that name in Pisidia. Second, he and Nollé pointed out that the *Stadiasmus* is a handbook for sailors. It describes the coast line and anchorages and the distances between various points. They discount the possibility that a site so far inland as Sihlar* could have been recorded in the *Stadiasmus*. Furthermore Nollé pointed out that the Melas (Manavgat) River is navigable only as far as the town of Manavgat. Hence both scholars follow the *Stadiasmus* and suggest that Seleukeia was on the coast, halfway between Side and the mouth of the Eurymedon River.⁷



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 7"; Tscherikower, 36; Bean and Mitford, *DAWW* 85:4-6 (also map on p. 3) and *DAWW* 102: 18-19 (also map A at end); Bean, *TSS*, 114-16.

1. For the **inscription from Perge** see A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur gr. Inschr.* IV (1915) 53-55, no. 33.I.1(B).21-50.

For a brief survey of what is known about Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule in Pamphylia during the third century B.C. see ARSINOE in Pamphylia. According to Theocritus (17.88) Pamphylia was a possession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos; according to the Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54.14) Ptolemy III Euergetes I conquered it. Philadelphos probably lost Pamphylia during the Second Syrian War

(260-253 B.C.), and Euergetes I probably regained it during the Third Syrian War (246-241 B.C.). What is not clear is how much territory in Pamphylia Philadelphos controlled, what he lost, and what territories Euergetes I actually controlled. Nevertheless **it is likely that Antiochos I founded Seleukeia** and named it for his father (see Tscherikower [175] and Meyer [*Die Grenzen*, 44], who speculates that Antiochos founded it to counter the Ptolemaic Aspendos). A founding date for Seleukeia after the Third Syrian War is unlikely. The chaos and civil wars brought on by Hierax and Achaïos reduced Seleucid control in western and central Asia Minor and brought to an end the great age of settlement foundings. In Pamphylia, Achaïos seized control from Ptolemy IV Philopator in 218 B.C. (Polyb. 5.77.1). When Antiochos III came into possession of the area is not dear. Schmitt suggests he wrested Achaïos' Pamphylian territory in the period 216-213 B.C. (*Antiochos*, 279); Seyrig assumes he took it over after the final defeat of Achaïos in 213 (RN [1963] 41). In any event, both Livy (33.19.11, 20.4-5) and Hieronymus (*In Dan.* 11.15-16 = FGrH 260 F46) mention Antiochos' conquests in 197 B.C. along the Lycian and Cilician coast but omit any reference to Pamphylia; see above, p. 335 and note 2; Huss, *Aussen.*, 190-91; Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 182f., 279; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 44-45, 137; and ARSINOË in Pamphylia. There is nothing to indicate that Antiochos III might have founded Seleukeia.

2. According to the *Stadiasmus* 216-17 (=GGM, 1: 488-89) the distance from Side to Seleukeia was eighty stades, from Seleukeia to the Eurymedon, one hundred stades. The **identification of the site near Sihlar * with Seleukeia** by Bean and Mitford was suggested by von Luschan, cited in K. Lanckoronski* et al., *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (Vienna, 1892)2: 185-187; Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44: 134; H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig, 1908) 66.

A bilingual (Greek-Sidetan) inscription from Sihlar* (C. Brixhe and G. Neumann, *Kadmos* 27 [1988] 35-43 = SEG XXXVIII.1433; see also M. Darga, *Anadolu Arastirmalan** 9 [1983] 401-10; G. Neumann, *Kadmos* 23 [1984] 189) records a dedication: **Τεμεριζεύς** is possibly an "indigenous honorary rifle" **temeraza* or **temeriza*. Was this dedication put up by a Hellenistic colonist? I think not. It is unlikely that an Antigonid or Seleucid colonist of the late fourth/early third century B.C. would have set up a bilingual inscription. There were, of course, Greeks in the East who were bilingual. For example, Diodorus (17.110.4-5) mentions the case of a colony of Boeotians living east of the Tigris River in Sittakene. They had been brought (exiled? cf. Hdt. 6.119 and above, p. 16) to their dwelling place by Xerxes. A century and a half later they spoke

the native language and a lot of Greek. But their situation will obviously have been quite different from first-generation Hellenistic colonists.

3. For the inscription with the restored **Claudioseleuceia** see Bean and Mitford, *DAWW* 85: 6, no. 1.

4. For **Claudius' reorganization of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Galatia** in 43 A.D. see Cass. Dio 60.17.3; see also Levick, *RCSAM*, 163-64, as well as Magic, *RRAM*, 529-30 and 1386-87.

5. For the **representation of Seleukeia at the Council of Nikaia** see H. Gelzer et al., *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* (Leipzig, 1898) p. LXIII, 1. 162.

6. L. Robert, *DocAMM*, 60-62; J. Nollé, *AST* 6 (1988) 257-59.

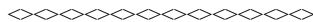
7. See Robert, op. cit.; Nollé, op. cit. For the vigorous refutation of Robert by Bean and Mitford, see *DAWW* 102: 18-19. Robert noted that E. Sperling looked for Seleukeia a little inland at Güvercinlik (*Zeit. f. allgemeine Erdkunde* N. F. 16 [1864] 57-58). Müller considered and then rejected the possibility (*GGM*, 1: 488-89n.) that Seleukeia was the renaming of Sillyon (see also Jones, *CERP*², 128, who thought Seleukeia was the renaming "of one of the old cities"). Ramsay denied the existence of a Seleukeia in Pamphylia (*HGAM*, 394; followed by E. Schwartz, *ABAW* N. F. 13 [1937] 67 n. i).

As for Sihlar *, Nollé suggested (258) that it was the site of Lyrbe.

XV
Pisidia and Lycaonia

Kretopolis

In his account of the events of 319 B.C. Diodorus refers to a city in Pisidia called Kretopolis (18.44.2, 47.4) that Antigonos Monophthalmos reached in the course of his struggle with Alketas.¹ The toponym suggests this may have been a Hellenistic settlement of Cretan colonists.² If so, the possibility exists that Antigonos founded it. However, we should need further evidence before confirming that Kretopolis was a Hellenistic settlement and—if it was—the identity of the founder.³ Kretopolis is also mentioned in an inscription of Komama that dates, at the earliest, from the second century A.D.⁴ There is no extant coinage that can definitely be attributed to Kretopolis.⁵ In a private communication Stephen Mitchell informs me that he has located Kretopolis at Yüregil, a village about six kilometers north-northeast of Komama.⁶



In general see E. Petersen, in Lanckoronski *, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, 2: 123-26; G. Radet, *RA* (1893) 214; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Kretopolis"; G. Bean, *AS* 10 (1960) 51-53; Briant, *Antigone le Borgne*, 78. Tscherikower does not mention the city.

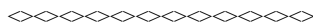
1. Polybius also mentions Kretopolis in his account of the siege of Pednelissos by the inhabitants. of Selge in 218 B.C. (5.72.5).
2. The **city name** is found as **Κρητόπολις** (on the Komama inscription; G. Bean, *AS* [1960] 51-53), and Kretopolis (the Ravenna Geographer 2.18.1 [ed. Schnetz, p. 30]).
3. **Founder**. Radet (op. cit.) suggested that around 333 B.C. Antigonos, either under orders from Alexander or on his own initiative, founded Kretopolis; see also Briant, 78; Billows, *Antigonos*, 47. Niese (*GMS*, 1: 231 n. 3) suggested Alexander himself was the founder. H. van Effenterre (*La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe* [Paris, 1948] 303 n. 3) theorizes that Nearchos, who was a Cretan, founded it when he was satrap of Lycia-Pamphylia-Pisidia. Jones objected (*CERP*², 125) to the notion that Alexander founded Kretopolis because Arrian does not mention such a colony. This is not convincing. He suggested, rather, that the inhabitants of Kretopolis probably contrived their relationship with Crete to assert their "Hellenic origin."
4. For the **inscription from Komama** see Bean, op. cit.
5. While there is no extant **coinage** from Kretopolis, the city of the Keraeítai (only the ethnic for this city is attested) has yielded coins with the ethnic KE or ΚΕΡΑΕΙΤ (e.g., Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 375-76; K. Dörlük, *Türk Ark. Dergisi* 23 [1976] ,7-18 [in Turkish]; von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 33-34). By reference to the city of Keraia in Crete it has been suggested that the Pisidian city of the Keraeítai

and its coinage were identical with Kretopolis; see, for example, Hill, *BMC Lycia*, xcix; Jones, CERP², 125. This is not likely; see, for example, J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1978) 501.

6. **Location.** The discovery by Dörtlük (17-18; map and photographs, 19-23) of bronze coins of the city of the Keraeitai near the village of Belören (8 km north of Bucak) provided firm evidence for its location. Furthermore a coin from Kremna with the legend KPHMNE N KAI KEPAEIT N indicated the city of the Keraeitai and Kremna were located close to each other (Imhoof-Blumer, *M. Gr.*, 336, no. 72; L. Robert, *VAM²*, 63). The fact that Kretopolis is mentioned in the Komama inscription suggested it was not too distant from there. Kiepert thought Kretopolis was located at Incirlihan * (*FOA* VIII, p. 10, followed by Bean, op. cit.; Levick, *RCSAM*, 47). *Nota bene* that Kiepert, along with Hill (*BMC Lycia*, xcix; see also Imhoof-Blumer, *KL.M.*, 376, who, however, reserves final judgment), thought Kretopolis was identical with the city of the Keraeitai. Radet, on the other hand, suggested identifying Kretopolis with Kremna (the modern Girme).

Laodikeia Katakekaumene

We know very little about Laodikeia Katakekaumene. It is first mentioned by Strabo (14.2.29), who cites Artemidorus (fl. 100 B.C.). Presumably it was founded by the Seleucids, but by which king and in whose honor we do not know.¹ *Μακεδόνιος* are found on inscriptions of Imperial date from Laodikeia and vicinity.² The reason for the epithet Katakekaumene is also not known.³ Under Claudius the town name was changed to Claudiolaodiceia. The only evidence for tribes at Laodikeia dates from the late second or early third century A.D. There are no extant coins from the Hellenistic period.⁴ The territory of Laodikeia may have extended for some distance around the town. Laodikeia, which Strabo says was on the great Common Road that ran from Ephesos to Mesopotamia, was located north of Ikonion (Konya) at the site of the modern Lâdik.⁵



In general see Tscherikower, 38; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 4"; Magie, *RRAM*, 1312-13; von Aulock, *MSLyk.*, 45-47; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 327-28.

1. **Founder.** Radet (*De Coloniis*, 50, followed by Niese, *GMS*, 2: 89 n. 8 ("möglich"); Stähelin, *RE* s.v. "Seleukos I," 1230) suggested Seleukos I Nikator founded Laodikeia and named it for his mother. However, Seleukos controlled this region only in the period after his victory at Korupedion until his death. It is unlikely therefore that he founded Laodikeia. Since this area was under firm Seleucid control only until the death of Antiochos II, it is far more probable that he founded it and named it for his wife; so also Tscherikower (38). Hansen's choice of Antiochos I (*Attalids*², 175) is less likely: most Seleucid kings named colonies

for themselves, their parents, or their wives (cf. App. *Syr.* 57: Seleukos I named cities for his father, mother, himself, and his wives). It is unlikely that Antiochos I would have named a city for his grandmother, niece (and daughter-in-law), or granddaughter. Magie tentatively suggested Antiochos II or III (456) but then acknowledged that because "there is no mention of the place before Artemidorus, there is no means of determining when or by whom it was founded" (1313). On the weak and short-lived Seleucid control of Pisidia see SELEUKEIA in Pisidia.

2. For **Στρώμων** see *MAMA* 1.303.

3. Regarding **the town name**, Ptolemy (5.4.8) records **Λαοδικείας τῆς (κατα)κεκαυμένης**; see Magie, 1312-13. Explanations for the epithet Katakekaumene are numerous. Calder first suggested it referred to the charred and blackened hills near the town (*Studies Ramsay*, 68); later he changed his mind and hypothesized that it "originated as the Greek disguise of an old local name displaced by 'Laodicea'" (*MAMA* I, p. xv). J.A. Cramer thought it referred to the "volcanic nature of the district" (*A Geographical and Historical Description of Asia Minor* [Oxford, 1832] 2: 33), but Hamilton claimed there is no "volcanic or igneous rock" in the area (*Researches*, 2: 194). Schmitz (Smith, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Laodiceia Combusta") followed Hamilton's assertion and suggested the town was at some time destroyed by fire and given the epithet when it was rebuilt! Kiepert (*FOA* VIII, p. 14a) thought the name was derived from smelting furnaces supposed to have been located at the town (followed by Ruge, op. cit.; von Aulock *MSLyk.*, 45).

Strabo also describes an area in Lydia and Mysia as Katakekaumene (13.4.11); see Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Katakekaumene"; Calder, in *Studies Ramsay*, 68; Ramsay, *Klio* 22 (1929) 377 n. 3; Magie, *RRAM*, 36, 40, 783; P. Debord, *REA* 87 (1985) 346; Herrmann, *TAM* V.1, p. 79.

The **ethnic** was **ΚΑΛΥΔΙΟΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ** and inscriptions of the third century A.D. (see, for example, Calder, *Klio* 10 [1910] 234, no. 2; 235, no. 4; id., *JHS* 31 [1911] 198, no. LV). By the mid-fourth century the name Laodikeia was being used again.

4. For **tribes** at Laodikeia see *MAMA* 1.22, 22a; N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 376. The only extant **coinage** dates from the Flavian period (yon Aulock, *MSLyk.*, 46-47, 72-73).

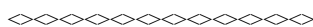
5. On the **location** see Mersich, *TIB* VII: 327 and map at end. On the basis of inscriptional evidence Ramsay suggested that **the territory of Laodikeia** included the villages of Serai 5 km north and Kadmhan 17 km northwest of the town (*AM* 13 [1888] 233ff.). Strabo (14.2.29), Ptolemy (5.4.8), and Stephanos (s.v. no. 3) place Laodikeia in Lycaonia; Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* 6. 18) located it in Pisidia.

On the Common Road see the Introduction, pp. 45f.

Neapolis

There are two indications—both epigraphic—that Neapolis in Pisidia or eastern Phrygia was probably a Hellenistic settlement. The first is an epitaph from Rhodes, dated on the basis of the letterforms to the Hellenistic period: *Λυκίων Θ]ρακῶν κολώνων τὸν ναόν*.² The origin of the (*Lykioi*) *Thrakes kolones* is not known. It is most likely, however, that the (*Lykioi*) *Thrakes* date from the Hellenistic and the *kolones* from the Roman period.

Neapolis was located south of Karaagaç (which is twenty-nine kilometers south of Antioch) at Iznebolu.³



In general see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 396-97; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Neapolis 15"; L. Robert, *EEP*, 260-65; W. M. Calder, *AS* 6 (1956) 50-51; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 347; and APOLLONIA in Phrygia.

1. For **the Rhodian epitaph** see A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence, 1925) 7:5, no. 97 (= *EEP*, 264).

2. For **the inscription of the third century A.D. from Karaagaç**, see Calder, *AJA* 36 (1932) 454, no. 5 (= *MAMA* VIII.350), and *AS* 0956) 50-51. Calder suggested that the title *Lykioi Thrakes kolones* pointed to a Seleucid origin for Neapolis and that *kolon* was a translation in the Roman period for *klerouchos*. There were also *Lykioi Thrakes kolones* at APOLLONIA in Phrygia. For the— more probable—suggestion that the *kolones* were Roman colonists see Mitchell, *Proc. X. Int. Cong. Cl. Arch.*, 314-17; and APOLLONIA in Phrygia. For other evidence of Thracian names in the plain of Karaagaç see *MAMA* VIII.344, 355 (= Calder, *AJA* [1932] 452, no. 1; 453, no. 2; see also L. Robert, *VAM*², 235-36) and VIII.367 (on which see L. Robert, *NInd.*, 113-14; id., *Hellenica* 13 [1965] 92).

3. **Location**: Pliny (*NH* 5.147) locates Neapolis in Galatia. Ptolemy (5.4.9) places it in Pisidia Galatia, while Hierokles (who puts it after Antioch, 672.3), the *Notitiae Episcopatum* (1.379, etc.), and the Ravenna Geographer (2.18.18, ed. Schnetz, p. 30) locate it in Pisidia; in general see Ruge, op. cit. Note that the restoration *Νεαπόλει τῷ [δὲ μεγίστῳ κτλ.]*. In the past there have been attempts to find a connection between Neapols and Anaboura. Ramsay first thought they were

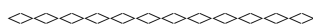
one and the same town (*AM* 8 [1883] 71-77); later he modified his views and suggested that Anaboura and the "New City" were separate entities; see id., *HGAM*, 397; id., *ABSA* 9 (1902-1903) 250-51; id., *JRS* 7 (1917) 257 and n. 1; id., *Klio* 23 (1930) 242-43. See also Lanckoronski *, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, 2: 189 n. 2 (Neapolis = ~~Ἀναπόλη~~ of *Not. Ep.* 9.384 [Parthey] = Anaboura). In fact, as Robert has demonstrated (*EEP*, 262-64 and notes), the connection, if there ever was one, between Anaboura and Neapolis is still hypothetical and unsupported by any evidence.

Ramsay located Neapolis at the town of Karaagaç (Sarkikaraagaç), which is north of Beysehir* Gölü (*HGAM*, 396-97, and *JHS* [1924] 162, followed by Levick, *RCSAM*, 45, and Mersich, *TIB* VII: 347, map at end). L. Robert (*EEP*, 262 and n. 2; cf. *Hellenica* 13 [1965] 88-89) was satisfied with placing it in the general area of Karaagaç but noted the absence of specific evidence for giving the precise location of Neapolis; see also S. Mitchell, *AS* 28 (1978) 95-96 and n. 19. Recently, D. H. French has provided firm indications that Iznebolu was the site of Neapolis (*AS* 34 [1984] 11: "At Kiyakdede [near Sarkikaraagaç] I reviewed the dedication [observed in 1975] of the city of Neapolis [in Pisidia] to Zeus Ouolorenos; confirmation from the *muhtar* now indicates that the ruin-field [mound, foundations, stone blocks, tiles, pottery] below the village and the medieval remains nearby are both called Iznebolu or Isnebolu, a corruption, I believe, of Neapolis"). See Levick, *RCSAM*, map at end.

Seleukeia

Seleukeia in northern Pisidia is known by three different names. The name Seleukeia is used by Ptolemy (5.5.4); it is also found in the epigraphic evidence and on some coins that have been tentatively ascribed to late Hellenistic Seleukeia. In the first century A.D., presumably as a result of Claudius' organization of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia in 43 A.D., its name was changed to Claudioseleuceia. This is attested in inscriptions as well as on coins from Hadrian to Claudius II Gothicus. Subsequently the name "Seleukeia" reappeared in Byzantine lists, often with the epithet "Sidera."¹

Obviously this was a Seleucid colony. Who the founder was, however, we do not know.² Seleukeia was located at a site with an acropolis called Selef, two kilometers north-northeast of the town of Bayat.³



In general see G. Hirschfeld, *Monatsberichte* 1879 (Berlin, 1880) 312-14 (map opposite p. 298); J. R. S. Sterrett, *PAS* 3 (1888) 334; H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 9-12; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 6"; Tscherikower, 37; Magie, 1316; von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2.: 43-45; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 378.

1. Pliny (*NH* 5.147) mentions the Seleucenses in Galatia. Presumably he meant Seleukeia in Pisidia. For **ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ** see von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 155-69. For the name Claudioseleuceia in inscriptions see Lanckoronski *, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* 2: 225, no. 194.9; Ramsay, *JRS* 14 (1924) 197, no. 26 (partially restored). In an inscription found near the village of Sihlar* in ancient Pamphylia, Bean and Mitford restored **Κλαυδ[ιοσελευ]κεῖς** and ascribed the name to SELEUKEIA in Pamphylia (*DAWW* 85: 4-6; *DAWW* 102: 18-19). L. Robert argued that the restored name referred to the Pisidian Claudioseleuceia (*DocAMM*, 60-62). For **Seleukeia Sidera** see, for example, Hierokles 673.8. In the *Not. Ep.*, which are in hierarchic, rather than geographic, order, Seleukeia Sidera normally follows Laodikeia Katakekaumene (e.g., 1.381, 2.447, 9.338-39, 10.395-96; presumably "Laodikeia Sidera," which is listed after Laodikeia Katakekaumene in *Not.* 7.456 and 13.402, is a scribal error for Seleukeia Sidera); for further references see Ruge, op. cit.

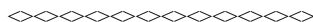
2. The Seleucid hold on Pisidia was weak and of relatively short duration. As a result of his victory over Lysimachos at Korupedion in 281 B.C. Seleukos I came into possession of this region. It is, however, unlikely that he founded any colonies in Pisidia in the short time between the battle and his own death some months later. Whatever Seleucid colonizing activity there was in the area was probably undertaken by Antiochos I or II. After the death of the latter, the rebellious activities of Antiochos Hierax and, later, Achaïos weakened the already feeble Seleucid hold on Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains. Achaïos was active plundering in Pisidia (Polyb. 5.57.7) and in 218 B.C. captured the region of Milyas (Polyb. 5.72.3f., 77.1; on Milyas see A. S. Hall, *AS* 36 [1986] 137-57; and APOLLONIA in Phrygia). It is doubtful that Antiochos III, despite some military activity there in 193 (Livy 35.13.5, 15.7; App. *Syr.* 9) was able to reassert Seleucid control (see Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 279).

Both Tscherikower (175) and Meyer (*Die Grenzen*, 129) suggest Antiochos I as the **founder**. Considering his activity establishing colonies elsewhere in Asia Minor and the fact that he named Apameia in Phrygia for his mother, it is possible that he founded Seleukeia in Pisidia and named it for his father.

3. The **identification of the site called Selef with Seleukeia** was made by Hirschfeld, op. cit. He recognized the ancient name in the modern toponym. He also noted that the village of Agras (the modern Atabey), approximately 4 km north of Selef, was the ancient Agrai, which is often combined with Seleukeia in the Byzantine lists (e.g., *Not. Ep.* 9.338, 395: **Ἀγρᾶν**); see also L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 243-44; von Aulock, *MSPisid.*, 2: 43; Mersich, *TIB* VII: 378 (map at end).

Selge

The only evidence for Selge being a Macedonian colony is the appearance of a round shield on some of its coins. In the *BMC Pisidia* catalogue Hill described them as being "of Macedonian type." Relying on this, Launey declared that there had been a Macedonian colony at Selge. In fact the shield is not a Macedonian one. Hence, based on the available evidence, we should not consider Selge a Hellenistic refoundation.



For the claim that Selge had been the site of a Macedonian colony see Launey, *Recherches*, 347. For coins of Selge with a round shield on the obverse see Hill, *BMC Pisidia*, 263, nos. 59-65; cf., for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Pisidia* 255 ("round"); *SNG* (von A) 5296, 5298 ("round"), 5297 ("Macedonian"). For the denial that the shield on the *BMC* coins is Macedonian see J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1950) 25; L. Robert, *VAM*², 251, no. 2. Bar-Kochva (*Seleucid Army*, 217), apparently unaware of the Roberts' claims, also argued against a Macedonian colony at Selge on the—weak—round that Polybius says nothing of this in his account of the Selgian campaign with Pednelissos and Achaïos (5.72-76).

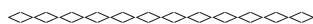
XVI
Cilicia

Aigai

Aigai, which Strabo (14.5.18) described as a small town with an anchorage, claimed to be a Macedonian foundation.¹ It also claimed Alexander the Great as its founder. A late redaction of the Alexander Romance contains a fictitious letter of Alexander to his mother, Olympias, and Aristotle concerning the battle of Issos: "I thought it necessary to write to you about the battle that took place against Darius. Having heard that he was around the Gulf of Issos with many kings and satraps, I collected many goats, bound torches on their horns, and led them out into the night. When they (i.e., the Persians) saw us, they turned to flee, thinking our army was large. And so I victoriously put them to flight. For this reason I founded a city that I called Aigai, and on the Gulf of Issos I founded a city, Alexandria on the Issos."² A coin type of Aigai of the early third century A.D. bears the picture of a goat with torches attached to its horns.³ A coin of Aigai dated to 215/6 A.D. bears the legend MAKE ONIKH **ETIENOTE** Other coinage from the time of the emperor Macrinus has the abbreviated legend MAKE[ONIKH] or shorter variants thereof. The Macedonian presence at Aigai is also to be seen in an honorific decree of the *demos*, dated palaeographically to the first century B.C. or A.D. for a Seleukos who was the grandson of Amyntas.⁴ Finally, the toponym recalled the old Macedonian capital.

The earliest coinage has been dated to the second century B.C. to the time of Antiochos IV Epiphanes.⁵ On coinage of the second and first centuries B.C. the city described itself as τῆς ἑρᾶς καὶ αὐτονόμου.⁶ An honorific inscription of the *demos* that may date from the Hellenistic period mentions a *demiourgos*.⁷ In Roman times Aigai was famous for its temple of Asklepios. In the second and third centuries A.D. the city laid claim to *syngeneia* with Argos.⁸

The ancient name is preserved in the modern village of Ayas, a short distance from Yumurtalik, on the north coast of the Gulf of Iskenderun.⁹



In general see Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44: 14ff.; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Aigai 6"; Magie, *RRAM*, 274, 1150-51; L. Robert, *JS* (1973) 161-211; id., *JS* (1978) 145-50; id., *BCH* 101 (1977) 119-29; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 142; S. Schultz, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 127-30; *I. Cilicie*, 117-18; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 160-63.

1. On the **importance of Aigai as a naval station** under the Empire see Luc. 3 227; see also the title ναυαρχία, which occurs on numerous coins of the third century A.D. (e.g., *SNG* [von A] 5460-61; cf. 5454, 5459; *BMC Lycaonia*, 27, nos. 39-43), and a coin type of Macrinus noted by Hill (*BMC Lycaonia*, cxv) with a lighthouse; on top a figure leaning on a spear (Poseidon?) and below one or more

ships (Mionnet, 3:542, no. 30; cf. Suppl. 7: 158, nos. 37, 38). See also L. Robert, *JS* (1973) 171ff.; R. Ziegler, *JNG* 27 (1977) 61-64.

2. For the passage from the **Alexander Romance** (L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman, Rezension b* [Uppsala, 1965] sec. 2.23, pp. 153-54; H. van Thiel, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien* [Darmstadt, 1974] 104) see also Merkelbach, op. cit.

3. For **coins with the picture of a goat with torches on the horns** see, for example, *BMC Lycaonia*, 25, nos. 30-32; *Inv. Wadd.* 4075, 4077; S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection* (Cambridge, 1929) 3: 9047; L. Robert, *JS* (1978) 146-48, 149, figs. 1-4; L. Lacroix, *RBN* 110 (1964) 48-49 and no. 213.

The portrait head of a beardless man on a group of coins (e.g., *Inv. Wadd.* 4070) may be that of Alexander the Great, as Imhoof-Blumer has proposed (*M.Gr.*, 348, no. 7; *Kl.M.*, 424-26, nos. 3-7 and notes), rather than Seleukos Nikator (M. Rostovtzeff, *Mélanges Syriens* [Paris, 1939] 287), Antiochos IV of Commagene (Mionnet, Suppl. 7: 154), or Alexander Balas (Hill, *NC* [1917] 18-19).

4. For the **coin with the legend MAKEΔONIKHΣ OTΣ or I O .) I TH EO I H** ; see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 4074-77, 4083-84; *BMC Lycaonia*, 24ff., nos. 25-33, 35, 37; *SNG* (Cop) *Cilicia* 36, 39; *SNG* (von A) 5455, 5458. See also Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr.M.*, 704, no. 549; Hill, *BMC Lycaonia*, 24, note to no. 25; Robert, *JS* (1973) 201-4. Another possible indication of the Macedonian origin of the inhabitants may be seen in the symbol of the club that appears on some tetradrachms of the late second/early first century B.C. (H. Bloesch, in *Essays M. Thompson*, 1-6; see also the countermark of a Macedonian helmet on an autonomous coin of Aigeai: E. Levante, *NC* [1971] 94 n. 5). For **the decree honoring Seleukos** see *I. Cilicie* 76. The claim of Macedonian ancestry in Lydia and Phrygia in the second and third centuries A.D. was not uncommon; see, for example, HYRKANIS, BLAUNDOS, DOKIMEION, PELTAI, and Appendix III. On the claim of Aigeai to *eugeneia* see below.

5. During the reign of Antiochos **IV the mint at Aigeai** and other mints throughout the Seleucid empire also issued a new class of bronze coin that had characteristics of both royal and civic coinage. The coin had a portrait of the king on the obverse and the ethnic of the town as the issuing authority on the reverse; see further O. Mørkholm, *Cong. Int. Num.* II: 63-67; H. Bloesch, *ANS MN* 27 (1982) 56-57, nos. 9-19. For other Hellenistic foundations in Cilicia with coinage possibly dating from the time of Antiochos IV Epiphanes see ANTIOCH on the Saros, SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos, and HIERAPOLIS Castabala.

6. For **coinage of the second and first centuries B.C.** see Bloesch, *ANS MN* (1982) 56-72, nos. 20-280, against Bloesch, *Essays Thompson*, 1-7, and *ANSMN*

(1982) 83-84, who argued that the autonomous tetradrachms of Aigeai should be dated according to a city era beginning c. 105/4 B.C.; O. Mørholm (*ANS MN* 32 [1987] 57-60) and A. Houghton and S. Bendall (*ANS MN* 33 [1988] 71-85) have independently demonstrated that the dates on the tetradrachms refer to a Caesarian era beginning in 47/6 B.C.

Coinage of the Imperial period extends from the first to the mid-third century A.D. (e.g., *SNG* [von A] 5447-60. From the numismatic evidence we learn that Aigeai—like Tarsos and Anazarbos—had additional titles or names at various times under the Empire: Hadriane, Kommodiane, Severiane, Antoneinoupolis, Alexandropolis, Makrinoupolis (e.g., *BMC Lysonia*, 23ff., nos. 23-37; *SNG* [von A] 5453-57; Ziegler, op. cit.). In general, for the numismatic literature see Schultz, op. cit., and the bibliography in *SNG Switzerland* I, pp. 14-16.

7. For the honorific inscription that mentions a *demiourgos* see Heberdey and Wilhelm, 15, no. 42; Magie, 1150, who tentatively dates it to the Hellenistic period.

8. For the **temple of Asklepios** see Philostr. *VA* 1.7-13; Robert, *JS* (1973) 184-99. For the claim of *syngeneia* with Argos, which was the basis for its boast of *eugeneia* on the coinage (see above), see Robert, *JS* (1973) 202-3; id., *BCH* 101 (1977) 119-29; Strubbe, *Anc. Soc.* 15-17 (1984-1986) 262. On the tendency of the Hellenized cities of Roman Asia Minor to discover a "kinship" with the peoples and cities of Greece, see Robert, *JS* (1973) 202; Strubbe, 253-304; see also EUMENEIA and SYNNAIDA in Phrygia.

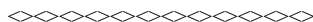
9. The **ethnic** on coins is variously AI EAI N, AI AI N, or AI E N (*SNG* [Cop] *Cilicia* 35, 36, 39). There are numerous variant spellings of the name in the literary sources as well. Thus, for example, *Alycia* (*Not. Ep.* [Parthey] 1.820), Aegeae (*Tac. Ann.* 13.8), Aegaeae (Pliny. *NH* 5.91), Aegae (Luc. 3.227). See the list in Hirschfeld, op. cit.; also Six, *NC* (1895) 203, no. 96.

For a description of the site of Aigeai with photographs and maps see Robert, *JS* (1973) 174ff. and pls. 1-5, 20.

Antioch on Kragos

Antioch upon the hill Kragos (**ΠΑΡΑΛΙΟΤ**).¹ Unlike the coinage of the other Antiochs and Seleukeias of the region, which date to the Hellenistic period and in most cases to the time of the Seleucid Antiochos IV Epiphanes, the extant coinage of Antioch upon Kragos is Imperial, dating from Antoninus Pius to Valerian. It is most likely that Antioch upon Kragos was founded by Antiochos IV of Commagene.²

The site of Antioch is twenty kilometers east of Gazipasa * near the modern village of Endisguney*.³



In general see Tscherikower, 38; Wilhelm, *RE* s.v. "Antiocheia 14"; Imhoof-Blumer, *NC* (1895) 287-89; Magie, *RRAM*, 549-50, 1408; E. Rosenbaum et al., *A Survey of the Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia* (Ankara, 1967) 18ff. and passim, map opposite p. 20, and photographs, pls. VII-XIV; Bean and Mitford, *DAWW* 85: 34ff. and *DAWW* 102: 184ff.; S. Erdemgil and F. Özoral, *Türk Ark. Dergisi* 22 (1975) 55-61 (plans and photographs on pp. 62-71); Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 191-93.

1. We can distinguish **three designations for this Antioch**. On the coinage it was called "by the sea" (Imhoof-Blumer, *NC* 15 [1895] 288-89; *BMC Lycaonia*, xxxviii-ix; *SNG* [Cop] *Cilicia* 67; *SNG* [von A] 5530; *SNG Switzerland* I. 473-79). Ptolemy called it *ἐν τῇ Κεάτῳ* (5.7.2; cf. Strabo 14.5.3; *Stadiasmus* 200); the Ravenna Geographer has *Antiochia epi Tragon* (2.17.6, 5.8. 12, ed. Schnetz, pp. 30, 90). Stephanos (s.v. "Antiocheia 14") says it was called "the Lamotis" (also Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oecum.* II. 1.2, p. 39 [235], l. 210). In the *Not. Ep.* (3.521, etc.) and Hierokles (709.3) it is simply listed as "Antioch"; also Theophanes *Chron.*, p. 139.2 (ed. De Boor).

2. For Antiochos IV of Commagene as the **founder** see Jones, *CERP*², 211; Magie, *RRAM*, 549; P.M. Fraser, in *Fest. Dörner*, 1: 372. *Nota bene* that there is no positive extant evidence, as far as I know, that identifies Antiochos of Commagene as the founder of this Antioch. Rather it is a reasonable supposition based both on his energetic personality and the fact that the earliest coins of the city date from the Imperial period, i.e., long after the Hellenistic period.

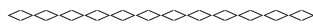
3. For the location of Antioch see Rosenbaum, op. cit.; Bean and Mitford, *DAWW* 102: map B; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 191-93 (photographs, pls. 117-19, and map at end of vol. 2).

There was **another Antiochia in the interior**. Located north of Ermenek near the modern village of Çukur, the fortress of Antiochia first appears in an inscription dated to between 356 and 360, and most probably to 359 A.D. (*ILS* 740; see Néroutsos and Homolle, *BCH* 2 [1878] 16-22; also Bean and Mitford, *DAWW* 102: 205-6; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 193).

Antioch on the Kydnos

Tarsos, an old Persian satrapal residence, was refounded as Antioch on the Kydnos in the third century B.C. The appearance of an Antiochene on the Kydnos in a Delphic proxeny list of the mid-third century B.C. is our earliest evidence for the renaming.¹ The founder is not known; however, the fact that Seleukos I established SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos raises the possibility that he also founded this Antioch. In the second century B.C. Antiochos IV Epiphanes gave Antioch and Mallos *ἐν δωρεῇ* to his mistress, Antiochis.² As a result the inhabitants of both cities rioted. It required the kings presence to

put down the outbreaks. Around the middle of the second century B.C. the city effected a reconciliation with the inhabitants of Antioch on the Pyramos.³ The city issued coins with the ethnic ANTIOXE N T N PO T I ἀπὸ Κύδνου. The name "Antioch" continued in use until at least 166/5 B.C.⁴ At some point after that the old name reappeared. Like some other cities in Asia Minor, Tarsos claimed an ancient, colonial tie with Greece, in particular with Argos.⁵ The modern city, which retains its ancient name, is located forty kilometers southwest of Adana.⁶



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Tarsos," 2416-22; Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 159-91; Tscherikower, 40; Magie, *RRAM*, 272, 1146-47; Welles, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 38 (1962) 46-52; Mørholm, *Antiochus IV*, 116-17; Musti, *SCO* 15 (1966) 187-90; Dagron and Feissel, *I. Cilicie*, 65-67; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 428-39 (Tarsos).

1. The **Delphic proxeny decree** for Stasianax the son of Aristippos, an ἀπὸ Κύδνου, Athenodotos the son of Theodotos, was similarly honored (*FD* III.4.154) in the archonship of Aristion (*nota bene* that there were two Aristions who were archons at Delphi, the first was dated by Flacelière [436 n. 22] to 276/5(?) B.C. and by Pomtow [2624] to 249/8 B.C., the second by Flacelière [486 n. 80] to 215/4(?) B.C. and by Pomtow [2630] to 212/1 B.C.). For other references to Antiochenes on the Kydnos see below, note 4. The Delphic evidence, incidentally, disproves Stephanos' claim (s.v. "Tarsos"; see also s.v. "Antiocheia 13") that the city was renamed by Antiochos IV Epiphanes; on Stephanos' error see Ruge (2419), who suggested Stephanos had confused Antioch on the Kydnos (Tarsos) with ANTIOCH on the Pyramos or ANTIOCH on the Saros; Welles (50), who thought Antiochos might have refounded the already existing city of Antioch and allowed it to mint autonomous coinage; and Colin (commentary on *FD* III.2.208), who suggested Stephanos had confused Antiochos IV Epiphanes with Antiochos I Soter or Antiochos II Theos. Furthermore there is no evidence that Epiphanes added a whole new section to the city as he did at Antioch on the Orontes (Strabo 16.2.4). On Epiphanes' limited activity as colonizer, see Mørholm, *Antiochus IV*, 115-19.

2. For **Antiochos' gift of the cities** and the subsequent disturbances see 2 Macc. 4.30-31; Welles, 51-52; Ruge, 2421; Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 161. There is no firm evidence to substantiate Ramsay's suggestion (*Cities of St. Paul*, 180-86; contra, Ruge, 2420-21) that Antiochos Epiphanes settled Jews as citizens in Tarsos.

3. For the **decree of ANTIOCH on the Pyramos passed as a consequence of the reconciliation of that city with Antioch on the Kydnos** see

SEG XII.511; S. and R. Werner, *JKAF* (1950/1951) 325-27; L. Robert, *CRAI* (1951) 256-59.

4. For coins **with the ethnic Antioch** see, for example, *Inv. Wadd.* 4588-91; *BMC Lycaonia*, 177, nos. 92-93; Imhoof-Blumer, *M. Gr.*, 366, no. 54; D. H. Cox, in *Tarsus* I: 49 and 69, nos. 114-28; *SNG (Cop) Cilicia* 325; *SNG Switzerland* I. 909-16. The duration of the coinage with the name Antioch is not known; generally it is placed in the period 190-160 B.C. (though see Welles, 150) followed by coinage of the same type with the legend ΤΑΠΕΝΝ; in general see Ruge, 2418-19; Cox, pp. 48ff.; S. Schultz, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 141-44. There was also a **royal Seleucid mint at Tarsos**; see Newell, *WSM*, 214-33; Houghton, *CSE*, 33-38. For the ethnic Ἀντιοχέατης ἀπὸ Κίβνου and Kos (T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Feste* [Leipzig, 1918] 14, II. 18-19).

5. For the **Tarsian claim to an Argive ancestry** see Strabo 14.5.12, 16.2.5; Dio Chrys. 33-41; Eust. *Comment.* to Dionys. Perieg. 867 (in *GGM*, 2: 369); and coins from the time of Caracalla (*BMC Cilicia*, 195-96, nos. 181-86); on this and Tarsian connections with Perseus and Herakles see also Ruge, 2416-17; L. Robert, *BCH* (1977) 108-10. In the second and third centuries A.D. the discovery of a Greek ancestry was fairly widespread among cities of Asia Minor; see, for example, DOKIMEION, PELTAI, SYNNAIDA, EUMENEIA, NEAPOLIS, APOLLONIA in Phrygia, AIGEA.

6. On **the situation of Tarsos and the Kydnos** (the modern Tarsos) River, which was navigable from Tarsos to the Mediterranean, see Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 93-116; Ruge, *RE* Suppl. IV, s.v. "Kydnos"; Bosworth, *Comment.* on Arr. *Anab.* 2.4.7.

Antioch on the Pyramos

Both Stephanos (s.v. "Antiocheia 6") and the *Stadiasmus* (163) record an Antioch on the Pyramos (the modern Ceyhan) River. The discovery of decrees of the *demos* of the Antiochenes at the cape of Karatas *, which was located on the Cilician coast at the ancient mouth of the Pyramos, proved the identification of the site with Antioch. Antioch was in all probability the refounded town of Magarsos.¹

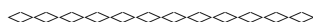
We know neither the founding date nor the founder. Cilicia was probably under Ptolemaic rule from the mid-third century B.C. until 197 B.C., when Antiochos III captured a number of Cilician towns. Hence Antioch will have been founded either before or after this period. It was most probably before: one of the decrees of the Antiochene *demos* is dated palaeographically to the third century B.C. If this dating is correct, it would suggest the founder was one

of the earlier Seleucid kings, perhaps Seleukos I, who founded SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos.² The duration of the name change is not known. In any event, both Strabo (14.5.16) and Pliny (*NH* 5.91) refer to Magarsos by that name.

The toponym appears as Ἀντιόχειος/Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Πυράμου is found in a Delphic proxeny decree of 172/1 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 585 285) and in an Athenian victor list of c. 166/5 B.C. (*IG* II² 2316.49/50).³

There is no extant coinage from either Magarsos or Antioch. An inscription found at Karatas * and dated to the mid-second century B.C. records a decree relating to a reconciliation with Antioch on the Kydnos.⁴ The decree includes provision for the construction of an altar in the sanctuary of Athena Magarsia and the establishment of a religious festival. The decree mentions a number of civic offices, among them *tamiai*, *prytaneis*, *archontes*, gymnasiarchs, and a *demiourgos*. It also refers to the division of the city into tribes and the existence of a *boule* and an *ekklesia*.

Karatas* is on the Mediterranean coast, approximately thirty-five kilometers south of Adana.⁵



In general see Imhoof-Blumer, *Ann. de la soc. fr. de num. et d'arch.* 7 (1883) 89-127; Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44: 6ff. and map at end; Tscherikower, 40; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Magma"; Magie, *RRAM*, 1149-50; Dagron and Feissel, *I. Cilicie*, 111-115.

1. For **decrees of the demos of the Antiochenes** see LW III. 1486 (= *I. Cilicie* 68), 1487a; Heberdey and Wilhelm, 7-8, nos. 14-17. It is interesting to note that in *I. Cilicie* 68 Antioch honored Hermokrates son of Demeas. It is probably this Hermokrates whose son, Demeas, was later honored by Mallos (*I. Cilicie* 69). On the problem of the Pyramos River, which probably has changed its course since antiquity, see Magie, *op. cit.* It was once thought that Karatas* was the site of the ancient Mallos (so, for example, Ramsay, *HGAM*, 385; Waddington, in LW III, p. 351). The conclusion followed that Antioch was simply the renamed Mallos. In fact the *Stadiasmus* distinguishes Antioch from Mallos, which it says was 150 stades from it. As a result, Imhoof-Blumer argued conclusively (93-95, followed by Heberdey and Wilhelm, 9; Magie, 1149; Robert, *CRAI* [1951] 257) that Karatas* was the site of Magarsos and that Mallos was located inland on the banks of the Pyramos (on Mallos see Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 337-38; photographs, pls. 279-82, and map in vol. 2). On **Magarsos**, which served as the harbor town for Mallos and which was famous for its temple of Athena Magarsia, see, for example Stephanos s.v. "Magarsos"; Strabo 14.5.16;

SEG XII. 511.15; Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9; Pliny *NH* 5.91; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 335-36 (photographs, pls. 277-78, in vol. 2). The only extant representations of Athena Magarsia are to be found on coins (Hellenistic and Roman) of Mallos; see A. Houghton, in *Studies Mildenberg*, 91-110. H. Bossert (cited by L. Robert, *CRAI* [1951] 257) has suggested that Mallos was located near the village of Kiziltahta (on Mallos see Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 337; on Kiziltahta see Seton-Williams, *AS* 4 [1954] 161).

2. The **Ptolemaic presence in Cilicia**. Ptolemy III Euergetes I claimed Cilicia as one of his conquests (the Adoulis inscription, *OGIS* 54), a claim supported by Hieronymus (*FGrH* 260 F43, against Theoc. 17.88, who says Cilicia was one of Ptolemy II Philadelphos' possessions). Hieronymus is also one of our sources for Antiochos' conquest of the region in 197 B.C. He lists the Cilician towns captured by the Seleucid king as follows: Aphrodisias, Soloi, Zephyrion, Anemourion, Selinos, Korakesion, Korykos on the Cilician coast, and Mallos, which was inland (F46; cf. Livy 33.20.4). See also above, p. 52 and note 83; Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 278; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.*, 114-15; Huss, *Aussen.*, 188-89.

The **Antiochene decree dated to the third century B.C.** is Heberdey and Wilhelm, no. 14. On the Seleucid presence in Cilicia in the third century B.C. see also ANTIOCH on the Kydnos as well as SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos. Another one of the decrees of the *demos* of Antioch on the Pyramos (Heberdey and Wilhelm, no. 16) refers to a "King Antiochos" who might be Antiochos III.

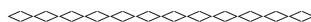
3. The **Delphic proxeny list** of 172/1 B.C. mentions an Antiochene named Δημήτριος Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἀναξίππου recorded in the Antiochene reconciliation decree (*SEG* XII.511.34/35; see below, note 4). A *demiourgos* is also mentioned in LW III. 1487b. For an Antiochene woman, Archagathe, daughter of Polykleitos, in a Panathenaic victor list of 170/69 B.C. see S. V. Tracy and C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 189, col. I. 32.

4. On the **absence of coinage from Magarsos** see Imhoof-Blumer, 93. On the **decree passed as a result of the reconciliation with Antioch on the Kydnos (Tarsos)** see *SEG* XII.511; S. and R. Werner, *JKAF* (1950/1950) 355-27; L. Robert, *CRAI* (1951) 256-59; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1955) 183-85, no. 81.

5. On **Karatas** * see M. V. Seton-Williams, *AS* 4 (1954) 160 and maps on pp. 122, 139.

Antioch on the Saros

Adana on the Saros (the modern Seyhan) River was apparently renamed Antioch by Antiochos IV Epiphanes. The new name, which probably did not survive the king, is known only from the coinage, which has a portrait of Antiochos and the legend ANTIOXE N T N PO T I AP I. It was located northwest of Tarsos.



In general see Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Adana"; Tscherikower, 40; Magie, *RRAM*, 1148; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 154-58 (Adana).

For the **coinage** of Antioch see, for example, Mionnet, 3:560, no. 114; V. Langlois, *RN* (1854) 11, 138; *BMC Lycaonia*, xcvi; E. Levante, *NC* (1984) 81-94; S. Schultz, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 127. For municipal coinage of Antioch bearing a portrait of Antiochos IV see, for example, Mionnet, 3:561, no. 116; *RdS*, 77, no. 601; CII-CXI; Mørholm, *Cong. int. num.* II: 63-67; Levante, 85. Subsequent coinage of the second and first centuries B.C. and extending to the third century A.D. bears the legend Α ΑΝΕ Ν (see, for example, *SNG* [von A] 5431-39); see Levante, 85-94.

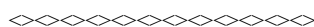
Stephanos (s.v. "Adana") mentions the **location** of Adana on the Saros. See also Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 154f. (photographs, pls. 15-16, and map in vol. 2). For other literary references to Adana see Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Adana"; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 158.

Arsinoe

An inscription, now in the museum of Mersin, provides important information about Arsinoe and about the process of founding a colony. The inscription records a letter from Thraseas the *strategos* of Cilicia to Arsinoe and a decree of Nagidos regarding its relations with Arsinoe.¹ The founder of Arsinoe was Aetos, son of Apollonios, the *strategos* of Cilicia. Arsinoe was founded between 279 and 260-253 B.C. and named for Arsinoe II. It was founded as a polis at a strategic place on land taken from the nearby Nagidos.² Aetos, we are told, expelled the barbarians who were encroaching on the land and then brought in settlers and distributed land to them. A generation later Aetos' son Thraseas became *strategos* of Cilicia for Ptolemy III Euergetes I and was himself eager to make the city more splendid. At his request, the city of Nagidos agreed to give public land to settlers at Arsinoe who would then be *apoikoi* of Nagidos. The Arsinoeans were to have their own laws, conduct their own affairs, and have *isopoliteia* with Nagidos. They had *archontes* (though, apparently, not a full complement of magistrates) and a *tamias*, sent tribute (*phoros*) to the king, and sent envoys to negotiate with Nagidos. They worshipped the Brother and Sister Gods, Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II, and had a cult of Arsinoe as eponymous goddess. The town name survived the return of the region to Seleucid rule in 197 B.C.³

Strabo records (14.5.3) an Arsinoe on the Cilician coast between Anemourion, Nagidos, and Kelenderis (Gilindere) and adds that it had a landing place. A similar location, between Anemourion and Kelenderis, is also given by Ptolemy (5.7.3), the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (VIII.2), and the Ravenna Geographer

(2.17. 11, 5.8. 10, ed. Schnetz, pp. 29-30, 90). While the precise site has not yet been fixed, the most probable location places it on the coast at a spot called Molla Veli Çiftliği.⁴



In general, see Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 8"; Tscherikower, 38-39; E. Kirsten and I. Opelt, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 55-66; C. P. Jones and C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 317-46; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 198.

1. For the **inscription from Arsinoe** see Kirsten and Opelt, Jones and Habicht and their commentaries. The **ethnic** was AP INOEI /AP INOE N (Il. 1, 39, 49). For the Aetos-Thraseas family see Habicht, 335-46. For the founding of Arsinoe see Habicht, 336-37. By showing both Arsinoe and Nagidos existing separately in the late third century B.C., the Arsinoe inscription effectively destroys A. H. M. Jones's attempt to equate the two cities (*CERP*², 199). Note, however, that Strabo (14.5.3) had also mentioned both towns separately.

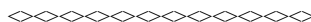
2. The choice of a **"strategic place"** for Arsinoe recalls the letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis (Joseph. *AJ* 12.149) in which the king gave instructions to settle the Jewish families in Lydia and Phrygia at "the garrisons and most important places"; see further the JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia.

3. For the fluctuation of **Ptolemaic and Seleucid control over the region** see Habicht, 335-37. For the conquest of the region by Antiochos III see Hieronymus *In Dan.* 11.15-16 (= *FGrH* 260 F46).

4. For the **location** of Arsinoe see Heberdey and Willhelin, *DAWW* 44: 158-59; C. P. Jones, 329-32 (maps on pp. 330-31); Kirsten, 64. Stephanos also records an Arsinoe in Cilicia (s.v. no. 5), and Pliny (*NH* 5.92) mentions an Arsinoe in the district of Kelenderis but places it farther west, between Selinos and Iotape. The Arsinoe mentioned in *P. Mich. Zen.* 10.5 and 13 may be the Cilician or the Pamphylian town; more likely, however, it was the latter. See ARSINOE Patara and ARSINOE in Pamphylia.

Berenike

Stephanos mentions a Berenike in Cilicia (s.v. no. 5). The *Stadiasmus* says it had a **ῥάλιος** and places it near Kelenderis (190 = *GGM*, 1: 485).¹ It is probable that Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who was very active establishing colonies along the southern Asia Minor coast and who founded the nearby Arsinoe in Cilicia, also founded Berenike. It is not clear whether he named it for his mother or his daughter.²



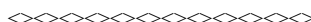
In general see Tscherikower, 39; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Berenike 1"; Bagnall, *Ptol Poss.*, 115; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 214 (Berenikes Kolpos).

1. Ruge has suggested a **location** east of Kelenderis. Huss, following the account in the *Stadiasmus*, places it between Pisurgia (sec. 190 in the *Stadiasmus*) and Kelenderis (sec. 191; *Aussen.*, 189 n. 85). Note, however, that *Stadiasmus* 191 is restored (though, doubtless, correctly) by Mailer in *GGM*, 1. Tomaszek locates it between Gülnar and Papadula (*SAWW* 124.8 [1891] 62).

2. **Founder.** Tscherikower (188) suggested Ptolemy III Euergetes I founded it. He was, of course, married to Berenike, the daughter of Magas of Cyrene, and his sister (the erstwhile wife of Antiochos II) was also named Berenike, as was his daughter who died young in 238 B.C. However, we have definite information for Ptolemy II Philadelphos' colonizing activities in this area and elsewhere in southern Asia Minor (see, for example, ARSINOE Patara and PHILOTERA, both in Lycia); on the other hand, we have no specific information regarding Ptolemy III.

Epiphaneia Oiniandos

According to Pliny (*NH* 5.93) Epiphaneia was previously called Oiniandos. We do not know when the renaming took place or who did this. It has frequently been suggested that Antiochos IV Epiphanes refounded the city, but no corroborative evidence has yet appeared.¹ On coins of the second and first centuries B.C. Epiphaneia described itself as ΘΗ ΙΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΤΑΟΤ. Unlike the names of other refounded cities in the region, the new name took hold. It can be found in authors as late as Ammianus, as well as in the Byzantine literature and on coinage of the second and third centuries A.D.² For a short time in the early second century A.D. the city had the additional name of Trajanopolis.³ While the location has not yet been securely identified, the most plausible suggestion places it at Gaze Han west of the village of Erzin and approximately eleven kilometers south of Toprakale.⁴



In general see Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44: 23ff. and map at end; Tscherikower 41; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Epiphaneia 2"; Magie, *RRAM*, 1159; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 249-51.

1. For the suggestion that Antiochos IV Epiphanes was **the founder** see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 723-24; Tscherikower, *op. cit.*; Ruge, *op. cit.*; cf. however, Mørholm (*Antiochos IV*, 117), who points out that Antiochos VIII also had the epithet Epiphanes and therefore may have been the founder.

2. For the name Epiphaneia in the **literary evidence** see, for example, Cic. *Fam.* 15.4.7; App. *Mith.* 96; Amm. Marc. 22.11.4; Ptol. 5.7.7; Hierokles 705.5;

Not. Ep. (Parthey) 1.821; the Ravenna Geographer 2.16.5 (ed. Schnetz, p. 28); *Tab. Peut.* X.4; Stephanos s.v. "Epiphaneia 2." For coins of Epiphaneia see, for example, Hill, *BMG Lycaonia*, cxxv and 76-77; *SNG* (Cop) *Cilicia* 130-33; *SNG* (von A) 5551-55; *SNG Switzerland* I. 1805-30 (**ethnic:** ΕΙΛΑΝΕΝ). For coins with the legend ΕΙΛΑΝΕΝΘΗΕΡΑΚΑΙ ΑΣΤΑΟΤ see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 555; *SNG* (Cop) *Cilicia* 130; *SNG Switzerland* I. 1805-8.

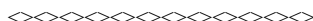
3. For **the name Trajanopolis**, which is attested only on a few coins, see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Trajanopolis 4"; Mionnet, 3: 578, no. 199; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 444, no. 1.

4. On the **location** of Epiphaneia see Heberdey and Wilhelm, op. cit.; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 386; Seton-Williams, *AS* 4 (1954) 155 and maps 1 and 6; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 249-50, photograph, pl. 172, and map in vol. 2.

Hierapolis Castabala

Hierapolis in Cilicia is known from numismatic (coins from the time of Antiochos IV onward with the ethnic ΙΕΡΟ ΟΑΙΤΙΝ, often with the additional ΤΙΝΠΟΤΙ ΔΘΗΜΟΣ Δ'Ιεροπολιτών).¹ In the literary evidence it is only called Castabala.² Presumably the latter was the original name.³ Neither the date of its refounding nor the person who undertook this is known. Two possible indications, however, suggest it might have been Antiochos IV Epiphanes. In the first place he may have renamed a number of other cities in the region. And, second, the appearance of an eagle—the symbol of Olympian Zeus—on some of the pre-Imperial coinage of Hierapolis points to a possible connection with Antiochos IV.⁴ In the first century B.C. the city described itself as "sacred and inviolable" on both coins and inscriptions. From the same period we have epigraphic evidence for a *demiourgos*, a *grammateus* of the *boule* and the *eklesia* (*sic*), and a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*.⁵

Hierapolis was located at the site of the modern Turkish village of Bodrum, approximately three kilometers north of the Pyramos (modern Ceyhan) River and twelve kilometers north-northwest of Osmanyie.⁶



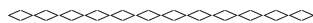
In general see Imhoof-Blumer, *ZfN* 10 (1883) 279ff.; J. T. Bent and E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 11 (1890) 234-35, 243ff.; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Kastabala (Hierapolis)," 2335-36; Tscherikower, 41; Magie, *RRAM*, 1151-52; P. Verzone, *Palladio* 7 (1957) 54-57; L. Robert, *Hierapolis Castabala*, 17-100; M. Gough, *PECS* s.v. "Hierapolis Castabala"; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 54-60; Dagron and Feissel, *I. Cilicie*, 203-4; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 293-94 (Castabala).

1. The correct spelling of the town name is "Hierapolis," not "Hieropolis"; see Robert, 17-22. For the **numismatic evidence**, which extends from Antiochos IV to the third century A.D., see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, 267-79; *Inv. Wadd.* 4302-23; *BMC Lycaonia*, 82-84, nos. 1-13; *SNG (Cop) Cilicia* 140-46; *SNG (von A)* 5566-79; the catalogue in Robert, 64-87; *SNG Switzerland* I.1561-99; S. Schultz, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 133. During the reign of Antiochos IV, Hierapolis, along with other cities in the Seleucid empire, minted a new class of bronze coin bearing a portrait of the king on the obverse and the city name on the reverse; see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *ZfN* (1883) 267, no. 1; Mørholm, *Cong. int. num.* II: 63-67. On the reattribution of certain coins previously ascribed to Hierapolis see Robert, 23 nn. 1-2. For the **epigraphic evidence** see Robert, 38-41.
2. For the collected **literary evidence** on Castabala see Imhoof-Blumer, 279ff. For the **toponym Castabala** in the literary sources see, for example, Strabo 12.2.7; App. *Mith.* 105; Hierokles 706.2. The persistence of the name "Castabala" in the literary sources and its emergence in the coinage of the second century A.D. and later (usually as a double ethnic with Hierapolis, but note *SNG Switzerland* I. 1594 and R. Ziegler, *Münzen Kilikiens aus kleineren deutschen Sammlungen* [Munich, 1989] no. 1313, which simply has KA TABA E N; also *SNG Iron A*] 5579) indicates that "Hierapolis" never completely displaced "Castabala" as the town name.
3. One of the inscriptions (Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44: no. 66 = *OGIS* 754) indicates that **Hierapolis was the center of an area called Castabalis**. Two inscriptions (Bent and Hicks, nos. 16 and 17 [= Heberdey and Wilhelm, no. 59], on which see Robert, 33-36) record the existence of a cult of "Thea Pera-sia." Strabo twice (12.1.4 and 2.7) records a Castabala that had a cult of Artemis Perasia; however, he locates this Castabala in Cappadocia. It is not possible to conclude whether Strabo has erred or whether there were in fact two Castabalas, one in Cappadocia and one in Cilicia (as Pliny indicates, *NH* 5.93 and 6.8). See, for example, E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 11 (1890) 243-45 (two cities of the same name; also Magie, 1151). Stephen Mitchell, in a private communication, suggests that the "Cappadocian" Castabala was one and the same with the Cilician Castabala. He notes that the latter, being out in the plain, was virtually in Cappadocia. For full discussion and references see Imhoof-Blumer (279ff.), Magie (1151), and Robert (36-38).
4. For the suggestion that the **founder** was Antiochos IV see Robert, 94-99; cf., however, Boffo, 57-60. Other cities that may have been refounded in the time of Antiochos IV include ANTIOCH on the Saros, ANTIOCH on the Pyramos, and SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos.
5. For **coins and inscriptions that describe the city as ἀσούου** see, for example, *OGIS* 752 (= *IGR* III.901 n. 63). For the *demiourgos* see *OGIS* 754; for the *grammateus* and the *gymnasiarch* see Hicks, 250, no. 25(a).
6. On the **location and site** of Hierapolis see Bent, 234-35 (map facing p. 235); M. V. Seton-Williams, *AS* 4 (1954) 150 and fig. 1; Robert, 24-30, 41ff., photographs at end; Verzone, op. cit., with photographs; Hild and Hellenkemper,

TIB V.1: 293-94 (photographs, pls. 223-30, and map in vol. 2) The discovery of coins and inscriptions of Hierapolis at Bodrum confirms the identification of the site (see Bent and Hicks, *op. cit.*; Robert, 30ff.).

Philadelpheia

We know neither the founder nor the location of Philadelpheia in Cilicia. It may have been a Ptolemaic settlement or perhaps a foundation of Antiochos IV of Commagene.¹ The earliest coinage dates to the reign of Trajan.² Philadelpheia was probably located somewhere in the vicinity of Ermenek.³



In general see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 362-73; Tscherikower 39-40; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Philadelpheia 2"; Magie, 550, 1408-9; Bean and Mitford, *DAWW* 102: 216-17; R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 8 (1977) 785-94; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 378.

1. There are three candidates for **founder** of Philadelpheia: Ptolemy II Philadelphos, Attalos II Philadelphos, and Antiochos IV of Commagene. Meyer (*Die Grenzen*, 43) believed the Egyptian king established it. Tscherikower objected (39-40) that the probable location of it is too far inland to have been Ptolemaic (see also L. Robert, *REA* [1934] 522). However, the recent discovery of what was apparently a Ptolemaic garrison at Meydancikkale, 8 km southeast of Gülnar in ancient Rough Cilicia may be noted (Davesne and Le Rider, *Meydancikkale*). A dedication to Hermes and Herakles on behalf of Ptolemy III, Berenike II, and their children and the evidence of the extraordinary coin hoard found at the site (*Meydancikkale*, 343-48 and *passim*) allow us to date the garrison to c. 245-235 B.C. Precisely when it was founded we do not know. Nevertheless the presence of a garrison on the northern frontier of Ptolemaic Rough Cilicia raises the possibility that Philadelpheia, despite its probable location in the interior of Cilicia, was likewise a Ptolemaic foundation.

Tscherikower also dismissed the possibility that it was a foundation of Attalos II on the grounds that the Attalids never controlled Cilicia. He and Robert both followed Ramsay's suggestion (*HGAM*, 372-73 and *RN* [1894] 169-71) that in the early first century A.D. Antiochos IV of Commagene founded it and named it after his wife, Iotape Philadelphos (see also Jones, *CERP*², 211 Sullivan, 785).

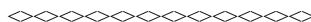
2. For the **coinage** of Philadelpheia see, for example, *BMC Lycaonia*, lxiii and 127; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 480; *SNG* (von A) 5798-5804; *SNG Switzerland* I. 574-80 (**ethnic**: I A E E N; I A E E N TH KIHTI O or KHTI O , KIHT N); in general, see the literature cited in S. Schultz, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 138, and the bibliography in *SNG Switzerland* I, pp. 14-16. For a bronze coin that Head incorrectly attributed to Germanicopolis and Philadelpheia see *NC* (1888) 300ff. and his own correction in *NC* (1889) 239-41 In fact Germanicopolis and

Philadelphiea were distinct places (Hill, *NC* [1899] 184 n. 12). Philadelphiea is named after Germanicopolis and Eirenopolis by Hierokles (710.4), before Eirenopolis in *Not. Ep.* 3.517, and before Adras(s)os, ... Eirenopolis, and Germanicopolis in *Not. Ep.* 7.527, 10.748, 13.509 (though *nota bene* that cities in the *Not. Ep.* are listed in hierarchic rather than geographic order). On the city name in the Byzantine lists see Ruge, op. cit.

3. The precise **location** of Philadelphiea is not yet known (see Magie, *RRAM*, 1408-9). However, there are two general indications. (a) Some of the coins bear the legend I A E E N T H K I H T I O . It is difficult to give a precise delimitation of the region of K(i)etis: at one point (5.7.3) Ptolemy indicates it included the coastal cities of Rough Cilicia from Anemourion to the mouth of the Kalykadnos; at another (5.7.6) he includes Olbasa (= Olba), which was in the interior. Ramsay was undoubtedly correct when he suggested that K(i)etis was the region of Rough Cilicia on either side of the Kalykadnos from its mouth to its source (*HGAM*, 363-65; also Magie, *RRAM*, 1364-65; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 301). (b) Hierokles (710.4) places Philadelphiea after Eirenopolis (the modern Irnebol) and Germanicopolis (Ermenek), and George of Cyprus (849) locates it before Adrassos (Barabolu). Bean and Mitford point to Imsi Ören, a place 10 km east of Ermenek. Eight inscriptions have thus far been found at the site, but no coins as yet. Nevertheless, Bean and Mitford suggest Philadelphiea may have been located here (216-17 and maps B and C at end).

Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos

Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (the modern Göksu) River was founded, according to Ammianus (14.8.2) and Stephanos (s.v. "Seleukeia"), by Seleukos I Nikator. The founding would have been after c. 295 B.C., when Seleukos came into possession of Cilicia. The site, which had been occupied before the Hellenistic period, was populated with the inhabitants of a number of neighboring towns. The king also contributed the roof to the important temple of Zeus at Olba, which was twenty kilometers north of Seleukeia.¹ In the early second century B.C. a prominent citizen of Seleukeia, Eudemos, was honored by Argos, Rhodes, the *koinon* of the Boeotians, Byzantion, Kalchedon, and Kyzikos.² In the inscription Eudemos is always referred to simply as a "Seleukeian." The autonomous coinage, the earliest of which dates to the second/first century B.C., has either **ΚΑΛΥΚΑΔΝΩΙ**. On the other hand, Ptolemy (5.7.5) refers to it as Seleukeia Tracheia, and Pliny (*NH* 5.93) calls it Tracheotis. There was also a royal mint at Seleukeia. The earliest coins that have been assigned to this mint are tetradrachms of Seleukos III and Antiochos III, and the latest are those of Seleukos IV.³ Seleukeia was located at the site of the modern Silifke.⁴



In general see Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44: 100ff.; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia Kilikien"; Keil and Wilhelm, *MAMA* III, pp. 3ff.; Tscherikower, 39; Magie, *RRAM*, 268, 1142; MacKay, *PECS* s.v. "Seleucia ad Calycadnum," 821-22; Orth, *König. Macht.*, 141 n. 12; Dagron and Feissel, *I. Cilicie*, 17-19; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 402-6.

1. According to Pliny (*NH* 5 93) Seleukeia was founded when the coastal city of Hermia (= Stephanos' Hyria) was moved to the new, inland site. According to Strabo (14.5.4, followed by Stephanos s.v. "Holmoi") the new city was formed when the inhabitants of Holmoi migrated there. Finally, Stephanos says (s.v. "Seleukeia" and "Hyria") that Seleukeia was previously called Olbia and Hyria. All this suggests, as Tscherikower (39) has theorized, that the new foundation resulted from a synoecism. For archaeological evidence of previous Hellenistic habitation at the site of Seleukeia see E. Gjerstad, *RA* (1934) 157.

Evidence for early Seleucid colonizing activity in Cilicia can be seen at Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, ANTIOCH on the Kydnos, and, probably, at ANTIOCH on the Pyramos. Is it possible that, in a manner similar to what he did in the region of Seleukis in northern Syria, Nikator was trying to anchor the Seleucid presence in Cilicia with these (and other) colonies?

For the **temple of Zeus at Olba** see T. S. MacKay, *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 18.3 (1990) 2082-2103.

For **Seleukos' contribution to the temple at Olba** see Heberdey and Wilhelm, 85ff., no. 166.

2. For the **inscription honoring Eudemos** see Heberdey and Wilhelm, 108-17 (= Michel, *Recueil* 535 = *Syll.*³ 644/5); *JÖAI* 18 (1915) Beiblatt 17f. The inscription mentions "King Antiochos" a number of times (ll. 23, 37/38; cf. ll. 56, 67). Wilhelm identified the king as Antiochos IV Epiphanes and dated the inscription to 171/0 B.C. Börker's suggestion (*ZPE* 31 [1978] 208 n. 50) that the king in the inscription was Antiochos III is not convincing (see J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1979] 310). Meyer's suggestion that Seleukeia was Ptolemaic is groundless (*Die Grenzen*, 43; contra, L. Robert, *REA* [1934] 522).

3. For the autonomous **coinage** see, for example, *BMC Lycaonia*, lxiv-lxv and 128ff.; *SNG* (von A) 1805-18. Under the Empire the coinage extends from the early second to the mid-third century A.D.; see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 5819-54. For a coin of Seleukeia Tralleis that Imhoof-Blumer incorrectly attributed to Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (*M. Gr.*, 363, no. 44) see his own correction in *Lyd. Stadt.*, 169. On the **royal mint at Seleukeia** see Newell, *WSM*, 234-35; Houghton, *CSE*, 42-43; *KME*, 77-98. For the numismatic literature see S. Schultz, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 139.

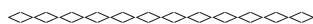
4. On the **archaeological remains** (Roman and Christian) see MacKay, *PECS* s.v. "Seleucia ad Calycadnum" and bibliography cited there; for a plan and photographs of Seleukeia see *MAMA* III, pls. 3-8.

The **Seleukeia recorded in the Gurob papyrus** (*FGrH* 160) was certainly in Pieria and not on the Kalykadnos, as Newell suggested (*WSM*, 234).

The ascription of **Seleukeia Tracheia** (Ptol. 5-7-5) to Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos is not universal. Bean and Mitford comment (*DAWW* 102: 209 n. 13) that "the mysterious Seleuceia Tracheia" of Ptolemy still awaits "a good home."

Seleukeia on the Pyramos

The existence of Seleukeia on the Pyramos (the modern Ceyhan) River is known only from coins with the legend **ΑΤΤΟΝΟΜΟΤ**.¹ The Seleukeia coins were probably first issued under either Seleukos IV or, more probably, Antiochos IV Epiphanes. The identity of the founder remains similarly doubtful.² The new name was of short duration and did not extend beyond the lifetime of Antiochos.³ Mopsuestia was located at the site of the modern Yakapinar (formerly Misis), which is nineteen kilometers east of Adana.⁴



In general see Tscherikower, 42; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Mopsu(h)estia"; Magic, *RRAM*, 272, 1148; H. von Aulock, *AA* 78 (1963) 231-76; Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 60-63; Dagron and Feissel, *I. Cilicie*, 129-31; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 351-59.

1. For **the identification of Mopsuestia and Seleukeia** see Waddington, in *LW* III, p. 352. Further confirmation of the identification was provided by Imhoof-Blumer (*ZfN* 10 [1883] 286 n. 2, 295-96) and Babelon (*RdS*, CVI), who pointed out the similarity in type of a bronze coin with the legend ΜΟ ΕΑΤ Ν and a portrait of Antiochos IV on the obverse and Artemis on the reverse and one with the legend καὶ αὐτονόμου (*I. Cilicie* 86).

2. While earlier scholars have tentatively agreed that the coinage of Seleukeia first appeared under Antiochos IV (so, for example, Imhoof-Blumer, *ZfN* 10 [1883] 295; Babelon, op. cit.; Tscherikower, op. cit.), von Aulock has suggested this may have happened under Seleukos IV (cols. 232-33). For municipal coins with a portrait of Antiochos IV on the obverse and the legend ΜΟ ΕΑΤ Ν (e.g., *BMC Seleucid Kings*, 40, no. 58; Mionnet, 3: 593, no. 257; von Aulock, col. 238, no. 1)

or ΠΥΡΑΜΩΙ (e.g., *SNG* [von A] 5729, 8700; Houghton, *CSE*, no. 503; von Aulock, col. 238, no. 2) on the reverse, see Imhoof-Blumer, *ZfN* (1883) 295-96; von Aulock, p. 233; Mørholm, *Cong. int. num.* II: 63-67. There is no agreement on whether the founder was Seleukos IV (so Ruge, op. cit., following Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 164) or Antiochos IV (see Tscherikower, op. cit.; Babelon, op. cit.). Mørholm (*Antiochos IV*, 117) is correctly sceptical about identifying the founder. He points out that for SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos, ANTIOCH on the Saros, and HIERAPOLIS Castabala "the evidence for Antiochos IV's activity consists in the simple fact that the new dynastic name first appears on municipal coins struck during his reign The first appearance of a new city name can only give us the *terminus ante quem* of the foundation ... and not the exact date of that event." For a discussion of the various possibilities for the changes in the coinage of Seleukeia Mopsuestia and when these changes might have taken place, see von Aulock, cols. 232-33.

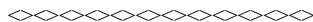
3. Mørholm would date the ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ coins after the reign of Antiochos IV (*Antiochos IV*, 126 n. 35). For a catalogue of the coinage of Mopsuestia—which continued down to the first century B.C. and extended in the Imperial period from the first to the third century A.D.—see von Aulock, cols. 237-78; *SNG* (von A) 5729-47. For coins of Mopsuestia with the portrait of a king, previously thought to be Antiochos IV, see Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 473, no. 1 (Alexander Balas); von Aulock, *AA* (1963) cols. 233 and 239, cat. no. 6 (Seleukos VI or Antiochos X). For the numismatic literature on Mopsuestia see S. Schultz, *Chiron* 18 [1988] 136-37; and the bibliography in *SNG Switzerland I*, pp. 14-16.

4. On **Mopsuestia** see Boffo, 62; L. Guerrini and C. Bertelli, *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* s.v. "Mopsuestia" and bibliography; M. V. Seton-Williams, *AS* 4 [1954] 164 (maps on pp. 123, 139); M. Gough, *PECS* s.v. "Mopsuestia"; Hild and Hellenkemper, *TIB* V.1: 351-59 (photographs, pls. 299-311, and map in vol. 2).

XVII
Cappadocia and Galatia

Apameia Damea

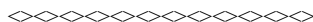
Hilly writes (NH 5.127): *Isidorus Arieneos et Capreatas, ubi sit Apamea condita a Seleuco rege, inter Ciliciam, Cappadociam, Cataoniam, Armeniam et, quoniam ferocissimas gentes domuisset, initio Damea vocata*. The passage, which is our only source of information for this Apameia, is difficult and possibly confused. It does not allow us to make a definite identification of this city. Droysen suggests this Apameia may have been located in the far eastern region of Cappadocia.



See further Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 709-10; Tscherikower, 42; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 1: 99.

Ariaramneia

Ariaramneia is not mentioned by any extant author. Its existence is known only from a bilingual inscription (Greek and Aramaic) found at the village of Farasa * on the Zamantisu (the ancient Karmalas River). The inscription mentions a στρατηγ[ὸς] Ἀριαραμνῆ(ας) named Sagarios. Presumably Ariaramneia was founded by Ariaramnes, the king of Cappadocia in the mid-third century B.C.¹ Grégoire suggested that the name of the town in the Byzantine period was Rhodandos.²



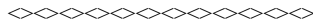
1. See Tscherikower, 43. The bilingual inscription found at Farasa* (now Çamlıca) was published with commentary by H. Grégoire in *CRAI* (1908) 437-47. Despite the presence of a *strategos* at Ariaramneia, it was not considered to be one of the ten *strategiai* into which Cappadocia was divided (Strabo 12.1.4; Grégoire, 441-42). Referring to Strabo 12.2.6, Magie suggested (*RRAM*, 1352) that the town may have been one of the *phrouria* that guarded the river crossing. But Strabo there specifies the two *phrouria* as Azamora and Dastarkon. The Cappadocian king's name appears as Ariamnaios/Ariamnes in the literary sources (Diod. 31.19.2; Justin 27.3) and Ariaramnes on coinage (e.g., *SNG* [von A] 6257).

2. On **Rhodandos** see Grégoire, 441-42; F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna, 1977) 124-25; Hild and Restle, *TIB* II: 266-67.

Ariaratheia

Ariaratheia, according to Stephanos (s.v.), was founded by Ariarathes, the γαμβρός refers to a relationship by marriage.

Stephanos is therefore probably referring to Ariarathes IV, who was the son-in-law of the Seleucid king, Antiochos III (Diod. 31.19.7), and the brother-in-law of Antiochos IV Epiphanes.¹ The ethnic Ἀριαραθηύς is found on inscriptions of the third and second centuries B.C. from Samos and Athens. Ariaratheia had city fights at this time.² Ariaratheia was located east of Eusebeia near Argaios on the Karmalas (the modern Zamantisu) River at the site of the modern Aziziye (Pinarbasi *).³



In general see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 310; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Ariaratheia"; Tscherikower, 43; Magie, *RRAM*, 1353; Hild and Restle, *TIB* II: 151.

1. For Ariarathes IV as the probable **founder** see, for example, Hirschfeld, op. cit.; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 121; Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 84 n. 7. On the term **ταυροβόας** see T. Drew-Bear and C. Naour, *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 18.3 (1990) 1962-63. A further indication of Ariarathes IV's active involvement in the larger Hellenistic world and of his imitation of its fashions is the probability that the first Cappadocian silver coinage was struck at the royal Seleucid mint in Soloi during the reign of his ally and brother-in-law, Antiochos IV Epiphanes (Mørholm, *NC* [1969] 24-25; contra, B. Simonetta, *QT* [1973] 37-42). Tscherikower (43) hesitated between Ariarathes IV and the great philhellene Ariarathes V (on whom see Eusebeia near Argaios) but opted for the latter on the analogy with EUSEBEIA near Argaios and the Tauros, both of which he probably founded. Jones (*CERP*², 174, 430) suggested the founder was Ariarathes III, who was married to the daughter of the Seleucid Antiochos II. Jones notes that the Stephanos passage allows us to identify the founder as either Ariarathes III or IV (both of whom were sons-in-law of an Antiochos) but opts for the former because "the founder of the dynasty is more likely" (430). H. Groethe (*Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907* [1912] 2: 28) preferred Ariarathes I. This is not likely. In general see L. Robert, *Hellnica* 2:84 and n. 7.

2. For the **ethnic** see W. R. Paton, *CR* 13 (1899) 79 (Samos); *IG* II² 980. 11 (= M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* [Brussels, 1981] D 112; and *IG* II² 8378a in the *addenda nova* [Athens]). The use of an ethnic in an official document such as *IG* II² 980 (an Athenian citizenship decree) indicates that Ariaratheia had city status at the time (see Jones, *CERP*², 180).

3. For the **location** of Ariaratheia in the *strategia* of Sargarausene (Ptol. 5.6. 12: Ἀριαράθεια) on the roads connecting Sebasteia and Kokuses and between Nikopolis and Arabissos (*Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* [ed. Cuntz] 181.2, 212.9, 213.8) see Ramsay, *HGAM*, 310; L. Robert, *NInd.*, 497 n. 2; Hild and Restle, *TIB* II: 151 (map at end); map in *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 7.2 (1980) opposite p. 1120.

Ramsay's suggestion (*HGAM*, 310) that Ariaratheia was the later Tzamandos is incorrect; see Anderson, *JRS* 17 (1897) 23; on Tzamandos, which is, in fact, 15 km west of Ariaratheia see Hild and Restle, *TIB* II: 300-301.

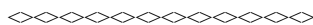
Eusebeia Near Argaios

According to Strabo (12.2.7) Mazaka was renamed "Eusebeia near Argaios" (πρὸς τῷ Ἀργαίῳ). He does not say, however, who was the founder. Probably it was the Cappadocian king Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator (163-130 B.C.), who was a well-known philhellene.¹ Of course in refounding Mazaka as a Eusebeia Ariarathes would have been imitating other Hellenistic kings. The new name was in use until 12-9 B.C., when Archelaos renamed the city Caesarea.²

Eusebeia was the capital of the Cappadocian kingdom and the residence of a royal official, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως who was probably the governor.³ According to Strabo the city used "the laws of Charondas" and chose a "Nomodos" to interpret the law. In Strabo's time the city was unwallled.

Tigranes depopulated the city in order to settle Tigranokerta (Strabo 12.2.9). After his defeat in 69 B.C. at the hands of Lucullus the inhabitants were allowed to return home. Subsequently Pompey rebuilt the city (App. *Mith.* 115).⁴

Eusebeia Caesarea was located north of Mount Argaios (Erciyes Dag) on the great "Common Road" that connected the Aegean coast of Asia Minor with Mesopotamia (Strabo 14.2.29). It was at the site of the modern Kayseri.⁵



In general see Reinach, *Rois de Cappadoce*, 12-19; Tscherikower, 42; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Caesarea 5," 1289-90; Jones, *CERP*² 178-79; Magie, *RRAM*, 1095, 1352-53; R. Teja, in *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 7.2 (1980) 1103-5 (and map opposite p. 1120); Hild and Restle, *TIB* II: 193; R. E Harper, *PECS* s.v. "Caesarea Cappadociae"; Strabo 12.2.7-9, who gives an extensive description of Mazaka and the surrounding region.

1. On the probability that Ariarathes V (rather than Ariarathes IV, Ari-arathes IX, Ariobarzanes III, Ariarathes X—all surnamed Eusebes) founded Eusebeia see Niese, *GMS*, 3:249 n. 6; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Tyana," 1637; Teja, 1105. Diodorus (31.19.7-8) comments on the fact that Ariarathes V received a "Greek education," was devoted to philosophy; and made Cappadocia a cultural center. Diogenes Laertius (4.65) tells us that he carried on a correspondence with the philosopher Carneades. Ariarathes V received Athenian citizenship and joined his brother-in-law, Attalos II, in erecting a statue of Carneades in Athens (*Syll.*³ 666). With his wife he also made a gift to the Dionysiac Artists at Athens (*OGIS* 353).

2. The name "**Eusebeia**"—rather than the ethnic, as is more commonly the case—is found on coins dating from the reign of Archelaos. In fact it is from the numismatic evidence that we learn of the time of the name change. There exist coins with the legend **ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ** dating from the twelfth to the

twenty-fifth year of Archaelos (i.e., until 13/2 B.C.). These were succeeded by coins with the legend KAI APEIA, the earliest extant example of which dates to the twenty-eighth year (i.e., 10/9 B.C.). Hence the name change took place some time between 12 and 9 B.C.; see Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 8 (1898) 1-15; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*² (New York, 1978) 2; L. Robert, *Hellmika* 2 (1946) 82; *RPC* 550; see also, for example, *BMC Galatia*, 45f., nos. 1-10; *SNG (Cop) Cappadocia* 166-71; *SNG (von A)* 6331-40. The numismatic evidence effectively refutes the late literary evidence, which ascribed the name Caesarea to either Tiberius (Euseb. *Chron.* II, p. 147 [ed. Schöne]; Eutropius 7.11; the *Suda* s.v. "Tiberius") or Claudius (Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.4.1); see also Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Caesarea," 1289; Ramsay, *HGAM*, 303ff. For the name "Caesarea near Argaios" see, for example, Sozom. 5.4.1; *IGR* IV.1588, 1645; *I. Perg.* III.35 (c. 200 A.D.); *BMC Galatia*, 63f., nos. 147-48, 156f.

The **ethnic** of Eusebeia near Argaios and EUSEBEIA near the Tauros was Εὐσεβεῖαις (*IG* II² 8504, Athens). Both inscriptions are epitaphs dating probably to the first century B.C. (see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2:82-83, who also notes that Kirchner's dating of *IG* II² 8504 to the first century A.D. is unlikely).

3. On the official called ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως see Michel, *Recueil* 546 (= L. Robert, *NInd.*, 458-59; see also Robert's comment, p. 476); E. Cumont *REA* (1932) 135-38; Bengtson, *Strategie*, 2: 253; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 171-72.

The inscription Michel, *Recueil* 546 records a decree of Anisa of the late second/early first century B.C. Anisa had a *boule* and *ekklesia*, an archon, *prytaneis*, an eponymous *demiourgos*, and festivals for Zeus Soter and Herakles. However, the fact that the citizens mentioned in the decree practically all had native rather than Greek names suggests this was a Hellenized native town rather than a Greek colony (see Cumont, *REA* [1932] 135-38; Jones, *CERP*², 175; Magie, *RRAM*, 1352-53; Robert, *NInd.*, 476-78, 486-87, 490f.).

4. The **Imperial coinage** extends from Tiberius to the mid-third century A.D.; see for example, Sydenham, 26-136; *BMC Galatia*, 46ff., nos. 11-350; *SNG (Cop) Cappadocia* 174-313; *SNG (von A)* 6343-6534. A representation of Mount Argaios is often found on the reverse of the coins; so, for example, Wroth, *BMC Galatia*, xxxviii-xli; *SNG (Cop) Cappadocia* 184.

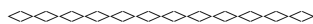
5. On the **location** see Hild and Restle, *TIB* II: 193 and map at end.

Eusebeia Near the Tauros

Tyana, which was already an important city in the time of Xenophon (*Ahab.* 1.2.20), was renamed Eusebeia near the Tauros (Strabo 12.2.7). While the founder is not definitely known, it may have been the philhellene Ariarathes V Eusebes.¹ The city had a gymnasium in the first century B.C. An inscription from that period dedicated to Ariarathes VI records a list of gymnasiarchs drawn up by a former gymnasiarch and agonotheite in honor of Hermes and

Herakles (*SEG* I.466). A decree of the *demos* from the first century B.C. honors *philoi*, who were [γεγονό]τας δὲ καὶ [ἐπὶ τῇ]ς πόλεως, that is, probably royal governors.² While coinage from early Hellenistic and Roman Tyana survives, none from Eusebeia is extant.³

Eusebeia was located south of the town of Bor at Kilisehisar.⁴



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Tyana," 1630-42; Tscherikower, 41; Magie, *RRAM*, 493, 1095.

1. For Ariarathes V Eusebes rather than Ariarathes IV Eusebes as **the probable founder** of Eusebeia see Ruge, 1637; Niese, *GMS*, 3:249 n. 6; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 121. On **the philhellenic activities of Ariarathes V** see EUSEBEIA near Argaios.

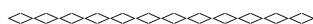
2. For **the decree honoring the philoi**: W. Weber, in H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig, 1908) 370, no. 78. For ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως cf. *OGIS* 483.57; Michel, *Recueil* 546.14-15 (= L. Robert, *NInd.*, 458-59, on which see EUSEBEIA near Argaios); Bengtson, *Strategic*, 2: 253-54.

3. For **coins bearing the name Tyana** from the third century B.C., see Regling, *ZfN* 42 (1935) 4ff., nos. 5-8; *SNG* (von A) 6258-59. Coins of Imperial date (first to third century A.D.) survive. In the third century A.D. the city became a Roman colony with the title Antoniniane or Aureliane (see, for example, *BMC Cappadocia*, 96-99, nos. 1-15; *SNG* [von A] 6536-53). The **ethnic Εὐσεβεάτης/Εὐσεβεάτις** is attested on epitaphs at Lindos and Athens (*I. Lindos* 660; *IG* II² 8504); see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2:82-83, who also suggests that Tyana reassumed its name by the first century A.D.

4. For the **location** of Eusebeia Tyana see Hamilton, *Researches*, 2: 300-303; Rott, 98ff. and map at end; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Tyana," 1632-33.

Nyssa

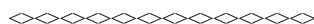
The earliest possible reference to a Nyssa in Cappadocia is Ptolemy (5.6.23) and St Basil (*Ep* 239). The only possible indication that Nyssa may have been a Hellenistic colony is its name. A. H. M. Jones suggests that it is a "Cappadocian mispronunciation" for a town named by or in honor of Nysa, the wife of Ariarathes V. We must await further information before definitely claiming a Hellenistic colonial origin for Nyssa.



In general see Jones, *CERP*², 180-81; R. Teja, in *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 7.2 (1980) 1106; Hild and Restle, *TIB* II: 246-48

Pessinus

Stephen Mitchell has suggested that the appearance of a Thracian name at Pessinus in northern Galatia "may... be a remnant of a Hellenistic settlement although ... there is no other evidence to support this explanation." As Mitchell notes, we would need further evidence before positing the existence of a Hellenistic colony at Pessinus.



For the **Thracian name** Ἰκουλὸς Προυχέντιος at Pessinus see A. Körte, *AM* 22 (1897) 49, no. 33; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Vienna, 1957) 239, 263; S. Mitchell, *ANRW* II, *Princ.* 7.2 (1980) 1066-67. On Pessinus see also Belke, *TIB* IV: 214-15. For the results of the excavations at Pessinus see J. Devreker and M. Waelkens, *Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte I-II* (Brugge, 1984), esp. the historical overview of Devreker, pp. 13-37.

XVIII
Pontus and Paphlagonia

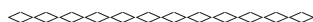
Amastris

According to Strabo (12.3.10), Amastris, the wife of Dionysios of Heraldeia (and later, the wife of Lysimachos), founded, by synoecism, a city bearing her name. The new foundation combined four settlements: Sesamos, Kytoros, Kromna, and Tieion. She did this shortly after 300 B.C.¹ Tieion soon (ταχὺ) withdrew from the union. This may have happened as a result of the murder of Amastris by her sons (c. 284 B.C.). Sesamos served as the acropolis of the new city.

After Amastris' death Lysimachos took control of the city and ultimately gave it to his wife, Arsinoe. After the battle of Korupedion, Eumenes who was in charge (κατέχων) of Amastris surrendered the city to the Pontic Ariobarzanes.² During the Mithridatic War Nikomedes plundered the territory of Amastris. Later, in 70 B.C., Lucullus captured the town (App. *Mith.* 82).

From the Roman period we know the name of four tribes: Demetrias, Dioskourias, Amastrias, and Asklepias.³ Bronze and silver coinage from as early as the third century B.C. survives. In the Hellenistic period the coinage generally has the legend AMA TPIE N or AMA TPE N; under the Empire it is usually AMA TPIAN N.⁴

The four communities that originally constituted the new city of Amastris were spread out over seventy-five kilometers of the Black Sea coastline. Being the acropolis, Sesamos came to be known as Amastris. The name survives in the modern Amasra.⁵



In general see Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Amastris"; Tscherikower, 44-45; Magie, *RRAM*, 1193-94; Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 162-66; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 151-63; S. M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism* (Berkeley, 1974) 83, 142.

1. On the **founding of Amastris** see, in addition to Strabo, Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F4.9; ps.-Scymnus 961-67 (*GGM*, 1: 237); Anon. *Peripl* 8v20-23 (A. Diller, *Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* [Lancaster, 1952] 120-21); Stephanos s.v. "Amastris"; schol. to Apoll. Rhod. B 941 (ed. Keil [Leipzig, 1854]); schol. to Ov. *Ib.* 329 (ed. Ellis [Oxford, 1881]). See also Pliny *NH* 6.5; Lucian *Tox.* 57. For Kytoros and Kromna see Anon. *Peripl.* 8v23-24; Menipp. *Peripl* D5817-8 (Diller, p. 152); Arr. *Peripl* 20 (*GGM*, 1: 385); L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 262-63.

2. On **Amastris' death** and the subsequent history of the city see Memnon, *FGrH* 434: F5ff.; also Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 109-10, 117. On the date of Amastris' death see Burstein, *Outpost*, 93-94. On the identity of the **Eumenes** (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F9.4), who may have been the brother of the Attalid Philetairos see Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 13-16; Hansen, *Attalids*², 16-17. For the date of the surrender of the city to Ariobarzanes see Meyer, *Gesch. des König. Pontos*, 43 and n. 2.

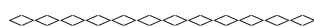
3. For the **tribes** see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 280-81; E. Kalinka, *JÖAI*, 28 (1933) Beiblatt 44ff., no. 16.1-9 (Demetrias), no. 18.16-17 (Dioskourias), no. 19.5-6 (Amastrias), and no. 39.3 (Asklepias); on no. 39 see also Wilhelm, in *Gott. Gesell. Wissen. Nachr.* 1-3 (1938-39) 126.

4. For the **coinage** see, for example, *BMC Pontus*, 84-89; *SNG* (von A) 152-78.

5. For a description, plan, and photographs of Amastris see Robert, *ATAM*, 159ff.; also Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 162.

Eupatoria Amisos

Amisos on the Black Sea coast was the terminal point for an important trade route from the interior. According to Appian (*Mith.* 78), Eupatoria was founded by Mithridates VI Eupator next to Amisos as a royal residence. Amisos in fact received new temples at the same time Eupatoria was built (Pliny *NH* 6.7; Strabo 12.3.14). The new foundation did not last long; Lucullus destroyed it and, shortly thereafter, Amisos in 71 B.C.¹ Eupatoria was located on the Euxine coast probably northwest of the present Samsun at Karasamsun.²



In general see Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Amisos"; T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator* (Paris, 1890) 247; E. Cumont et al., in *Studia Pontica* (1906) 2: 111ff. and 3: 1-2; Tscherikower, 43-44; Magie, *RRAM*, 1213; Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 194-95; Olshausen and Biller, 114, 129.

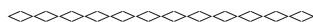
L. Munro (*JHS* 21 [1901] 57 n. 1; see also Jones, *CERP*², 472 n. 24) thought that the like-named city located inland at the confluence of the Iris and Lykos rivers was identical with this Eupatoria; see Magie, 1213. For the destruction of Eupatoria and Amisos see App. *Mith.* 78; Strabo 12.3.14; Memnon (*FGrH* 434 F30)

2. For the **location** of Eupatoria at Karasamsun see Olshausen and Biller, loc. cit. and map at end. For a description of the site see A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, 92-95.

Pliny was undoubtedly incorrect when he remarked (*NH* 6.7) that after their destruction by Lucullus, Eupatoria and Amisos were renamed Pompeiopolis. The error probably resulted from his confusing this city with EUPATORIA Magnopolis.

Eupatoria Magnopolis

Mithridates VI Eupator built Eupatoria at the junction of the Lykos and Iris rivers (Strabo 12.3.30). Subsequently the town surrendered to Lucullus. As a result, when Mithridates returned to Pontus in 68 B.C. he destroyed it (App. *Mith.* 115). Pompey later rebuilt the town and renamed it Magnopolis.



In general see Hamilton, *Researches*, 1: 342; Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, 1: 74-78; Tscherikower, 43; Magie, *RRAM*, 1121; Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 234-38; Olshausen and Biller, 128.

On the surrender of Eupatoria to Lucullus see Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, 337. For the confusion by modern scholars of Eupatoria Magnopolis and EUPATORIA Amisos see Magie, 1213. On Pompey's refounding of the town as Magnopolis see Strabo 12.3.30; see also App. *Mith.* 117; Cass. Dio 37.20.2.

On the **location** of Eupatoria see Munro, *JHS* 21 (1901) 56, 60. For photographs of the site see Olshausen and Biller, 253-56 and map at end.

Eupatorion (Crimea)

In the period 110-107 B.C. Diophantos, Mithridates Eupator's general, led a military expedition to the Crimea. In the course of this enterprise he founded, according to Strabo (7.4-7), a fortress, Eupatorion.¹ The precise site of Eupatorion is not yet known. Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether it was in the region of Sebastopol or on the opposite shore of the North Bay.²



In general see E. Becker, *Die Herakleotische Halbinsel* (Leipzig, 1856) 12ff., 30ff.; Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, 68; Brandis, *RE* s.v. "Eupatoria 3"; E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913) 496-98; Tscherikower, 44; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 322-23; McGing, *Mithridates Eupator*, 51.

1. There are, in fact, two other pieces of evidence beside Strabo for **Mithridatic colonizing activity in the Crimean peninsula**: Ptol. 3.6.2 and *Syll.*³ 709 (= *IPE* I²352). Ptolemy records the existence of a polis in the Tauric Chersonese named Eupatoria (cf. Atom. Marc. 22.8.36). If Ptolemy is correct, then the polis Eupatoria is to be distinguished from the fortress Eupatorion.

*Syll.*³ 709 is a decree honoring Diophantos. It mentions Ταύρους ὅ[φ'] αὐτὸν ποησάμενος καὶ πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου συνοικήσας (ll. 9-10). It is possible this refers to Eupatoria (Brandis) or Eupatorion (Reinach). On *Syll.*³ 709 see also D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora* (Bucharest and Amsterdam, 1975) 72ff.; Z. W. Rubinsohn, *Hist.* 29 (1980) 50-70.

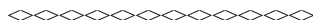
2. There is no firm indication as to the **location**. Some scholars place Eupatorion on the south shore of Sebastopol Harbor (North Bay) either at Fort Paul (Becker and Brandis) or Fort Nicholas (Müller *ad* Ptol. 3.6.2). Reinach and Minns, on the other hand, locate it on the opposite shore at Fort Constantine (see map in Minns opposite p. 495 and in Becker at end; see also the survey map of the Royal Engineers in R. L. V. French Blake, *The Crimean War* [London, 1971])

120-21); V. E Gajdukevic: (*Das Bosporanische Reich* [Berlin and Amsterdam, 1971] 313) suggests the region of Balaklava.

It is necessary to distinguish the ancient Eupatorion from the modern Ukrainian city of Eupatoriia on the west coast of the Crimean peninsula, sixty-four kilometers northwest of Simferopol. This modern city stands on the site of the archaic Greek colony of Kerkinitos. The site became the Turkish fortress of Gezlev. In 1784, after Russia incorporated the Crimean peninsula, it was renamed Eupatoriia (*Great Soviet Encyclopedia* s.v. "Eupatoriia").

Kressa

Stephanos describes Kressa (s.v.) as a polis in Paphlagonia that Ziaēlas the son of Nikomedes captured. Droysen suggested that Kressa was identical with Krateia (the later Flaviopolis) in Paphlagonia. Following upon this, Jones cited the mention of the Thracian names Seuthes and Ziailis in an inscription from Krateia (*CIG* 3808) as evidence that Kressa had been a Bithynian colony. However, the identification of Krateia with Kressa is highly doubtful. And, in any event, the presence of two Thracian names is insufficient evidence for claiming there had been a colony at Kressa.



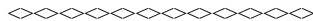
For the **identification of Kressa and Krateia** see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 707, followed by Meyer, *Gesch. des König. Pontos*, 50; id., *RE* s.v. "Bithynia," 517; Beloch, *GG*², 4-1: 672 n. 2; Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 111-12. Jones (*CERP*², 151 and 419 n. 9) cites *CIG* 3808, which he claims is "to judge by the lettering, of early date." Doubts about the identification have been expressed by Ruge (*RE* s.v. "Krateia 2"), who noted that the ethnic given by Stephanos does not correspond to that for Krateia, and Magie (*RRAM*, 1195), who commented that the position of Krateia was so far east of Bithynian territory in the mid-third century B.C. that if Kressa had been located at Krateia, it would have been "entirely separated from the rest of Ziaēlas' dominions." Magie suggested Kressa might have been farther south, "perhaps in the mountains of southwestern Paphlagonia." See also Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 33-34; Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Ziaelas," 393-94.

Krateia was probably **located** at the present Gerede; see L. Robert, *ATAM*, 71, 144; maps in von Diest, *Von Perg.*; Dürner, *DAWW* 75 (1952) at end; and S. Sahin *, *EA* 3 (1984) 101-4; cf. D. H. French, who suggests the site of Krateia was 20 km northwest of Gerede "at or near" Gökçesu (*EA* 3 [1984] 49-56).

Laodikeia

The modern Turkish village of Lâdik near the western end of the Lâdik Gölü (the ancient Stephane) undoubtedly preserves the name of an ancient

Laodikeia.¹ There is, however, no extant literary or epigraphic evidence attesting the existence of this city. Coinage of Mithridates Eupator with the legend AO IKEIA survives. It is not clear, however, whether the coinage originated in this Lâdik or one of two other like-named towns in the region of ancient Pontus.² It is also not dear which Laodike in the Mithridatic house was honored by this foundation.³



In general see Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, 1: 79-80; Munro, *JHS* 21 (1901) 60; Tscherikower, 44; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 8"; Magie, *RRAM*, 1068, 1071; Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 190; Olshausen and Biller, 21-27, 144-45.

1. Strabo does not mention Laodikeia; he does, however, refer both to Kizari, a fortress on the shores of Lake Stephane that he describes as deserted, and to a nearby ruined palace (12.3.38). It is quite likely that Kizari is to be identified with a ruined fortress located on a limestone bluff that rises behind Lâdik. Furthermore, it is possible that Laodikeia was a Hellenistic refounding that consisted of both the fortress and the palace. The destruction of the town may have occurred during the Third Mithridatic War; this might explain Strabo's use of the old, rather than the Hellenistic, name. Interestingly, it is the Hellenistic name that ultimately survived. See further, Anderson, *op. cit.*; Olshausen and Biller, *op. cit.*

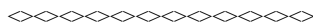
2. For **coinage** with the legend AO IKEIA see, for example, Waddington et al., *Recueil* 1: 114-15; *SNG* (von A) 128, 129, 6775. For *BMC Pontus*, 31, no. 1, read not the ethnic AO IKE N (so Wroth) but AO IKE [pl. V, no. 8).

3. On the question of which Laodike the city was named for, see Reinach *RN* (1900) 227-28; id., *BCH* 30 (1906) 50-51; McGing, *Mithridates Eupator*, 7. Reinach has pointed out (*BCH* [1906] 51) that at least four Pontic queens were named Laodike: the wife of Mithridates III, the sister-wife of Mithridates IV, the wife of Mithridates V, and the sister-wife of Mithridates VI (the names of the wives of the other two Mithridates are not definitely known).

For the two other cities named Lâdik see Olshausen and Billet 25, 144-45.

Pharnakeia

Strabo says (12.3.17) that Pharnakeia was populated by settlers from Kotyora.¹ The likelihood is that Pharnakeia was founded as a synoecism. Pharnakes I probably founded the city soon after he captured Sinope (183 B.C.). Coinage from the second and first centuries B.C. with the legend APNAKE N survives.² According to Pliny (*NH* 6. 11, 32) Pharnakeia was located on the Black Sea coast between Amisos and Trapezos. Pharnakeia was known as Kerasous after the second century A.D.³ Its modern name is Giresun.⁴



In general see Tscherikower, 44; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Kerasus 3"; A. Herrmann, *RE* s.v. "Pharnakeia 1"; Jones, *CERP*², 152, 420; Olshausen and Biller, 156; Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 248-51.

1. The **city name** occurs as Pharnakia (Ptol. 5.6.5; Strabo 12.3.17; Anon. *Peripl Pont. Eux.* 34 [= *GGM*, 1: 410]), Pharnakeia (Plut. *Luc.* 18; Stephanos s.v. "Pharnakeia"), and Pharmacea (Pliny *NH* 6.11).

2. For **coinage** of Pharnakeia see, for example, *BMC Pontus* 36; *SNG* (yon A) 130-32.

3. Arrian (who lived in the second century A.D.) claimed that **Pharnakeia was earlier called Kerasous** (*Peripl Pont. Eux.* 24 [= *GGM*, 1: 391]). It is interesting to note that around this same time (i.e., second century A.D.) coins of Kerasous (the modern Giresun) first seem to have appeared (e.g., Head, *HN*² 497; *SNG* [von A] 122, 6771). Arrian also claimed Kerasous was a colony of Sinope. In making this claim Arrian apparently confused Kerasous (Giresun) with another Kerasous farther east on the Black Sea coast, near Vakfikebir. This is the Kerasous that Xenophon visited and identified as a colony of Sinope (*Anab.* 5.3.2; Bayer and Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, 152; for the distinction of Pharnakeia from Kerasous see also Strabo 12.3.17; Pliny [*NH* 6.11] and Ptolemy [5.6 5] also distinguished the two towns but unfortunately confused their locations). Wilson suggested (op. cit., 248) that the Pharnakeians assumed the name of Kerasous in order "to identify themselves with the earlier colony." In this connection Wilson noted that the population of Pharnakeia included settlers from Kotyora, which was itself a colony of Sinope. On the other hand, it may simply be, as Wilson also noted, that Kerasous was in fact an earlier name of Pharnakeia (see the statement in Arrian cited above).

On the confusion of Pharnakeia-Kerasous and Kerasous see Herrmann, *RE* s.v. "Pharnakeia 1"; Ruge, *RE* s.vv. "Kerasus 1-3"; Jones, *CERP*², 420 n. 12; Wilson, 248; Bayer and Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, 119, 126.

4. For the **location** of Pharnakeia see Olshausen and Biller, 156 and map at end. I have not seen T. N. Pasiades, *Pontiaka Phylla* 1 (November-December 1936) 2-4 (cited in Bayer and Winfield, *Byzantine Monuments*, 119 and n. 4), who has suggested that the village of Fernek in the center of Cape Jasonion (Strabo 12.1.17) may be the ancient Pharnakeia. One awaits further testing of this hypothesis.

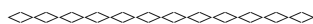
XIX
Bithynia

Antigoneia Near Daskyleion

Stephanos records an Antigoneia (s.v. no. 4) near Daskyleion in Bithynia. This is the only reference to it. From the name we may suggest that it was founded by Antigonos Monophthalmos. The location is not definitely known and has been the subject of much discussion.

There were two cities named Daskyleion in the Hellespontine region. The first was in western Bithynia, approximately twelve kilometers east of the mouth of the Rhyndakos River, probably located at the modern Eskel * Liman on the coast of the Propontis. Until the early part of this century the site had still been known to the Greeks as Daskeli. This is the Daskyleion that Stephanos (s.v. no. 4) refers to as *περὶ Βιθυνίαν*. It is most probably the one that was in the vicinity of Antigoneia.¹

The other Daskyleion was in Hellespontine Phrygia on the southeast corner of the Kus* (Manyas) Gölü (the ancient Aphnitis, south of Kyzikos) close to Erigli at Hisartepe. It had been a Persian satrapal residence and is probably the Daskyleion that Stephanos (s.v. no. 5) refers to as *τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Φρυγίας*.²



In general, on the two cities of the Hellespontine region called Daskyleion see Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 55-58, and J. A. R. Munro, *JHS* 32 (1912) 57-67, who also discuss the attempts of earlier scholars to associate Eskel* Limani with the satrapal residence (see, for example, Rage, *RE* s.v. "Daskyleion 5"). For Daskyleion on the Propontis see T. Corsten, *EA* 12 (1988) 53-76.

1. **Daskyleion on the Propontis** had been a member of the Delian League (*ATL*, 1: 479). The authors of the *ATL*, R. Kiepert (*Klio* 5 [1905] 241), Munro (57ff.), and K. Bittel (*AA* 68 [1953] 2-8) locate this Daskyleion at Eskel* Limani. Cf., however, Corsten (54-57), who has suggested it was located at Esence (formerly called Eskel* Köy), 2 km south of Eskel* Limani. He also suggested that the latter was its harbor.

2. The **Daskyleion that had been a Persian satrapal residence** (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.15; *Hell. Oxy.* 22.3 [ed. Bartoletti]) has been identified with the remains at Hisartepe (Bittel, 2-15; E. Akurgal, *Anatolia*, 1 [1956] 20-24; id., *PECS* s.v. "Daskyleion"; E K. Dörner, *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. "Daskyleion"; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 98 n. 594 and 268; see also the earlier suggestion of Munro, 57-67). For Persian settlement in Hellespontine Phrygia see N. V. Sekunda, in *Achaemenid History*, vol. 3, *Method and Theory*, ed. A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Leiden, 1988) 175-95, esp. 178ff.

Wehrli (*Antig.*, 83) and Billows (*Antigonos*, 297) connect Antigoneia with the Daskyleion that had been a satrapal residence, i.e., with Hisartepe. This is unlikely, however, because it would place Antigoneia in Hellespontine Phrygia rather than in Bithynia.

For maps and photographs of Erigli and vicinity see Bittel, 7-15; Hasluck, maps at end.

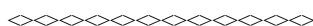
Corsten (59-61; see also Magie, *RRAM*, 971, and Tscherikower, 49), has suggested that Antigoneia near Daskyleion might have been identical with NIKAIÁ. Both Strabo (12.4.7) and Stephanos (s.v. "Nikaia") indicate that Nikaia was previously founded as an Antigoneia. Strabo adds that it was colonized by Antigonos Monophthalmos. Neither, however, connect this city with Antigoneia near Daskyleion. Furthermore Nikaia could hardly be described as near (πρὸς) Daskyleion. (See also the early suggestion of Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 58, that Daskyleion was at the site of the modern Bursa [= Prousa]—thus the appropriateness of describing Nikaia as "near" Daskyleion. However, the siting of the towns of Daskyleion at [or very close to] Eskel * Limani and near Erigli effectively nullifies this proposal.)

Stephanos distinguishes Antigoneia near Daskyleion from ANTIGONEIA "a phourion of the Kyzikene, fifty stades from the Western Sea." A decree of Eretria honors three Antigoneians who were friends of Demetrios Poliorketes (*Syll.* 3 348). Unfortunately there is no indication which Antigoneia this was. Diodorus (20.111.3) says that in 302 B.C. Demetrios campaigned in the Hellespont and recovered a number of cities, among them Lampsakos and Parion. Thus if Antigonos did found Antigoneia near Daskyleion, it is possible that the persons honored in the Eretrian decree came from this city. See further ALEXANDREIA Troas.

Apameia Myrleia

In 202 B.C., according to Strabo (12.4.3), Philip V destroyed the city of Myrleia. Myrleia was subsequently refounded as an Apameia, most probably by Prousius I.¹

Inscriptions of the Imperial period from as late as 129 A.D. attest the persistence of the name "Apameia" despite Pliny's observation (*NH* 5.143) *Apamea quae nunc Myrlea Colophoniorum*. On coinage beginning in 61 B.C. the ethnic appears as Α ΑΜΕ Ν and Α ΑΜΕ Ν ΜΤΡΑΕΑΝΩΝ.² Apameia was located on the southern shore of the Propontis approximately one kilometer southeast of the modern Mudanya.³



In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 705; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Apameia 5"; Waddington et al., *Recueil* 1: 245-46; Tscherikower, 49; Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 11 (1908) 75-82; Schultze, *Kleinasiens*, 1: 329-31; Walbank, *Comment.*, 2: 475-76; Magie, *RRAM*, 1189-90; Y. Grandjean, *BCH* 95 (1971) 292 n. 46; Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Prusias 1," 1086-87, 1095-96; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 48 n. 4; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 278; T. Corsten, in *I. Apameia*, 9ff. (literary *testimonia* on p. 10).

1. In his account of the destruction of Myrleia, Strabo adds (12.4.3) that **Prousius I** joined Philip in razing the city, that he received it as a gift from Philip, and that he subsequently refounded it, naming it after his wife; so also Hermippus of Beirut (*FHG* III.51, frag. 72). Polybius adds that (15.22.1) Prousius was a **κρηδεστής** of Philip V; he does not, however, specify the relationship. In fact we do not know the name or the origin of Prousius I's wife. On the other hand, Stephanos (s.vv. "Apameia" and "Myrleia") attributes the founding to Prousius' grandson, Nikomedes II Epiphanes. Stephanos adds that Nikomedes named it for his mother, Apama. An inscription from Asia Minor found in the Piraeus confirms that Nikomedes' mother was named Apama (*IG* II-III² 3172 = *I. Apameia*, 89 T12; see Wilhelm, 75-82). While we cannot be certain, it would appear from the superior authority of Strabo and the fact that Prousius I renamed the nearby Kios after himself under circumstances similar to that of Apameia that he was also the founder of Apameia.

On the term **κρηδεστής** see Wilhelm, 79-81; Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques* (Pads, 1921) 207 n. 1; Walbank, 476; Habicht, 1086-87. Among others, Droysen, Tscherikower, Walbank, and Vitucci favor Prousius I as founder, while Wilhelm, Ruge (*RE* s.v. "Myrleia"), Meyer (*Die Grenzen*, 114), and Jones (*CERP*², 419 n. 9) prefer Nikomedes. Droysen mistakenly claimed that firm evidence for Prousius as founder came from Hermippus, who lived in the later part of the third century B.C. In fact, Droysen confused Hermippus the Callimachean with Hermippus of Beirut, who lived in the second century A.D.! On Apama see, in addition to the above, Seibert, *Verbindungen*, 116; Beloch, *GG*², 4.2: 137.

2. For **epigraphic evidence** attesting the name "Apameia" see *CIG* 3743 (= *I. Apameia*, 86, T4, Nero), *CIL* III.335 (Vespasian), and *CIL* III, Suppl. 1, 6992 (129 A.D.). For the **numismatic evidence** see, for example, Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 249ff.; *BMC Pontus*, 110ff.; and the review of the numismatic literature by Schönert-Geiss in *Chiron* 8 (1978) 267.

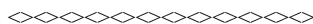
3. For the **location** of Apameia see L. Robert, *St. Cl.* 16 (1974) 64-67 (map on p. 66); id., *ATAM*, 82.

Apollonia on the Rhyndakos

There is no extant evidence to indicate that Apollonia on the Rhyndakos was an Attalid colony. Pliny says (*NH* 5.123) it was located on the Rhyndakos River; Strabo (12.8.10) places it near Lake Apolloniatis (through which the Rhyndakos flows). It is the Suda (s.v. **Ἀπολλωνιάς Λίμνη**) that says Attalos II, in honor of his mother Apollonis, gave the name "Apolloniatis" to the lake. On the basis of the Suda, Radet claimed that Attalos also renamed the city. Tscherikower agreed.¹

A number of factors make Radet's hypothesis unlikely and suggest that the city already existed before the Hellenistic period. In the first place the Suda talks only of the lake, not about the city. Second, according to a Milesian

inscription of the second century B.C. Apollonia was one of its colonies. And, finally, if the city was named in honor of Attalos' mother, it probably would have been named Apollonis, not Apollonia.²



In general see Radet, *De Coloniis*, 11; Tscherikower, 49-50; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 15"; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 89-100; A. Abmeier, *Asia Minor Studien* 1 (1990) 6-11.


1. For other **references to Apollonia** see Plut. *Luc.* 11; Ptol. 5.2.13; Hierokles 693.2; Stephanos s.v. "Apollonia 9"; *Not. Ep.* 2.197, 3.232, etc. On the **Rhyndakos River** and Lake Apolloniatis see Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Apolloniatis"; Büchner, s.v. "Ryndakos"; Ruge, s.v. "Miletopolitis." For **Attalos II as founder** see Radet, 11; Tscherikower, 49-50.

2. For **Apollonia as a colony of Miletos** see *I Milet* 155. J. Seibert's rejection (*Metropolis und Apoikie* [Würzburg, 1963] 197-200) of the historicity of the account in *I Milet* 155 was correctly challenged by L. Robert (*Opera Minors*, 4: 292-94; see earlier E Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation*, Philolog. Suppl. XIV [Leipzig, 1921] 45-46, who also accepted the evidence of *I. Milet* 155). N. Ehrhardt (*Milet und seine Kolonien* [Frankfurt, 1983] 44-46) considered the Milesian decree "suspect" and suggested that Apollonia might have been a "secondary" foundation of Kyzikos (the latter was a colony of Miletos). Jones (*CERP*², 36-37 and n. 15) suggested Apollonia was an old Milesian colony that was renamed by the Attalids. See also A. Abmeier, *Asia Minor Studien* 1 (1990) 11, who suggested Apollonia was founded between 183 and c. 150 B.C. on the site of an earlier settlement and was named for Apollonis. Note, however, L. Robert's objection that **the toponym Apollonia** was normally given in honor of Apollo, the patron god of colonization, and not for Attalos II's mother (*REA* 36 [1934] 525-26; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 2: 239 and n. 2; see also Hansen, *Attalids*², 176). Of course Robert's claim does not exclude the possibility that an Apollonia named for the god could have been founded by the Attalids.

There may have been an Antiocheia festival at Apollonia. Christian Habicht informs me that a substantial fragment (nineteen lines) of a decree honoring Andromachos was seen by W. Müller-Wiener in 1960 at Apolyont. It is from the third century B.C., was issued by **Ἀν[τιόχεια]**. It will be published, from notes by Müller-Wiener and Habicht, by E. Schwertheim.

Holleaux has suggested that the **decree honoring Korrhagos** (*SEG* II.663) and dated palaeographically to between 225 and 150 B.C. was voted by Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (*Ét.*, 2: 114-16; followed by Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 88 n. 55, who also argues against Magie's preference [1011-13] for Abydos). If the city in question was Apollonia, then the fact that it had a **πάτριος πολιτεία** (l. 10) lends support to the notion that it was an old (i.e., pre-Hellenistic) city. Robert's suggestion

(*Hellenica* 11-12 [1960] 510 n. 2) that the city in the Korrhagos decree might be Miletoupolis is not convincing.

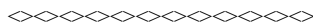
Silver and bronze **coinage** with an inverted anchor and crayfish, dated to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and previously attributed by some scholars to Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (*HN* [first edition] 447-48; *BMC Mysia*, 8-10, nos. 1-17; see also Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 71 and n. 3; Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 15"), in fact belongs to Apollonia in Thrace (E. Tacchella, *RN* [1898] 210-18; B. Pick, *RN* [1898] 219-30; *HN*², 277-78; W. Wroth, *NC* [1905] 331-32; von Fritze, *Ant. Münz. Mysiens*, 63). As with the coinage of other like-named cities in Asia Minor (see APOLLONIA on the Maeander, APOLLONIA Salbake, APOLLONIA in Phrygia) certain coins of the late Hellenistic or Imperial period with the legend A O NIAT N have, over the years, been regrouped with or taken from Apollonia on the Rhyndakos. For example, *Inv. Wadd.* 2252, which was attributed to Apollonia Salbake, has been classed by Hasluck with Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (*NC* [1906] 32; see also *NC* [1907] 440). Hasluck suggests the same for another coin grouped with Apollonia Salbake, Mionnet, Suppl. 6: 472, no. 180. For the reattribution of coins of Apollonia Salbake to Apollonia on the Rhyndakos, see also von Fritze, *Ant. Münz. Mysiens*, 73ff. On the other hand, J. and L. Robert (*La Carie*, 2: 258-59) have pointed out that two coins attributed by von Fritze to Apollonia on the Rhyndakos (*Ant. Münz. Mysiens*, 67-68, nos. 202 and 203) belong with Apollonia in Phrygia. For a coin of the third century A.D. with the legend A O NIAT N PO  have generally been attributed to Apameia Kelainai in Phrygia and dated to before 133 B.C.; see also the discussion in APAMEIA Kelainai.

The **location** of Apollonia was at the site of the modern Apolyont, which is at the tip of a peninsula jutting into the northwest corner of the Lake of Apolyont (Ulubat Gölü). For description, photographs, and maps see Philippon, *Reisen*, 3: 41-42; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 68-73; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 89-100.

Bithynion

Among the towns in the interior of Bithynia was a Bithynion (Strabo 12.4.7).¹ Some scholars have suggested it was a colony established by a king of Bithynia. This is a reasonable conjecture; however, there is no unequivocal extant evidence to support the claim or to identify the founder.² The territory was under Bithynian control from 196 B.C. (or, possibly, 198 B.C.) until it passed to the Attalids in 183.³ A restoration suggested by Robert of an inscription found at Bolu, the site of Bithynion, would identify the founder as a Prousius, that is, King Prousius I.⁴ Two tribal names are known, Apollonis and Sebaste.⁵ The former is to be connected with Apollo and not with the Attalids. The earliest coinage dates from the first century B.C.⁶ Bithynion was

renamed Claudiopolis under Claudius and received the surname Hadriana under Hadrian.⁷



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Bithynion"; Dörner, *DAWW* 75 (1952) PP. 32-34; Magie, *RRAM*, 307, 1190-91; Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Ziaelas," 394; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 34-35; Robert, *ATAM*, 129-46; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 284; Wilson, *Hist. Geog.*, 133-38; *I. Klaudiu Polis*. Tscherikower does not include Bithynion in his list of colonies.

1. For Bithynion see also Pliny *NH* 5.149 (who still calls it Bithynion, even though by this time its name had been changed); Cass. Dio 69.11.2; Ptol. 5.1.3; Stephanos s.v. "Bithynion." It is not clear whether the Bithynopolis cited by Stephanos (s.v. "Bithynopolis," referring to the fifth book of Arrian's *Bithyniaka* [=FGrH 156 F17]) is identical with Bithynion. See Jacoby's commentary; also Dörner, p. 32; Vitucci, 34 n. 2; Wilson, 133-34.

2. Ed. Meyer (*RE* s.v. "Bithynia," 517, followed by Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 112) suggested the **founder** was Ziaëlas; contra, Habicht, 394. Jones thought it was Nikomedes I (*CERP*², 150); contra, Magie, 1190. Dörner (32) suggested that a settlement had already existed at the site and that Bithynion was only a renamed town. In this connection one should note the tradition recorded by Pausanias (8.9.7) that Bithynion had originally been settled by Arcadians from Mantinea (on which see Dörner, loc. cit.; Robert, 135ff.; Magie, 1190). Babelon and Reinach (Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 267) commented: "Il n'est pas question de cette ville . . . avant l'époque romaine."

3. On the **duration of Bithynian control** of the area see Habicht, *RE*.s.vv. "Prusias 1," 1102, and "Ziaelas," 394, and references cited there; Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 266, 276-78.

4. The **inscription found at Bolu** (Dörner 81=*I. Klaudiu Polis* 50) recorded a dedication by four priests to Π[ρ]οῦσιας (*ATAM*, 130) and suggested that the dedication was made to King Prousius as the founder of the city.

For a Prousius who was an agonothete and gymnasiarch in Imperial Bithynion see Dörner 74.9 (= *I. Klaudiu Polis* 61).

5. For the **tribe** Sebaste see Dörner 83.7-8 and *IGR* III. 1424. For the tribe Apollonis see *IGR* III.72 and Dörner 84; the tribe Apollonis is also found at NYSA and LAODIKEIA on the Lykos. For its connection with the god Apollo rather than with the Attalid queen Apollonis see Robert, in *Laodicée*, 296 n. 6; contra, Hansen, *Attalids*², 455. In general see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 348.

6. For the **coinage** of Bithynion see, for example, *BMG Pontus*, 117-21 (**ethnic**: ΒΙΘΥΝΙΩΝ), and the review of the numismatic literature in Schönert-Geiss, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 628.

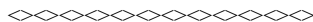
7. For **Bithynion-Claudiopolis** (e.g., Cass. Dio 69.11.2) and **Bithynion-Hadriana** (e.g., *BMC Pontus*, 117-21, nos. 3-20) see Robert, *ATAM*, 132-33;

Dörner, 33. An inscription from Aphrodisias (Holleaux, *BCH* 9 [1885] 68-71 = *MAMA* VIII 521) gives the toponym as Hadriane(i)a of Bithynia (ll. 14-15).

For the **location** of Bithynion at Bolu see Dörner, 34 and map at end; also map II in von Diest, *Von Perg.*; Becker-Bertau, in *I. Klaudiu Polis*, 12-18.

Chrysopolis

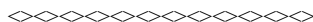
Malalas 8.245 (*CSHB* XXVIII, p. 193) says that Chrysopolis in Bithynia was so named by Alexander. This cannot be. The only Chrysopolis in Bithynia is just north of Kalchedon, and Alexander never visited this region. Furthermore this Chrysopolis was already known to Xenophon (*Anab.* 6.6.38)



See Tscherikower, 50; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Chrysopolis."

Epiphaneia

Stephanos mentions an Epiphaneia in Bithynia (s.v. no. 3). This is all that is known about the settlement. Tscherikower points out that the name is specifically Hellenistic. This suggests that its founder was Nikomedes II Epiphanes.

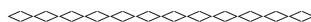


See Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 706; Tscherikower, 50; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Epiphaneia."

Hellenopolis

According to Apollodorus (*Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. "Hellenopolis" = *FGrH* 244 F77), who lived in the mid-second century B.C., Attalos founded Hellenopolis by gathering together the inhabitants of a number of Greek cities.¹ Apollodorus does not specify which Attalos this was nor where the foundation was located.² However, Stephanos records a Hellenopolis (s.v.) in Bithynia that was also called Bisalthe. It is not clear whether the two towns are identical. If they were, then we should probably search for Hellenopolis in the frontier region of Mysia-Bithynia.³

This Hellenopolis should be distinguished from Drepanon on the Astakene Gulf, which was renamed Helenopolis by Constantine the Great in honor of his mother (Amm. Marc. 26.8.1).



In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 716-17; Tscherikower, 50; Hopp, *Unter.*, 102 n. 236.

1 Droysen suggested the identification of Apollodorus' Hellenopolis with that of Stephanos; Hopp, *op. cit.*, was rightly sceptical. Droysen also suggested that the Hella that Stephanos mentions (s.v.) was identical with Hellenopolis. This is also not likely; see Tscherikower, 50; Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Hella."

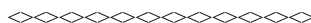
2. Hansen ascribes the **founding** to Attalos II because of "the limited extent of the Pergamene kingdom before 189 B.C." (*Attalids*², 178); see also Niese, *GMS*, 3:362 n. 2; contra, Hopp, *op. cit.*, who remarks on the lack of evidence for Attalid possession of Bithynian territory under Attalos II. Hopp's concern is well founded.

3. For the possible **location** of Hellenopolis in the Mysian border area of Bithynia see Tscherikower, 50. With regard to Stephanos' placing Hellenopolis in Bithynia it is well to recall Strabo's observation that it is difficult to distinguish the boundaries of Bithynia, Phrygia, and Mysia (12.4.4; see C. Habicht, *Hermes* 84 [1956] 92; Magie, *RRAM*, 759).

Nikaia (Antigoneia)

From Stephanos (s.v. "Nikaia") and Strabo (12.4.7) we learn that Nikaia was originally called Angkore, refounded as Antigoneia by Antigonos Monophthalmos and then renamed Nikaia by Lysimachos for his wife. Lysimachos probably did this soon after he came into possession of the region as a result of the battle of Ipsos.¹ There was a Nikaian tradition about a Macedonian origin for the city.² Another tradition traced a divine origin back to Herakles and Dionysos and claimed that Dionysos named the city after the nymph Nikaia.³

While there is no specific evidence to indicate when Nikaia passed to Bithynian control, it is most likely this happened by 280 B.C.⁴ The earliest surviving coinage dates from the first century B.C.⁵ Three tribes, all found in inscriptions of the Imperial period, are known: Sebaste, Aureliane, and Dionysias.⁶ Nikaia was located on the eastern shore of Lake Askania (Iznik * Gölü) at the site of the modern Iznik*.⁷



In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 703-4; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Nikaia 7," 227-29; Schultze, *Kleinasien*, 1; 309ff.; Sölch, *Klio* 19 (1925) 153ff.; Tscherikower, 46-47, 163; Magie, *RRAM*, 305, 1186; Wehrli, *Antig.*, 83-84; N. Boncasa, *PECS* s.v. "Nicaea"; L. Robert, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 8-16; S. Sahin* et al., *I. Nikaia* II. 3 (*testimonia*).

1. A scholiastic note to the *Notitiae Episcopatum* ([Parthey] 3.143 = the *Notitia* of Basil 202a [ed. H. Gelzer (Leipzig, 1890)] = *I. Nikaia* II.3, T 1) gives the original name as Helikore and also ascribes the founding to Lysimachos; see

also R. Merkelbach, *EA* 5 (1985) 1-3 On the foundings by Antigonos and Lysimachos see also Eust. *ad Il.* 2.863; Wehrli, 84. The Antigoneians mentioned in an Eretrian decree (*Syll.*³ 348) who were friends of Demetrios Poliorketes may have come from this city. However, the fact that Demetrios was operating in the Hellespont in 302 B.C. (Diod. 20.111.3) suggests the persons honored were probably from ANTIGONEIA in Mysia or near Daskyleion; see also ALEXANDREIA Troas.

On the problem surrounding the **founding date** see Tscherikower, 47 n. 185; Ruge, 228. We may attempt to reconstruct the chronological sequence as follows: Lysimachos first came into possession of Antigoneia Nikaia after the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. By that time, according to Diodorus (20.109.6-7), he had married Amastris, whom he was soon to divorce in favor of Arsinoe (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F4.9). Assuming Lysimachos did not divorce Nikaia in order to marry Amastris, it may be suggested that Nikaia died in 302 B.C. and that Lysimachos refounded Antigoneia in her memory soon after Ipsos.

2. Regarding the tradition about a **Macedonian origin**, Stephanos (s.v.) says that Nikaia was a colony of Bottiaia, which was in Macedonia. Memnon adds (*FGrH* 434 F28.9-10, on which see Jacoby's commentary) that soldiers from Nikaia in Locris near Phocis who were fighting with Alexander founded it. Presumably this tradition explains the appearance of Alexander on some coins of Imperial Nikaia (e.g., *BMC Pontus*, 159, no. 47; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl.M.*, 9, no. 3, and citations there). It is unlikely, however, that veterans of Alexander—who was never in this region—founded a colony here. But it is possible, as Tscherikower suggests (47; see also Ruge, 229), that these Bottiaians were veterans of Antigonos' army. In any event Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 39.1) refers specifically to the Greek and Macedonian composition of its population. Pliny's statement (*NH* 5.148) that Nikaia was formerly called Olbia is wrong; see NIKOMEDEIA.

3. **Dionysos and Herakles** each appear on some Nikaian coins (first-second century A.D.) as *ktistes* (e.g., Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 403ff., nos. 44, 54-55, 219 [Dionysos], 56-58, 108 [Herakles; cf. Dio Chrys. 39.8: "Herakles the *ktistes* of the city"])). Occasionally Dionysos and the nymph Nikaia are associated as *ktistai* (e.g., Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 503, no. 819; Robert, *HSCP* [1977] 15). For the tradition surrounding the **divine origins of Nikaia** see Robert, 11-14; id., *JS* (1978) 40; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 365, 369f.; Jacoby's comments on Memnon, *FGrH* 34 F28.

4. The **suggestion that Nikaia was under Bithynian control by 280 B.C. and probably earlier**, at the outbreak of the war with Lysimachos, is based on a sepulchral epigram found at Bazarköy opposite Nikaia on the western shore of Iznik * Gölü. The epigram memorializes a Bithynian soldier, Menas, who died fighting at Korupedion in defence "of his fatherland" (Peck, *Gr. Vers-Inschr.* 1.1965 = *I. Kios* 98); see further Meyer, *Die Grenzen*, 109-10; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 17-18; cf. Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Zipoites 1," 452, who notes the difficulty of dating the inscription palaeographically but allows that a date of 281 is conceivable. B. Bar-Kochva's

attempt (*Scripta Classica Israelica* 1 [1974] 14-23) to redate the inscription to 159-154 B.C. is quite interesting but unconvincing.

5. For the various forms of the city name see Ruge, 227-28. For the **coinage** of Nikaia see, for example, Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 395-511; *BMC Pontus*, 152-78; *SNG* (von A) 531-735, 7010-98 (**ethnic**: ΝΙΚΑΙΕ Ν) and the review of the numismatic literature by Schonert-Geiss, in *Chiron* 8 (1978) 634-38. Babelon and Reinach tentatively ascribe a bronze coin of Nikaia to the beginning of the third century B.C. (in Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 397, no. 1), but this is very uncertain.

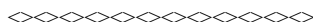
6. For the **tribes** Sebaste (*I. Nikaia* 578.2-3), Aureliane (*I. Nikaia* 554.2-3), and Dionysias (*I. Nikaia* 56.8) see Jones, *Public Organization*, 352.

7. On the **location** of Nikaia see Wehrli, op. cit.; see also L. Robert, *JS* (1961) 103ff. For a map see Philippson, *Reisen*, 3: Blatt 2. The territory of Roman Nikaia extended in the east to the Sangarios River and beyond (L. Robert, *ATAM*, 99, referring to coins of Nikaia, time of Caracalla, with the Sagaris [Sangarios] River; see Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN* 23 [1923] 264, nos. 226-27; see also S. Sahin *, in *I. Nikaia* II.1 [1981] 21-33).

Nikomedeia

Nikomedeia was founded by King Nikomedes I shortly before 260 B.C. and became the residence of the Bithynian kings.¹ It was located at the present Izmit* (Kocaeli) in the innermost recess of the Astakene Gulf, opposite Astakos.² The new foundation was the result of a synoecism: according to Strabo (12.4.2) Astakos had been destroyed by Lysimachos and its inhabitants transferred by the Bithynian king when he founded Nikomedeia.³ Ditizele, Nikomedes' first wife, was buried in Nikomedeia (Arrian, *FGrH* 156 F29). A fragmentary inscription recording a decree was found at Nikomedeia. It mentions a *boule* and a (King) Prousius. It is possible that the decree was passed by Nikomedeia.

The earliest coinage dates from the first century B.C., after the annexation by Rome.⁴ From the Imperial period we have evidence for a number of tribes, among them Dia, Hieria, Asklepias, and Poseidonias. Under the Empire Nikomedeia had the additional name Hadriane and, later, Severiane as well (*IGR* III.6).⁵



In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 703; Sölch, *Klio* 19 (1955) 146ff.; Ruge, *RE* s.vv. "Nikomedeia" and "Astakos"; Tscherikower, 45-46; Magie, *RRAM*, 304, 1184; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 27-58; Dörner, *TAM* IV.1; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 269-76.

1. For the collected **literary and epigraphic evidence** see *TAM* IV.1. The *Chronicon Pascale*, P174 (*CSHB* IV, p. 328), dates the founding to Ol.128.3; Eusebius

dates it to Ol.129.4 (*Chron.* II, p. 121 [ed. Schöne] = Hieronymus: R. Helm, ed., *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 7, *Die Chronik des Eusebius*² [Berlin, 1956] 121). The Armenian version of Eusebius dates it to Ol. 129.1 (*Chron.* II, p. 120 [ed. Schöne] = J. Karst, ed., *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 5, *Die Chronik* [Leipzig, 1911] 200).

For Nikomedes as the **founder** see Strabo 12.4.2; Arrian, *FGrH* 156 F29; Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F12; Euseb. *Chron.* II, p. 121 (ed. Schöne), and the Armenian version, p. 120; Synkellos *Chron.*, p. 523 (ed. Mosshammer). Pausanias, on the other hand, ascribed the original founding to Nikomedes' father, Zipoites: ἀρχὴς αὐτῇ Ζυποίτης ἐγένετο οὐκιστής (5.12.7) Partly on the basis of this Jones has argued—unconvincingly—that Zipoition was identical with the later Nikomedeia (*CERP*², 419; cf. ZIPOITION). Sölch, on the other hand, has suggested that Nikomedes was simply carrying out work his father had begun (146 n. 4).

2. For the **location** of Nikomedeia "opposite Astakos" see Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F12; cf. Lib. *Or.* 61.4; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Nikomedeia," 471. The Astakene Gulf was also known as the "Nikomedeian" (Stephanos s.v. "Charax") and the "Olbian" (Pomp. Mela 1.100, on which see note 3). While Strabo (11.4.2) also distinguished Nikomedeia from Astakos, Pausanias (5.12.7) thought the former resulted simply from a renaming of the latter; see Tscherikower, 45-46; Leschhorn, 269-70. In the Imperial period Nikomedeia or its territory was occasionally called Ἀστακίη; see L. Robert, *RPh* (1939) 166-70; id., *BGH* 102 (1978) 424.

On the location of Nikomedeia see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Nikomedeia," 486ff.; S. Sahin *, "Neufunde von antiken Inschriften in Nikomedeia" (Diss., Münster, 1973) 9-22; the map at the end of *TAM* IV.1 and photograph, pl. 1.

3. The **relation of Olbia to Nikomedeia** (or some other town in the area) is not dear. Olbia was a coastal city (Scylax 92; *GGM*, 1: 67) after which the Astakene Gulf was occasionally called the Olbian (Pomp. Mela 1.100). Drawing on Arrian as his source, Stephanos says that Nikomedeia was also called Olbia (s.v. "Nikomedeia" and "Asstakos"). Relying on the superior authority of Arrian, Tscherikower (*a*) suggested that Nikomedeia resulted from a synoecism of Olbia and Astakos and (*b*) rejected Pliny's claim (*NH* 5.148) that Nikaia had formerly been known as Olbia (45-46). Ruge (*RE* s.v. "Nikaia 7," 229, and "Olbia 1") also rejected Pliny's identification. Furthermore, after initially suggesting that Olbia and Astakos were identical (*RE* s.v. "Astakos 2"), he later (*RE* s.v. "Olbia 1") expressed great doubts about the equation. The authors of the *ATL* (1: 472) also separated the two and placed Olbia on the south coast of the Gulf of Izmit*, southwest of Astakos; see also Vitucci, 27 and n. 6. There is no reason to believe with Sölch (146) that Kalchedonians were among the founding population of Nikomedeia (contra, Ruge, s.v. "Nikomedeia," 471).

On the destruction of cities and the transfer of their populations to new localities see KOLOPHON.

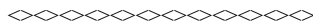
4. For the **decree found at Nikomedeia** see *TAM* IV.1.2; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 235-39.

On the **coinage** see, for example, Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 512-72; *BMG Pontus*, 179-93; *SNG* (von A) 736-866, 7099-7150 (**ethnic**: ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ, etc.); and the overview of the numismatic literature by Schönert-Geiss in *Chiron* 8 (1978) 638-40. *Lib. Or.* 61.4 records a legend that an eagle and a serpent indicated the future site of Nikomedeia to Nikomedes, who was offering a sacrifice; cf. a Nikomedeian coin type with these elements (e.g., Wroth, *BMG Pontus*, xx and 190, no. 62).

5. For the **city tribes**, see *MAMA* III.263 (Asklepias); *TAM* IV.1.327, 366 (Dia), 258 (Hiera), and 167, 223, 260, 299 (Poseidonias). We also know of the tribes Hadriane, Hiera, Ploteiniane, and Antoniane (*TAM* IV.1.40, 258, 238, 329). For the variant spellings of the town name, see Ruge, s.v. "Nikomedeia," 470. Two tribal names of apparently local origin were Baradendromianoi and Petrozetoi (*TAM* IV.1.100 and 60). In general see N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 350-51.

Nikomedeion

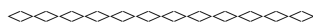
Nikomedeion is known only from a fragment from the fifth book of Arrian's *Bithyniaka*, where it is called an *emporion* of Bithynia. Neither the location nor the founder is known.



For the fragment of Arrian see *FGrH* 156 F19 (= Stephanos s.v. "Nikomedeion"). Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Nikomedeion," suggests it probably was established by Nikomedes I, the founder of ΝΙΚΟΜΕΔΕΙΑ (see also Tscherikower, 46). This is a reasonable suggestion.

Nikopolis

Both Pliny (*NH* 5.150) and Stephanos (s.v.) mention a Nikopolis in Bithynia. There is no information extant that indicates who the founder was or when the town was established. As a result, it is not possible to say whether or not this was a Hellenistic foundation.



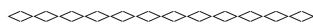
In general see Tscherikower, 50; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Nikopolis 5"

E Wieseler's suggestion (*Spicilegium ex locis scriptorum veterum ad Bosporum Thracium spectantibus* [Göttingen, 1875] 21-22) that the town name was Amycopolis rather than Nikopolis is unlikely; see C. Müller, *Philologus* 37 (1877) 80; Ruge, op. cit.

Prousa

Arrian (*FGrH* 156 F29) said the founder of Prousa was Prousius I, while Pliny (*NH* 5.148) alleged it was Hannibal.¹ There is, however, no necessary contradiction between the two positions. It is quite possible that Hannibal supervised the founding of Prousa for the Bithynian king, just as he probably earlier founded Artaxata for the Armenian king Artaxias. The precise founding date is not known. Hannibal came to Bithynia in 188, and Prousius died in 183 B.C. Within that period, Habicht's suggested date of 188 or 187 B.C., that is, before the outbreak of the Bithynian-Attalid war, seems the most likely.²

A fragmentary inscription that may date to 187/6 B.C. contains a decree of the *boule* and *demos* of Prousa honoring an *epistates*—presumably a royal official.³ Dio Chrysostom, who was born in Prousa, claimed that (*Or.* 44.9) his hometown was neither very large nor very old. Stephanos adds (s.v. "Prousa") that it was a πόλις μικρά. The earliest coinage dates from the first century B.C.⁴ Prousa was located at the foot of the Mysian Mount Olympos, at the modern Bursa.⁵



In general see Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 704-5; J. Sölch *Klio* 19 (1925) 156ff. (cf., however, Ruge's attack on this article in *RE* s.v. "Nikomedeia," 470-71); Tschirikower, 47-49; E. K. Dörner, *RE* s.v. "Prusa ad Olympum," 1071-86; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 228-34; Magie, *RRAM*, 305, 1187; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 60-65; C. Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Prusias 1," 1103-4; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 279-84.

1. In a curious passage Strabo ascribes the **founding** of Prousa to a mythical Prousius (12.4.3): ΠΡΟΥΣΙΑΝ (see Mionnet, 2: 481,

no. 385; id., Suppl. 5: =26, no. 1335). The identification of the head on the reverse is not certain. Imhoof-Blumer asserted that the portrait is not of Prousius I but rather of the mythical founder (*Nomisma* 6 [1911] 9-10; see also Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 705). Mendel (363 n. 2), however, claimed that the head was "sans doute celle de Prousius." Another coin, of Geta as Augustus, bears the legend TON KTI THN ΠΡΟΤΕΑΕΙΣ on the reverse with the representation of a figure (Prousius?) in military uniform (Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 591, no. 116). See further, Leschhorn, 282f.

The dedicatory inscription Προύσης κτλ. published by C. Papadopoulos (*Pandora* [1865-1866] 374, no. XI) is, in fact, a forgery. See E. Preuner, *AM* 46 (1921) 24; L. Robert, *REA* 36 (1934) 524; id., *RPh* (1939) 137.

Sölch's suggestion (158f.) that Prousa was the earlier Atussa (Pliny *NH* 5.143) is unconvincing.

2. On the **Bithynian-Attalid** was between Prousius I and Eumenes II see Habicht, *Hermes* 84 (1956) 90-100. Holleaux (*Ét.*, 2: 114 ff., followed by L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 231f.; see also id., *ATAM*, 131) **dated the founding** to 184 B.C. Sölch dated it to 189-185 B.C. (156 n. 1), while Babelon and Reinach put it in 190 B.C. (*Recueil*, 1: 212). Magie, who dismissed the idea that Hannibal had anything to do with the founding, dated it arbitrarily to soon after 202 B.C. (1187). Habicht (*RE* s.v. "Prusias I," 1103-4) provides a full discussion of the various suggested dates.

3. For the **decree of the boule and demos** see Robert *Ét. anat.*, 228-34. The first line of the decree reads [Ἔτους ἑπτακ]αίδεκάτου ἑ[κατοστοῦ] to yield a date of 181/0 B.C.

4. On the **coinage** see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 867-84, 7151-57 (**ethnic**: ΠΡΟΤΕΑΕΩΝ; and Schönert-Geiss's review of the numismatic literature in *Chiron* 8 (1978) 640-41.

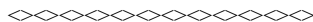
5. In the literary texts the **city name** appears, for example, as ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Ἀσιανὸν Ὀλυμπον (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F28.6), and *sub Olympio* (Pliny *NH* 5.148).

The **ethnic** is found as Προυσαεῖς ἀπὸ Ὀλύμπ[ου] (*IG* XIV.1077 = *IGR* I.139). On the confusion in private documents between Prousa and the two Prousiases, see PROUSIAS on the Hypios.

For the **location** see Dörner, 1075.

Prousius by the Sea

From Strabo (12.4.3) and Polybius (15.23.9-10) we learn that after Philip V razed the city of Kios in 202 B.C. and sold the inhabitants into slavery, he handed over the deserted site to Prousius I of Bithynia. The latter restored the town and called it "Prousius."¹ The new name and ethnic appear in various forms. On coins of the first century B.C. it is ΠΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ Η ΕΙ Α Α ΙΟ .² The name did not last long. ΚΙΑΝ Ν is found again on coins from the time of Claudius. The tribe Herakleotis is known from Imperial times.³ Prousius was located at the site of the modern Gemlik, in the inner part of the bay of the same name.⁴



In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Kios 1"; Tscherikowcr, 49; J. Sölch, *Klio* 19 (1925) 148-50; Magie, 188-89; Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Prusias 1" 1094-95; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 48; Leschhorn, *Cründer*, 276-77; T. Corsten, in *I Kios*, 39-40.

1. On the **founding** see also Stephanos s.v. "Prousa." The restored beginning of *OGIS* 340 (= *I. Kios* 24), an inscription from Kios of Imperial date, had [Ἡρακλ[ῆ]ς. Hence, *OGIS* 340 may not be used as evidence for identifying the founder of Prousius.

On the **destruction** of cities see KOLOPHON.

2. For **coins** of Prousius see, for example, Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 315f., nos. 21-27; *Inv. Wadd.* 294-95; *BMC Pontus*, 132, nos. 27-32; *SNG* (Cop) *Bithynia* 385-87; *SNG* (von A) 508; and the review of the numismatic literature by Schönert-Geiss in *Chiron* 8 (1978) 633. On the **ethnic** ΠΡΟΥΣΙΕΙΣ see L. Robert *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 437, no. 13. Note that at 41.2 Memnon confuses Prousius by the Sea with Kieros (Prousius on the Hypios). On the confusion of Prousius by the Sea with PROUSIAS on the Hypios see the latter.

3. For the **reappearance of "Kios" on coins of the Emperor Claudius** see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 509ff. Pliny mistakenly distinguishes Kios from Prousius (*NH* 5.148), as does the *Tab. Peut.* VIII.2 (on which see Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 694, 712); see A. Körte, *AM* 24 (1899) 412 n. 1. For Herakles as "founder" on coins of Claudius see, for example, Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 317, nos. 31-33;

SNG (von A) 509, 7006. For the tribe "Herakleotis" see Lachet and Radet, 201, no. 12; Mendel, *BCH* 24: (1900) 376, no. 23.

4. For the **location** of Prousius at the head of the bay see Scylax 93 (*GGM*, 1: 68) and Pomp. Mela 1.100.

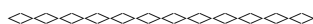
Prousius on the Hypios

According to Memnon (*FGrH* 434 F19 and 32) Prousius I captured Kieros from Heraldeia on the Pontus and renamed it after himself.¹ The precise founding date is not known. In any event it certainly took place between the outbreak of the war against Herakleia in the first decade of the second century B.C. and 183 B.C. (Prousius' death).

The town name appears as **Προυσαεύς**. Nevertheless, confusion between the two Prousiases—on the Hypios and by the Sea—and Prousa was common in private documents. Furthermore in inscriptions the name "Prousius" was often written without any further designation.² This situation is ameliorated somewhat by the fact that, according to the numismatic evidence, Prousius by the Sea reassumed its original name of Kios from the reign of Claudius.³ Thus, after this time the name "Prousius" and its ethnic can normally be attributed to Prousius on the Hypios.

Kieros was originally founded by Herakleia, itself a colony of Megara. Traces of this connection can be seen in the presence of a magistrate in Roman Prousius with the title of **βασιλεύς** was the title of the eponymous magistrate of Megara. Furthermore there was also a tribe named Megaris in Roman Prousius (*JGR* III.1422). Other tribes known from the same inscription, which may date from an early phase in the city's history, include Thebais, Dionysios, and Prousius. The latter name suggests the existence of a founder cult of Prousius I.⁴

Prousius on the Hypios was located at the site of the modern village of Üsküb.⁵



In general see Tscherikower, 45; Dörner, *RE* s.v. "Prusias ad Hypium," 1128-48; id., *DAWW* 75: 7-9; Magie, *RRAM*, 307, 1190; N. Firatli, *PECS* s.v. "Prusias ad

Hypium"; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 11-128; Leschhorn, *Gründer*, 278-79; *I. Prusias ad Hypium*, 3-4 and literary *testimonia* on pp. 217-26.

1 For the history of Kieros-Prouσίας in the third and second centuries B.C. see Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Prusias 1," 1096-97; Robert, *ATAM*, 61.

2. For the **name of the town** see Dörner, *RE*, 1132-33; Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 230. *IGR* I. 139 (= *IG XIV*. 1077 = *I. Prusias ad Hypium* T1) correctly distinguishes Prouσίας on the Hypios, Prouσίας by the Sea, and Prousa on Olympus. For the **confusion as to the correct ethnic** for Prousa and Prouσίας in private documents see, for example, *SEG* II.428 (from Philippi): *εὐε (καὶ Προῦσαν)*. Memnon mistakenly equated Prouσίας by the Sea with Kieros (*FGrH* 434 F28.6-7). For references to "Prouσίας" (without any further designation), which may refer to either city, see Dörner, *RE*, 1133-34; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 230 n. 1; id., *ATAM*, 82-83; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1958) 477. L. Robert has collected and arranged by geographic location the references to Prouσίας on the Hypios that have been found outside the city (*HTAM*, 77ff.). The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (VIII.3) records a place called Dusepro Solympum, which Dörner has demonstrated can be identified with the Druso pros Ipeo (i.e., Prouσίας on the Hypios) in the *Gosmography* of the Ravenna Geographer (ed. Parthey p. 112). Dörner has also shown that the Dusae ad Olympum, which W. von Diest (*Von Perg.*, 85-86) postulated was located at Beyköy near the modern Turkish Düzce (south of Prouσίας on the Hypios), in fact never existed; see Dörner's article in *Studies D. M. Robinson*, 1: 374-79; id., *DAWW* 75: 8; also L. Robert, *ATAM*, 110-12; J. and L. Robert, in *La toponymie*, 31-32. In some of the lives of the Saints the city is called "Plousias"; see F Halkin, *Analecta Bollandiana* 62 (1944) 189 n. 6; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1958) 477.

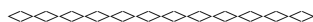
3. For **coinage** see, for example, Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 602-14; *SNG* (von A) 885-916; and Schönert-Geiss's bibliographic review in *Chiron* 8 (1978) 641.

4. On the magistrate *κτίστης* see Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 604, no. 8. For the tribes see LW III.1176 (= *IGR* III.1422 = *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 11); see also L. Robert, *Hellenica* 8 (1950) 76; Dörner, *RE*, 1136-37; N. Jones, *Public Organization*, 348-50. The same inscription also records tribes with Imperial names; cf. LW III.1177, which contains a complete list of the city's twelve tribes under the Empire. For a cult of Prouσίας possibly as founder see Leschhorn, 279; see also Habicht, *Gott.*,² 154.

5. For the **location** of Prouσίας at Üsküb see Dörner, *DAWW* 75:7-8 and photographs at end; L. Robert, *ATAM*, 11ff.; and map II of von Diest, *Von Perg.*

Zeila (Or Ziela)

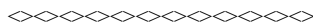
Our only source of information for the settlement of Zeila, Stephanos (s.v. "Zela"), is open to question. He describes it as a polis of Cappadocia founded by Ziaēlas the son of Nikomedes. The location as given by Stephanos must be incorrect because Ziaēlas cannot have controlled territory so far to the southeast of Bithynia. Presumably the town was farther west; where, we do not know.



In general see Meyer, *Gesch. des Königs Pontos*, 50; Beloch, *GG²*, 4.1: 672 n. 2; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 33; Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Ziaelas," 393 and references cited there.

Zipoition

Both Stephanos (s.v. "Zipoition") and Memnon (*FGrH* 434 F12.5) ascribe the founding of Zipoition to Zipoites. Memnon adds that it was located at the foot of Mount Lypedron. From a dedicatory inscription of Attalos II recording a victory over Prousius I gained at Mount Lypedron (*OGIS* 298.3) we may assume that this in fact was the mountain to which Memnon refers.¹ Neither the precise location of the mountain nor the foundation is known. The founding date is not known either, though it was probably in the period 297-280 B.C.²



In general see Tscherikower, 50; Vitucci, *Bitinia*, 20; Magie, *RRAM*, 1196; Habicht, *RE* s.w. "Zipoites 1" and "Zipoition."

1. *OGIS* 298 = *I. Perg.* 65. Pausanias (5.12.7) says that Nikomedes refounded Astakos as Nikomedeia and that its first founder was Zipoites. On the basis of this and the fact that Zipoites besieged Astakos (Diod. 19.60.3) and Lysimachos destroyed it (Strabo 12.4.2), Jones suggested (*CERE²*, 419) that the site of Zipoition was the same as that of the later Nikomedeia. But Pausanias says only that Zipoites founded Nikomedeia. He says nothing about the identification of the two settlements (Waddington et al., *Recueil*, 1: 512 n. 1; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Nikomedeia," 471; Vitucci, 20; see also NIKOMEDEIA).

2. The **founding date** of the settlement may be connected with (a) the assumption of the royal title by Zipoites in 297 B.C. (for this year as the beginning of the Bithynian era see Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Zipoites 1," 451; W. H. Bennett, *Hist.* 10 [1961] 460-61, following T. Reinach, *Rois de Bithynie*, 40, 43-45, who later changed his mind and suggested the era began in 298 B.C.; see Waddington

et al., *Recueil*, 1: 217-18; for a full discussion of this problem and bibliography see Habicht and Bennett) or, less probably, (b) Zipoites' victory over Hermogenes, an officer of Antiochos I, in 280 B.C. (Droysen, *Hist.*, 2: 706; contra, Habicht, *RE* s.v. "Zipoites 1," 454-55).

Appendices

I Founders

The colonies are grouped below by founder. Definite attributions are indicated thus: (+). Probable or possible attributions are indicated thus: (@).

	<i>Achaean</i>
Antigoneia Mantinea (+)	
	<i>Ada</i>
Alexandreia by Latmos (@)	
	<i>Aetolian</i>
Arsinoe Konope (@)	
Attaleia in Aetolia (@)	
Lysimacheia in Aetolia (@)	
Ptolemais in Aetolia (@)	
	<i>Alexander</i>
Alexandropolis in Thrace (+)	
Kalindoia (+)	

In addition, there are a number of towns in Asia Minor that had a tradition (often from the Roman period or later) of Alexander as the founder or that have been attributed to Alexander by modern scholars (see the discussion in Appendix II). These include

Aigeai
Alexandreia by Latmos

Alexandreia Troas
 Amorion
 Apollonia in Phrygia
 Chrysopolis
 Eukarpeia
 Ilion
 Kretopolis
 Nikaia
 Otrous
 Priene
 Smyrna

Amastris

Amastris (+)

Antigonids

Colony	Founder
Antigoneia (Nikaia)	Antigonos I (+)
Antigoneia near Daskyleion	Antigonos I (@)
Antigoneia in Mysia	Antigonos I (@)
Antigoneia Troas	Antigonos I (+)
Kolophon	Antigonos I (@)
Kretopolis	Antigonos I (@)
Smyrna	Antigonos I (+)
Dokimeion	Antigonos I or Dokimos
Synnada	Antigonos I or Dokimos
Demetrias in Macedonia	Demetrios I or Demetrios II
Demetrias in Thessaly	Demetrios I (+)
Demetrias Sikyon	Demetrios I (+)
Antigoneia in Chalcidice	Antigonos II (@)
Stratonikeia in Chalcidice	Antigonos II (@)
Phila	Demetrios II (+)
Antigoneia in Paeonia	Antigonos III (@)
Olympias	Philip V (+)

Perseis	Philip V (+)
Philippoi in Caria	Philip V (@)
Philippopolis Gomphoi	Philip II or V
Philippopolis Phthiotic Thebes	Philip V (+)

Antiochos IV of Commagene

Antioch on Kragos (@)

Attalids

Colony	Founder
Pergamon	Philetairos (+)
Attaleia in Lydia	Eumenes I (@)
Philetaireia	Eumenes I (@)
Katoikia of the Aigosages	Attalos I (+)
Gergitha	Attalos I (@)
Mernouphyta	Attalos I (+)
Apollonis	Eumenes II (@)
Eumeneia in Hyrkania	Eumenes II (@)
Panion	Eumenes II (+)
Dionysopolis	Eumenes II and Attalos II (+)
Attaleia in Pamphylia	Attalos II (+)
Eumeneia in Phrygia	Attalos II (+)
Hellenopolis	Attalos II (@)
Philadelphieia in Lydia	Attalos II (+)
-aleia	?
Gargara	?
Pantheotai	?

Bithynia

Colony	Founder
Zipoition	Zipoites (+)
Nikomedeia	Nikomedes I (+)
Nikomedion	Nikomedes I (@)

Zeila	Ziaëlas (+)
Apameia Myrleia	Prousias I (@)
Bithynion	Prousias I (@)
Prousa	Prousias I (+) (Hannibal)
Prousias by the Sea	Prousias I (+)
Prousias on the Hypios	Prousias I (+)
Epiphaneia	Nikomedes II (@)

Cappadocia

Colony	Founder
Ariaramneia	Ariaramnes (@)
Ariaratheia	Ariarathes IV (@)
Eusebeia near Argaios	Ariarathes V (@)
Eusebeia near the Tauros	Ariarathes V (@)

Kassandros

Colony	Founder
Antipatreia (@)	
Kassandreia (+)	
Thebes (+)	
Thessalonike (+)	
Pleistarcheia	Pleistarchos, brother of Kassandros (@)
Uranopolis	Alexarchos, brother of Kassandros (+)

Lysias/Philomelos Family

Lysias (@)
Philomelion (@)

Lysimachos

Colony
Agathokleia (@)
Agathopolis (@)

Alexandreia Troas (+)
 Arsinoe Ephesos (+)
 Eurydikeia Smyrna (+)
 Ilion (+)
 Lysimacheia in Aeolis (@)
 Lysimacheia in Thrace (+)
 Nikaia (+)

Pontus

Colony	Founder
Pharnakeia	Pharnakes I (@)
Berenike on Chios	Mithridates VI (+)
Eupatoria Amisos	Mithridates VI (+)
Eupatoria Magnopolis	Mithridates VI (+)
Eupatorion	Mithridates VI (+) (Diophantos founded it)
Laodikeia	Mithridates VI (@)

Ptolemies

Colony	Founder
Arsinoe in Cilicia	Ptolemy II (+) (Aetos founded it)
Arsinoe in Pamphylia	Ptolemy II (@)
Arsinoe Lyktou	Ptolemy II (@)
Arsinoe Marion	Ptolemy II (@)
Arsinoe Methana	Ptolemy II (@)
Arsinoe near Palaipaphos	Ptolemy II (@)
Arsinoe near Salamis	Ptolemy II (@)
Arsinoe on Keos	Ptolemy II (@)
Arsinoe Patara	Ptolemy II (+)
Arsinoe Rhithymna	Ptolemy II (@)
Berenike in Cilicia	Ptolemy II (@)
Philadelphiea in Cilicia	Ptolemy II (@)
Philotera	Ptolemy II (@)
Ptolemais in Carla	Ptolemy II (@)
Ptolemais in Pamphylia	Ptolemy II (@)
Ptolemais Larisa(?)	Ptolemy III (@)
Ptolemais Lebedos	Ptolemy III (@)

Pyrrhos

Antigoneia in Epirus (@)

Berenike in Epirus (+)

Seleucids

Colony	Founder
Antioch on the Pyramos	Seleukos I (@)
Antioch on the Kydnos	Seleukos I (@)
Apameia Damea	Seleukos I (@)
Apollonia Salbake	Seleukos I or Antiochos I
Thyateira	Seleukos I (@)
Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos	Seleukos I (+)
Antioch Alabanda	Antiochos I or II
Antioch Kebren	Antiochos I (@)
Antioch in the Propontis	Antiochos I (@)
Antioch on the Maeander	Antiochos I (@)
Antioch near Pisidia	Antiochos I (@)
Apameia Kelainai	Antiochos I (+)
Apollonia in Phrygia	Antiochos I or II (@)
Hierapolis in Phrygia	Antiochos I or II (@)
Hyrkanis	Antiochos I (@)
Magnesia near Sipylos	Antiochos I (@)
Nysa	Antiochos I (@) and Seleukos I (@)
Palaimagnesia	Antiochos I (+)
Seleukeia in Pamphylia	Antiochos I (@)
Seleukeia in Pisidia	Antiochos I (@)
Seleukeia Tralleis	Antiochos I (@)
Stratonikeia in Carla	Antiochos I (@)
Stratonikeia in Lydia	Antiochos I (@)
Laodikeia on the Lykos	Antiochos II (@)
Amyzon	Antiochos III (+) (Menestratos)
Jewish Colonies in Lydia and Phrygia	Antiochos III (+)
Kardakon Kome	Antiochos III (@)
Lysimacheia in Thrace	Antiochos III (+)
Sardis	Antiochos III (+)

Antioch on the Saros	Antiochos IV (@)
Epiphaneia Oiniandos	Antiochos IV (@)
Hierapolis Castabala	Antiochos IV (@)
Seleukeia on the Pyramos	Seleukos IV or Antiochos IV
Agatheira	?
Akrasos	?
Antioch in Mysia	?
Doidye	?
-espoura	?
Gordos	?
Kobedyle	?
Laodikeia Katakekaumene	?
Mysomakedones	?
Nakrason	?
Peltai	?
	<i>Seuthes III</i>
Seuthopolis	

II

Settlements in Asia Minor Attributed to Alexander

The thirteen settlements in Asia Minor listed below have been attributed, in antiquity or by modern scholars, to Alexander the Great. Consult the appropriate entries for further discussion and references.

AIGEAI The evidence for Alexander being the founder of Aigeai is found only in a late redaction of the Alexander Romance. A letter in the Romance, purportedly written by the Macedonian king to his mother, relates how he founded Aigeai after the battle of Issos. The letter includes a description of how he used goats with torches on their horns to frighten the Persians into thinking the Macedonian army was large. In fact a coin type of Aigeai of the early third century A.D.) has a picture of a goat with torches attached to its horns. This does not seem to me to be sufficient evidence to claim Alexander as the founder of the settlement.

ALEXANDREIA BY LATMOS This is a particularly difficult city to discuss. Not only do we not know who founded it, we do not know its location. In fact two possibilities (Alinda and Herakleia by Latmos) have been suggested as its location, and four different persons (the Carian queen Ada, Alexander, Lysimachos, and Antigonos Monophthalmos) have been proffered as the founder. There is no ancient evidence that names Alexander as the founder. Rather it is a modern theory.

ALEXANDREIA Troas W. W. Tarn contends that Alexander founded this city. His claim is based on two points: (a) Appian's reference to Alexandreia τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ (Syr 29) should be translated "of the Granikos" and means that Alexander intended to build a city at the site of the later Alexandreia, just as he promised to rebuild Ilion. However, Tarn does admit that the promise for Alexandreia is unrecorded. (b) A late tradition, recorded by

Stephanos ("Alexandreia 2") and pseudo-Callisthenes, says that Alexander founded Alexandreia Troas. Both these sources are weak and suspect. Stephanos' errors and confusions make him a weak primary source without other, corroborating evidence. In this case the corroborating evidence is pseudo-Callisthenes, whose "Life of Alexander" is a late historical romance, not a history.

AMORION. The claim that Alexander founded Amorion is a modern one, based on the appearance of the name "Alexander" on coins of the city. The argument for the Macedonian king as the person mentioned on the coinage is unconvincing. More probably it is the name of a city magistrate.

APOLLONIA in Phrygia. In the nineteenth century J. G. Droysen suggested that the Macedonian king had founded Apollonia. He based this suggestion on Apollonian coinage of Imperial date with the name and the portrait of Alexander the Great. In fact the coins are to be connected with the Severan emperors of the early third century A.D. There is the—remote—possibility of a connection between the Thracians in Apollonia mentioned on Apollonian coins and in inscriptions and some Thracians who served as guides for the Macedonian king when he was in the area. But this hardly proves he founded Apollonia.

CHRYSOPOLEIS. Malalas, writing in the sixth century A.D., claimed that Alexander named this city. This is impossible. The only Chrysopolis in Bithynia was north of Kalchedon in an area never visited by Alexander. Furthermore, Xenophon, writing in the first half of the fourth century B.C., already knew of the town's existence (*Anab.* 6.6.38).

EUKARPEIA. There is no ancient evidence that indicates unequivocally that the Macedonian king founded Eukarpeia. The possibility that he did found Eukarpeia is based on a suggestion of Thomas Drew-Bear. He has called attention to an inscription found at Çorhisar in the Sandikli plain and dated palaeographically to the Imperial period that reads: "Alexander the Macedonian founder of the city" (*IGR* IV 692). He postulated that it was brought there from the site of Eukarpeia and, hence, that Alexander the Great was considered to be the founder of Eukarpeia. Based on the present state of the evidence this remains a speculative reconstruction.

ILION. Strabo (13.1.26) devotes a good deal of attention to Alexander's plans for Ilion. He says that Alexander adorned the temple of Athena with votive offerings, called the village of Ilion a "city," gave orders to improve it with buildings, and judged it free and exempt from tribute. Obviously a man with good intentions! The question is, what, substantively, did he do for Ilion? Very little, I suspect. Later he sent a letter to Ilion promising to make it a great city, to build a magnificent temple, and to announce

sacred games. Again, the intentions are most commendable; the substance, however, probably never materialized. Finally, there was a tribe named Alexandris. The difficulty is that we do not know whether the tribe name referred to the Macedonian king or to Paris.

KRETOPOLIS In recounting the events of 319 B.C. Diodorus mentions a Pisidian city, Kretopolis, that Antigonos Monophthalmos reached in the course of his struggle with Alketas (18.44.2; 47.4). There is no explicit ancient evidence indicating this was a Hellenistic colony. However, the toponym has led some modern scholars to suggest this was a Hellenistic colony, possibly founded by Alexander.

NIKAIA Memnon of Herakleia (*FGH* 434 F28) says that soldiers from Nikaia in Phokis who were fighting with Alexander founded Nikaia in Bithynia. There are coins of Imperial date from Nikaia that display a portrait of Alexander (e.g., Imhoof-Blumer, *KLM*, 9, no. 3). However, the Macedonian king was never in this region, and hence it is unlikely that his veterans would have founded a colony here. On the other hand, Stephanos (s.v. "Nikaia") writes that Nikaia was a colony of Bottiaia in Macedonia. It may be, as Tscherikower suggests (47), that the Bottiaians were veterans of the army of Antigonos Monophthalmos.

OTROUS The connection between Otrous and Alexander the Great is extremely tenuous. The inscription found at Çorhisar (*IGR* IV 692) claims Alexander the Macedonian as the "founder of the city." The question is, which city? W. M. Ramsay has suggested that Çorhisar was the site of ancient Otrous. This is, however, only speculation. In fact the site of Otrous is not definitely known. Hence we cannot, based on the available evidence, claim Alexander as the founder of Otrous.

PRIENE The notion that Alexander refounded Priene is a modern one. Essentially it is based on the lack of epigraphic and literary evidence for the city in the period 390-330 B.C. Furthermore the excavators of Priene, T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, believed that nothing at the site of the refounded city could be dated to before the Hellenistic period. Clearly Alexander was very interested in Priene: witness his dedication of the Athena Polias temple. However, one still awaits *firm and positive* evidence before ascribing the refoundation to him.

SMYRNA Strabo reports (14.1.37) that as a result of its destruction by Alyattes in the sixth century B.C. Smyrna had been reduced to a "village-like" existence and had continued in this condition until Antigonos Monophthalmos revived it. Strabo, who was probably relying on Artemidoros of Ephesos (late second century) for his discussion, makes no mention of Alexander doing anything for Smyrna. Nor has any archaeological evidence come to light.

that points unequivocally to Alexander as the founder. On the other hand, there *was* a local tradition, recorded by Pausanias (7.5.10), Pliny (*NH* 5.118), and Aelius Aristides (20.7, 20; 21.4; ed. Keil), that Alexander refounded Smyrna. *Nora bene* that all three authors are relatively late (first and second century A.D.), while Pausanias and Aelius Aristides mention Alexander in the context of a myth about the city's founding. Pliny, incidentally, says Smyrna was founded by an Amazon and restored by Alexander. Not a very reassuring combination. Again, one can understand local pride in trying to fashion a tie to Alexander. One looks in vain, however, for a substantive indication.

It will immediately be dear that no settlement in Asia Minor can be unequivocally attributed to Alexander. In some cases the attributions are modern. In other cases the evidence for them is late, dating from the Roman period or even later. Of the thirteen cities, seven—Priene, Alexandreia by Latmos, Amorion, Apollonia in Phrygia, Eukarpeia, Otrous, and Kretopolis—have been championed by modern historians. Three—Chrysopolis, Alexandreia Troas, and Aigeai—are mentioned by late antique or Byzantine writers. Only three—Ilium, Smyrna, and Nikaia—preserve a tradition going back to antiquity, and even in these instances the tradition is hardly secure. Excavation at a number of sites—at Smyrna and Priene, for example—has yielded information for a *possible* attribution. In no case, however, is the extant evidence sufficient for firmly assigning any foundation in Asia Minor to Alexander.

III

Towns in Asia Minor With Evidence for Macedonians or macedonian connections

The towns in Asia Minor listed below provide evidence for the presence of Macedonians. The evidence comes in various forms: attestations in the literary sources, Macedonian personal and month names, the Macedonian shield on coins, the ethnic "Macedonian" in an inscription or on a coin. Since it was Macedonians under Alexander and his successors who conquered and colonized the Hellenistic world, evidence for their presence at a particular site is always welcome and potentially useful. Nevertheless one must exercise caution in utilizing this information. The appearance of a single Macedonian name at a site—in the absence of other data—is insufficient to prove the existence of a Macedonian colony. The ethnic "Macedonian" is found on the coins and inscriptions of a number of towns primarily in Lydia and Phrygia. However, one should note that the chronological framework for this evidence is different for each of the two regions. The Lydian evidence dates primarily from the second century B.C. The evidence from Phrygia and neighboring regions, on the other hand, first appears in the second and third centuries A.D.—long after the period of Hellenistic colonization (see G. M. Cohen, *Anc. Soc.* 22 [1991]41-50).

(?) = The evidence for a Macedonian presence in the town is particularly weak.

Adrouta (?)	Antioch near Pisidia (?)
Agathaira	Apollonis
Aigeai	Blaundos
Akrasos	Doidye
Amorion (?)	Dokimeion

Dorylaion	Nikaia
-espoura	Olymos
Hierapolis	Otrous (?)
Hyrkanis	Palaimagnesia
Kobedyle	Peltai
Laodikeia Katakekaumene	Pergamon
Laodikeia on the Lykos	Philadelphieia in Lydia
Lasnedda (?)	"Poemaneni Macedones Ascula- cae"
Makedones in Lydia	Stratonikeia in Caria
Metropolis	Synnada
Mylasa	Tabala (?)
Mysomakedones	Thyateira
Nakrason	

IV

Colonies: Rejected or Doubtful

There will inevitably be some disagreement about which towns to include in a list of Hellenistic colonies. The following are towns that I do not believe were Hellenistic colonies ("rejected") or whose status is unclear ("doubtful"). The reader is referred to the appropriate entries for further discussion.

Rejected

Akmoneia	Kidyessos
Amorion	Kressa
Antioch in Lydia	Moschakome
Apollonia in Mysia	Mostene
Apollonia on the Maeander	Mylasa
Apollonia on the Rhyndakos	Neonteichos
Chrysopolis	Pyrrheion
Eumeneia in Carla	Selge
Kadoi	

Doubtful

Adrouta	Attaleia in Aetolia
Agathokleia	Brouzos
Agathopolis	Dorylaion
Alexandreia by Latmos	Hellenopolis
Antioch in Mysia	Kretopolis
Antioch in the Propontis	Lyendos
Antiochienses	Metropolis

Mysian Katoikiai	Philippoi in Caria
Nikopolis	Priene
Nyssa	Ptolemais Larisa
Olymos	Satala
Otrous	Stektorion
Pessinus	Tabala

V

Refoundations and New foundations

The evidence for settlements that were refoundings or renamings of older urban centers is quite extensive. It is clear that the Hellenistic monarchs focused much of their energy on urbanization: on the older cities in Greece, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and native towns in other parts of Asia Minor. Frequently ancient authors will indicate what the name of the town had been before it was refounded or renamed, or will specify that a particular place had resulted from a synoecism. Similarly inscriptions will occasionally make reference to a *synoikismos*. I have noted elsewhere that the term could be used to describe a number of different processes. It could, for example, refer to the political unification of various towns with or without the inhabitants actually moving or the repopulation of a city with former inhabitants who had fled.

On the other hand, the evidence for new settlements is meager. By "new" I mean a foundation built at a previously uninhabited site. And even in these cases the site was often near or adjacent to an older town. The relatively few firm attestations for new foundations undoubtedly reflect the fact that most of the Hellenistic colonies resulted from the refounding or renaming of older settlements. It was obviously less expensive and less burdensome to refound an existing town than to establish a new settlement at a previously uninhabited site. Furthermore one should always bear in mind that the fragmentary nature of the evidence severely restricts our knowledge about the history of many of the colonies.

Refoundations

(?) = The evidence for the particular town being a refoundation or a new foundation is weak or inconclusive.

[Agathokleia]	
Alexandreia by Latmos	
Alexandreia Troas	Synoecism
Alexandropolis	
Amastris	Synoecism
Amyzon	Synoecism
Antigoneia in Bithynia (Nikaia)	
Antigoneia in Chalcidice (?)	
Antigoneia Mantinea	
Antigoneia Troas	Synoecism
Antioch Kebren	Synoecism
Antioch near Pisidia	
Antioch on the Kydnos	
Antioch on the Maeander	Synoecism
Antioch on the Pyramos	
Antioch on the Saros	
Antioch Alabanda	
Antioch in Mysia	
Apameia Damea	
Apameia Myrleia	
Apollonia in Phrygia	
Apollonis	Synoecism
Arsinoe Konope	
Arsinoe Lyktou (?)	
Arsinoe Marion	
Arsinoe Methana	
Arsinoe on Keos	
Arsinoe Patara	
Arsinoe Rhithymna	
Attaleia in Aetolia(?)	
Attaleia in Lydia	
Berenike on Chios	
Bithynion	
Demetrias in Thessaly	Synoecism
Demetrias Sikyon	
Epiphaneia Oiniandos	
Eusebeia near Argaios	
Eusebeia near the Tauros	
Gergitha(?)	
Hellenopolis	Synoecism
Hierapolis Castabala	
Hierapolis in Phrygia	

Hyrkanis (?)	
Ilion	
Kalindoia	Synoecism
Kassandreia	Synoecism
Kolophon	
Laodikeia on the Lykos	
Lysimacheia in Thrace	Synoecism (under Antiochos III)
Nikaia	
Nysa	Synoecism
Olympias	
Pantheotai	
Peltai	
Pergamon	
Pharnakeia	Synoecism
Philadelphieia in Lydia (?)	
Philippoi in Caria	
Philippopolis Gomphoi	
Philippopolis Phthiotic Thebes	
Pleistarcheia	
Poimaneion	
Prouusias by the Sea	
Prouusias on the Hypios	
Ptolemais in Caria (?)	
Ptolemais Larisa	
Ptolemais Lebedos	
Sardis	Synoecism
Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos	Synoecism
Seleukeia on the Pyramos	
Seleukeia Tralleis	
Stratonikeia in Caria	
Synnada (?)	
Thebes	
Thessalonike	Synoecism
Thyateira	

New Foundations

Aigeai (?)	
Katoikia of the Aigosages	
Antigoneia in Epirus	
Apameia Kelainai	Relocation
Arsinoe Ephesos	Relocation

Arsinoe in Cilicia	
Attaleia in Pamphylia	
Demetrias Sikyon	Relocation
Dionysopolis	
Eupatoria Amisos	
Eupatoria Magnopolis (?)	
Eupatorion (?)	
Eurydikeia Smyrna	Relocation/Synoecism
Lysimacheia in Thrace	Synoecism (under Lysimachos)
Nikomedeia	Relocation/(Synoecism?)
Philadelphiea in Lydia (?)	
Priene (?)	Relocation (?)
Seuthopolis	

VI

Foundations at or Near Major Religious Centers

A number of Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor were established at or near religious centers (see further Boffo, *Re ellenistici*, 7-8 and passim; S. Isager, in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. P. Bilde et al. [Aarhus, 1990] 80-88). These settlements included the following:

Antioch near Pisidia	Kolophon
Antioch on the Pyramos	Nysa
Apollonia Salbake	Pantheotai (?)
Eumeneia in Phrygia (?)	Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos
Hierapolis Castabala	Seleukeia Tralleis
Hierapolis in Phrygia	Stratonikeia in Caria
Ilion	

VII

Population Transfer

Many of the Hellenistic foundations were established as a result of population transfer: the Greek and Macedonian settlers were immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. This fact found later expression in the many colonies that claimed descent from Macedonians, Achaeans, Ionians, Dorians, etc. In addition, for some foundations there are statements or indications that a transfer of population was involved in establishing the new colony. Among these were the following:

Katoikia of the Aigosages

Antigoneia Mantinea

Antioch near Pisidia

Antioch on the Maeander (?)

Attaleia in Pamphylia (?)

Berenike on Chios

Gargara

Gergitha

Jewish Colonies in Lydia and Phrygia

Kardakon Kome (?)

Petsels (?)

Philippopolis Phthiotic Thebes

Other colonies included people who were moved from a town(s) or village(s) in the vicinity of the new foundation. The following were among such colonies:

Alexandropolis in Thrace (?)

Amyzon

Apameia Kelainai

Apollonis (?)

Synoecism

Arsinoe Ephesos	
Arsinoe in Cilicia	
Arsinoe Marion	
Demetrias Sikyon	
Eurydikeia Smyrna	Synoecism
Hellenopolis	
Ilion	
Kassandreia	Synoecism
Lysimacheia in Thrace (?)	Synoecism
Nikomedeia	Synoecism
Pharnakeia	Synoecism
Sardis	Synoecism
Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos	
Thebes	
Thessalonike	Synoecism

VIII

Civic Institutions

The Hellenistic foundations provide extensive evidence—occasionally from the Roman period—for various civic institutions and activities. For example, evidence for a council and/or an assembly can be found at the following:

Aigeai (demos)	Gordos
Akrasos	Hierapolis Castabala
[Alexandreia by Latmos]	Ilion
Amyzon	Kassandreia (boule)
Antigoneia Mantinea ("hoi loipoi politai" and a synedrion	Kolophon
	Laodikeia on the Lykos
	Nakrason
Antioch near Pisidia	Nikomedeia ? (boule)
Antioch on the Pyramos	Nysa
Apameia Kelainai (boule)	Peltai (boule)
Apollonia Salbake	Prousa
Arsinoe Ephesos	Sardis
Attaleia in Lydia	Seleukeia in Pamphylia
Demetrias in Thessaly	Seleukeia Tralleis
Demetrias Sikyon (boule)	Synnada (demos)
Eukarpeia (boule)	Themisonion (?)
Eusebeia near the Tauros (demos)	Thessalonike

We have evidence for strategoi at the following:

Antioch near Pisidia	Ariaramneia
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Demetrias in Thessaly	Lysimacheia in Thrace
Demetrias Sikyon	Nakrason (?)
-espoura	Sardis
Hierapolis in Phrygia	Seleukeia Tralleis
Ilion	Synnada
Kassandreia	Themisonion (?)
Laodikeia on the Lykos	

Archontes are attested at these foundations:

Antioch on the Pyramos	Demetrias in Thessaly
Arsinoe in Cilicia	

Tamiai can be found at these settlements:

Antioch on the Pyramos	Nakrason (?)
Arsinoe in Cilicia	Sardis
Demetrias in Thessaly	Seleukeia Tralleis
Kassandreia	Thessalonike

There are attestations for an epistates at the following:

Amyzon	Prousa
Arsinoe on Keos	Thessalonike
Nakrason (?)	

Information attesting the existence of gymnasia in the Hellenistic period is, predictably, widespread. We know of gymnasia and gymnasiarchs at these foundations:

Antioch on the Pyramos	Laodikeia on the Lykos
Apameia Kelainai	Mernouphyta (?)
Apollonia Salbake	Pergamon
Apollonis (?)	Sardis
Arsinoe Marion	Stratonikeia in Lydia
Bithynion (Imperial period)	Themisonion (?)
Demetrias Sikyon	Thessalonike
Eusebeia near the Tauros	Thyateira
Hierapolis Castabala	the military colony near Pergamon (RC 51)
Ilion	
Laodikeia Katakekaumene	

There is evidence of ephebes at

Apollonis	Stratonikeia in Lydia
Philadelphiea in Lydia	

Evidence for tribes and tribal organization comes from

Amastris	Nikaia
Amyzon	Nikomedeia
Antioch near Pisidia (?)	Nysa
Antioch on the Pyramos	Pergamon
Bithynion	Philadelphiea in Lydia
Eumeneia in Phrygia	Prousius by the Sea
Hierapolis in Phrygia	Prousius on the Hypios
Ilion	Sardis
Kassandreia (?)	Seleukeia Tralleis
Kolophon	Stratonikeia in Caria
Laodikeia Katakekaumene	Thessalonike
Laodikeia on the Lykos	

Demes are known to have existed in

Kassandreia	Thessalonike
Stratonikeia in Caria	

The following Hellenistic foundations served as royal residences:

Apameia Kelainai	Laodikeia in Pontus (?)
Arsinoe Ephesos	Lysimacheia in Thrace
Demetrias in Thessaly	Nikomedeia
Eupatoria Amisos	Pergamon

Under the Attalids there was a royal palace at Tralleis.

Reaching out into the Hellenistic world, SELEUKEIA Tralleis exchanged *isopoliteia* with Miletos, ARSINOE in Cilicia did likewise with Nagidos, while the citizens of ANTIOCH Alabanda were given Athenian citizenship (see further, Gawantka, *Isopolitie*). Both LAODIKEIA on the Lykos and ANTIOCH near Pisidia accepted the invitation of Magnesia on the Maeander to join in celebration of the festival of Artemis Leukophryene.

Assertions of *syngeneia* were not uncommon. ANTIOCH near Pisidia claimed it with Magnesia on the Maeander, and ANTIOCH on the Maeander had a similar relationship with Samos. In the Imperial period Eumeneia in Phrygia minted coins with the legend **ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ** ΑΧΑΙΩΝ and was described as *eugenes*. The inhabitants of SYNNAIDA claimed to be "Ionians" and/or "Dorians," and there probably were Ionians at LAODIKEIA on the Lykos. Farther east, in Cilicia, AIGEA asserted that it was *eugenes*, and claimed *syngeneia* with Argos (on *eugeneia* and *syngeneia* see EUMENEIA, SYNNAIDA, and AIGEA and literature cited there).

Some colonies were organized along military lines. The Seleucid colony at THYATEIRA certainly had a military organization in its early history as did the colonies at MAGNESIA and PALAIMAGNESIA. STRATONIKEIA in Caria had a military organization alongside its civic structure. The nameless Attalid colony of *RG 51* (see PERGAMON) had a military organization, as did the various foundations concentrated in Lydia from which there are dedicatory or honorific inscriptions made by *οἱ ... Μακεδόνες* or *οἱ ... στρατιῶται*: AGATHEIRA, DOIDYE, -ESPOURA, KOBEDYLE, -ALEIA, LASNEDDA. It is possible that some of the other towns in Phrygia and neighboring regions that provide evidence for Macedonians in the Roman period may have originated as military colonies. In addition there were other foundations whose population included soldiers or ex-soldiers. These included the following:

Apollonis in Lydia	Moxoupolis (?)
Attaleia in Lydia (soldiers stationed there)	Mysotimolos (?)
Eukarpeia	Palaimagnesia
Eumeneia in Phrygia (?)	Pergamon (soldiers stationed there or nearby)
Jewish Colonies in Lydia and Phrygia (?)	Philadelpheia in Lydia
Krithine (?)	Philetaireia (soldiers stationed there)
Magnesia	Thyateira

There are also a number of localities, primarily in Caria, that had soldiers living in or around a city. These soldiers may have been or may have become military colonists. Cities and towns in this category include IASOS, MYLASA, and PENTACHORA. There are other indications that individual soldiers and settlers could receive allotments of land. According to Diodorus (19.25.2) Antigonos Monophthalmos promised to give large allotments to deserters from Eumenes' army. As R. A. Billows suggests, what he promised deserters from Eumenes' army he surely must have given his own officers and men (*Antigonos*, 300).

Many of the foundations provide evidence for the existence of civic cults in honor of members of the royal house. Evidence such as month or tribal names, festivals and gymnastic *agones*, cult precincts, and statues is found at

- Amastris (month: Amastrias)
- Amyzon (cult "of the kings"; also a royal cult and a cult of Zeus Kretagenes and of Diktynne)
- Antioch on the Maeander (tribe: Antiochis)
- Apameia Kelainai (cult statues of Eumenes and Attalos)
- Apollonia in Phrygia (founder cult of Seleukos I?)
- Apollonia Salbake (gymnastic *agon* in honor of Seleukos I)
- Arsinoe Ephesos (founder cult of Lysimachos)

Arsinoe in Cilicia (cult of Arsinoe II as eponymous goddess; also a cult of the "Brother and Sister Gods," Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II)

Bithynion (dedication to Prousius?)

Demetrias in Thessaly (founder cult of Demetrios)

Demetrias Sikyon (sacrifices, festivals, and annual games in honor of Demetrios; a *temenos*, the Arateion, in honor of Aratos)

Eumeneia in Phrygia (the "Eumeneia Philadelphia," commemorating the fraternal affection of Attalos II and Eumenes II)

Hierapolis in Phrygia (tribes: Seleukis, Antiochis, Laodikis, Attalis, Eumenis, Stratonikis)

Ilion (monthly sacrifices at an altar dedicated to Seleukos I as well as a quadrennial festival held in the month of Seleukeios; priest of Antiochos III; if the tribe Alexandris was named for the Macedonian king, it would provide evidence for a cult in his honor; the other possibility is that the tribal name referred to the Trojan prince, Paris)

Kassandreia (eponymous priest, probably of the founder; temporary eponymous priesthood of Lysimachos; a festival, the "Eurydikeia," in honor of Eurydike)

Kolophon (a *temenos*, the Prepelaion; tribe: Seleukis; a festival, the "Antiocheia")

Laodikeia on the Lykos (tribes: Laodikis and Attalis; a festival, the "Antiocheia," was celebrated in the similarly named month in honor of the founder)

Lysimacheia in Thrace (a *temenos*, the Lysimacheion in honor of Lysimachos)

Nysa (tribes: Seleukis and Antiochis)

Pergamon (tribes: Attalis, Eumeneia, Philetairis; month: Eumeneios; sacrifices, altars, and statues to family members)

Priene (a *temenos*, the Alexandreion, in honor of Alexander)

Prousius on the Hypios (tribe: Prousius)

Sardis (a tribe: Eumeneis; a *temenos*, the Laodikeion; a festival, the Laodikeia, in honor of Laodike)

Thessalonike (tribe: Antigonis)

In addition, at Thyateira there is evidence for a dedication to Seleukos I.

IX

Ethnics and Toponyms

Ethnics of cities are to be found on coins, in inscriptions, and in the literary evidence. The ethnic for any particular city will rarely be uniform. Minor variations in spelling were quite common. Similarly, abbreviations on coins take many forms. The appended list is not exhaustive. It gives the main ethnics attested for the cities listed in this book.

A note about Stephanos of Byzantion: in his appropriately named *Ethnika* Stephanos gives the ethnics of cities. Unfortunately his information is not always correct. For example, under "Attaleia" he lists two cities, one in Lydia and one in Cilicia. He then gives the ethnic for both as **ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙΤΕΣ**. As a result, where I have made use of Stephanos' information, I have placed an asterisk next to those ethnics for which he is our sole source of information.

	<i>Epirus</i>
Antigoneia	ANTI ONE N
	<i>Thrace</i>
Agathopolis	A A, A A , A A O
Lysimacheia	ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΩΝ
	<i>Paeonia and Macedonia</i>
Antigoneia in Paeonia	Antigonensis

[Antioch?]	Antiochienses
Demetrias	*ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ
Kassandreia	ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ
	KA AN PI
Phila	* I AIO
Thessalonike	E A ONIKE N
Uranopolis	ΟΥΡΑΝΙΔΩΝ

Thessaly and Aetolia

Arsinoe Konope	AP INOE N
Attaleia in Aetolia	ΑΤΤΑΛΕΥΣ
Demetrias in Thessaly	ΗΜΗΤΡΙΕ N
Lysimacheia in Aetolia	ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΥΣ
Philippopolis Gomphoi	ΙΑΙ Ο Ο ΙΤ N
Ptolemais in Aetolia	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΥΣ

The Peloponnese

Antigoneia Mantinea	ANTI ONE N
	ANTI ONIKA
Arsinoe Methana	AP I

The Islands

Arsinoe Marion	AP] INOE N
Arsinoe on Keos	AP INOEI
Arsinoe Rhithymna	AP I
Berenike on Chios	*ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΕΥΣ

The Troad

Alexandreia Troas	A E AN PE N
Antigoneia (Alexandreia Troas)	ANTI ONEI (?)
Antioch Kebren	ANTIOXE N
Ilion	I IEI
Ptolemais Larisa	TO EMAIE N

Mysia

Antigoneia	*ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΥΣ
Antioch	ANTIOXE N
Pergamon	EPI AMHN N
Poimananon	Poimaneni
	OIMANH N

Ionia

Arsinoe Ephesos
 AP I
 AP INOE N
 Eurydikeia Smyrna
ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΕΩΝ
 Kolophon
 KO O NI N
 Ptolemais Lebedos
 TO

Lydia

Akrasos
 AKPA I T N
 Apollonia on the Maeander
 A O NIAT N
 A O N[I]AT[H A] O **ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΤ**
 Apollonis
 A O NI E N
 A O NEI N
 Attaleia
 ATTA EATH
 Attalenses
 Gordos
ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ OP HN N
 Hyrkanis
ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ
 MAKE ON N **ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ**
ΥΡΚΑΝΙΟΣ
 Makedones
 MAKE ONE
 Mysomakedones
ΜΥΣΟΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
 Mysotimolos
ΜΥΣΟΤΥΜΟΛΕΙΤΑΙ
 Nakrason
 NAKPA IT N/NAKPA EIT N
 MAKE ON N NAKPA EIT N
 NAKPA E N
 Pantheotai
 AN E TAI
 Panteenses
 Philadelpheia
ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΥΣ
 I A E HNO
 I A E E N NEOKAI APE N
 ABI N I A E E N
 Sardis
 AP IAN N
 Stratonikeia
 TPATONIKE N
 A PIANO O IT N TPATONIKE N
 IN EI TPATONEI
 Thyateira
ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ
ΘΥΑΤΙΡΗΝΟΙ

Caria

Alexandreia by Latmos	*ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΤΣ
Amyzon	ΑΜΥΖΟΝΩΝ
Antioch Alabanda	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Ν ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Ν Τ Ν ΕΚ ΧΡΥΣΑΟΡΕΩΝ
Antioch on the Maeander	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Ν ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Ν Τ Ν ΠΟ Τ ΙΜΑΙΑΝ Π Ι ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ
Apollonia Salbake	Α Ο ΝΙΑΤ Ν Α Ο ΝΙΑΤ Ν Α ΒΑΧΗ Α Ο ΝΙΑΘ Α Ο Α ΒΑΧΗ
Nysa	ΝΥΣΑΕΩΝ
Philippoi	Ι Ι ΕΙ
Ptolemais	ΤΟ ΕΜ[ΑΙ]Ε[Ι ΠΟ]ΚΑ Ι
Seleukeia Tralleis	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΤΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΣ ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ
Stratonikeia	ΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕ Ν [ΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕ]Ι ΕΚ ΧΡΥΣΑΟ[ΡΕΩΝ]

Phrygia

Antioch near Pisidia	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Ν
Apameia Kelainai	Α ΑΜΕ Ν ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ
Apollonia	Α ΑΜΕΙ Α Ο ΚΕΙΒΩΤΟΥ Α Ο ΝΙΑΤ Ν Α Ο ΝΙΑΤ Ν ΑΤΚΙΩΝ ΠΑΚ Ν ΚΟ Ν Ν
Blaundos	ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΗΝΟΙ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ ΟΝ Ν
Brouzos	ΒΡΟΥΖΗΝΩΝ
Dionysopolis	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
Dokimeion	ΟΚΙΜΕ Ν ΟΚΙΜΕ Ν ΜΑΚΕ ΟΝ Ν
Dorylaion	ΔΟΥΡΥΛΑΕΩΝ

Eukarpeia	ΕΥΚΑΡΠΕΩΝ
Eumeneia	ΕΥΚΑΡΠΗΤΙΚΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΤΗΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΑΤΗΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΙΤΙΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΑΧΑΙ Ν
Hierapolis	ΙΕΡΑ ΟΑΕΙΤ Ν ΙΕΡΑ ΟΑΙΤ Ν ΙΕΡΟ ΟΑΙΤ Ν
Laodikeia	ΑΟ] ΙΚΕ Ν ΑΟ ΙΚΕ Ν ΡΟ Τ Ι ΛΤΚΩΙ
Lysias	ΛΥΣΙΑΔΕΩΝ
Neonteichos	ΝΕΟΤ[ΕΙ]ΧΕΙΤΑΙ
Otrous	ΟΤΡΟΗΝ Ν
Peltai	Ε ΤΗΝ Ν Ε ΤΗΝ Ν ΜΑΚΕ ΟΝ Ν
Philomelion	Ι ΟΜΗ Ε Ν
Stektorion	ΤΕΚΤΟΡΗΝ Ν
Synnada	ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ΠΙΕ Ν Ι Ν Ν
Themisonion	ΟΕΜΙ ΝΕ Ν <i>Lycia</i>
Kardakon Kome	ΚΑΡ ΑΚ Ν <i>Pamphylia</i>
Arsinoe	ΑΡ ΙΝΟΕΑ ΤΗ Ε Ι ΠΑΜΦΥΛΙΑΣ
Attaleia	ΑΤΤΑΛΕΥΣ
Ptolemais	ΤΟ ΕΜΑΙΕ Ν
Seleukeia-	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ
Claudioseleuceia	ΚΛΑΥΔ[ΙΟΣΕΛΕΥ]ΚΕΙΣ
<i>Pisidia and Lycaonia</i>	
Laodikeia Katakekaume	ΑΟ ΙΚΕ Ν
Laodikeia Katakekaumene- Claudiolaodiceia	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ
Neapolis	ΝΕΑ Ο ΙΤΑ <ΤΑ > Α Ο ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ

Seleukeia-	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ
Claudioseleuceia	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ
	<i>Cilicia</i>
Aigeai	ΑΙ ΕΑΙ Ν
Antioch on Kragos	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Ν ΤΗ ΠΑΡΑΛΙΟΥ Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Κράγγω (toponym) Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Λαμωτὶς (toponym)
Antioch on the Kydnos	ΑΝΤΙΟ[ΧΕΑ] ΤΗ Α Ο Κ[Τ]ΔΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Ν Τ Ν Ρ Ο Τ Ι ΚΤΑΝΩ ΚΤΔΝΟΥ
Antioch on the Pyramos	ΠΥΡΑΜΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΟ Α Ο ΠΥΡΑΜΟΥ
Antioch on the Saros	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ Τ Ν Ρ Ο Τ Ι ΑΡ Ι
Arsinoe	ΑΡ ΙΝΟΕ Ε
Epiphaneia Oiniandos	ΕΙ ΑΝΕ Ν
Hierapolis Castabala	ΙΕΡΟ Ο ΙΤ Ν ΙΕΡΟ Ο ΙΤ Ν Τ Ν Ρ Ο Τ Ι ΠΥΡΑΜΩ ΙΕΡΟ Ο ΙΤ Ν ΚΑ ΤΑΒΑ Ε Ν
Philadelpheia	Ι Α Ε Ε Ν Ι Α Ε Ε Ν ΤΗ ΚΙΗΤΙ Ο
Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΛΥΚΑΔΝΩ
Seleukeia on the Pyramos	ΠΥΡΑΜΩ
	<i>Cappadocia</i>
Ariaratheia	ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΕΥΣ
Eusebeia near Argaios	ΕΥΣΕΒΕΑΤΗΣ/ΕΥΣΕΒΕΑΤΙΣ
Eusebeia near the Tauros	ΕΥΣΕΒΕΑΤΗΣ/ΕΥΣΕΒΕΑΤΙΣ
	<i>Pontus</i>
Laodikeia	ΑΟ ΙΚ (toponym)
Pharnakeia	ΑΡΝΑΚΕ Ν
	<i>Paphlagonia</i>
Amastris	ΑΜΑ ΤΡΕ Ν

AMA TPIE N
AMA TPIAN N

Bithynia

Apameia Myrleia

A AME N
A AME N ΜΤΡΑΕΑΝΩΝ

Apollonia on the Rhyndakos

A O NIAT N
A O NIAT N PO ΠΤΝΔΑΚ

Bithynion

ΒΙΘΥΝΙΕΩΝ

Nikaia

ΝΙΚΑΙΕ N (many variants)

Nikomedeia

ΝΙΚΟΜΗ Ε N (many variants)

Prousa

ΠΡΟΤΣΑΕΩΝ
ΟΛΤΜΠ[ΟΤ]
ΟΛΤΜΠΟΝ

Prousius by the Sea

ΠΡΟΤΣΙΕΩΝ Τ Ν ΡΟ Α Α ΗΙ
ΠΡΟΤΣΙΕΙΣ Α Ο Α Α Η

Prousius on the Hypios

ΠΡΟΤΣΙΕΩΝ
ΥΠΙΩ

Zipotion

*ΖΙ ΟΙΤΙΟ

Abbreviations

Journals, Festschrifts, and Reference Works

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
<i>AAWW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.</i>
<i>ABAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>L'antiquité classique.</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris.</i>
<i>AEM</i>	<i>Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn.</i>
<i>AHB</i>	<i>Ancient History Bulletin.</i>
<i>HJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics.</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>
<i>AK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst.</i>
<i>AKAW/ADAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Preussischen/der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis</i>	C. Humann, (C. Cichorius, W. Judeich, and E Winter, eds. <i>Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> . Berlin, 1898.
<i>Alt. v. Perg.</i>	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut et al. <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> . Vols. 1-. Berlin, 1912-.
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>Anc. Maced.</i>	Institute for Balkan Studies. <i>Ancient Macedonia</i> .

<i>Ant. Soc.</i>	<i>Andent Society.</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>Ancient World.</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	<i>Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene.</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini and W. Haase, eds. <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.</i> Vols. 1-. Berlin, 1972-.
<i>ANS MN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes.</i>
<i>ANS NNM</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Notes and Monographs.</i>
<i>Anz. Wien</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>Arch. f. Papyrus.</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung.</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies.</i>
<i>AST</i>	<i>Arastirma * Sonuçlan Toplantisi.</i>
<i>ATL</i>	B.D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. E Mc-Gregor. <i>The Athenian Tribute Lists.</i> 4 vols. Cam-bridge and Princeton, 1939-1953.
<i>BABESCH</i>	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving.</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i>
<i>BE</i>	J. and L. Robert. "Bulletin épigraphique." In <i>Revue des études grecques.</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies.</i>
<i>BMAH</i>	<i>Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.</i>
<i>Centennial Publication</i>	
<i>ANS</i>	H. Ingholt, ed. <i>Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society.</i> New York, 1958.
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i>
<i>Cl. Ant.</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity.</i>
<i>Cl. Rh.</i>	<i>Clara Rhodos.</i>
<i>CPH</i>	<i>Classical Philology.</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly.</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review.</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.</i>
<i>CSHB</i>	B.G. Niebuhr et al., eds. <i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.</i> 50 vols. Bonn, 1828-1897.
<i>DA WW</i>	<i>Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.</i>
<i>Delt.</i>	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion.</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica.</i>
<i>Essays S. Robinson</i>	C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins, eds. <i>Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson.</i> Ox-ford, 1968.

<i>Essays Thompson</i>	O. Mørkholm and N. Waggoner, eds. <i>Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson</i> . Wetteren, 1979.
<i>Essays Welles</i>	<i>Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles</i> . New Haven, 1966.
<i>FD</i>	École française d'Athènes. <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> . Pads, 1902—.
<i>Fest. Dörner</i>	S. Sahin * et al., eds. <i>Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Friederich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976</i> . 2 vols. Leiden, 1978.
<i>FGrH</i>	E Jacoby. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin, 1923-1958.
<i>FHG</i>	C. Müller. <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . 5 vols. Pads, 1841-1870.
<i>FOA</i>	H. Kiepert and R. Kiepert. <i>Formae Orbis Antiqui</i> . Berlin, 1893-1914.
<i>GGA</i>	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i> .
<i>GGM</i>	C. Müller. <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> . 2 vols. Pads, 1855-1861.
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> .
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historia</i> .
<i>IM</i>	<i>Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, Istanbul Mitteilungen</i> .
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> .
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> .
<i>JIAN</i>	<i>Journal international d'archéologie numismatique</i> .
<i>JKAF</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung</i> .
<i>JNG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i> .
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i> .
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> .
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> .
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal des Savants</i> .
<i>KME</i>	G. Le Rider et al., eds. <i>Kraay-Mørkholm Essays</i> . Louvain-le-Neuve, 1989.
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> .
<i>Mélanges Daux</i>	<i>Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux</i> . Pads, 1974.
<i>Mélanges Lévy</i>	<i>Mélanges Isidore Lévy</i> . Brussels, 1955.
<i>Mélanges Picard</i>	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard</i> . 2 vols. Pads, 1949.
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i> .

<i>Monatsbenchte</i>	<i>Monatsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
<i>Mous. k. Bibl.</i>	<i>Mouseion kai Bibliothekē tes Evangelikes Scholes.</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
<i>Not. Ep.</i>	<i>Notitiae Episcopatum.</i>
<i>Nouv. arch. des miss. scient.</i>	<i>Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires.</i>
<i>NZ</i>	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>OAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia.</i>
<i>ODB</i>	A. Kazhdan et al., eds. <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . 3 vols. Oxford, 1991.
<i>PAAH</i>	<i>Praktika tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Hetaireias.</i>
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.</i>
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<i>QT</i>	<i>Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche.</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique.</i>
<i>RBN</i>	<i>Revue beige de numismatique et de sigillographie.</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.</i>
<i>RE</i>	G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, et al. <i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes.</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques.</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives.</i>
<i>Rev. Hist.</i>	<i>Revue historique.</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum.</i>
<i>Riv. Fil.</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica.</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue numismatique.</i>
<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie.</i>
<i>RSN/SNR</i>	<i>Revue suisse de numismatique / Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau.</i>
<i>SAWW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi classici e orientali.</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</i>
<i>SNR</i>	See RSN.

<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der (königlich) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>St. Cl.</i>	<i>Studii clasice.</i>
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<i>Tab. Peut.</i>	<i>Tabula Peutingeriana</i> .
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> .
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> .
<i>TIB</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i> .
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i> .
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .

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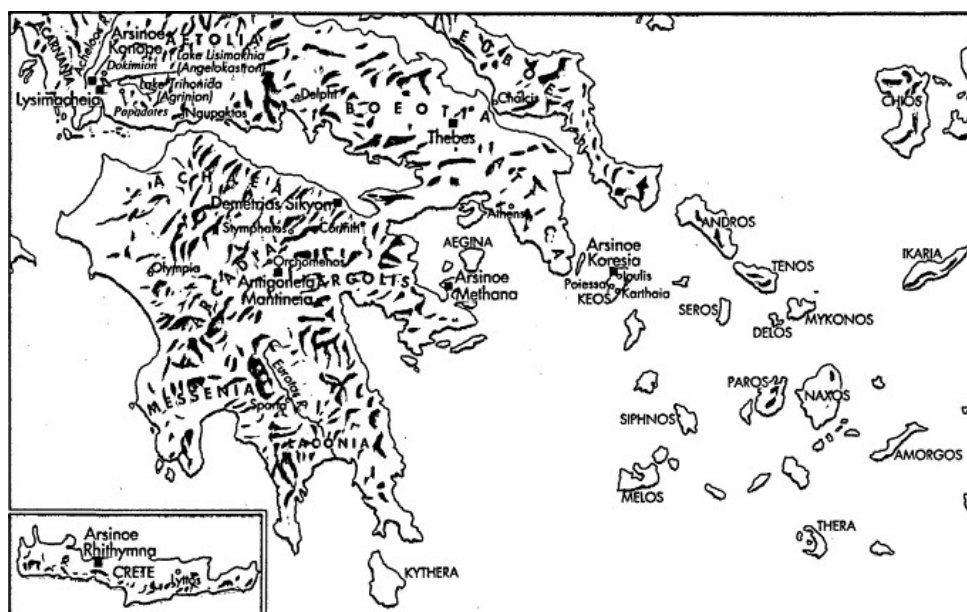
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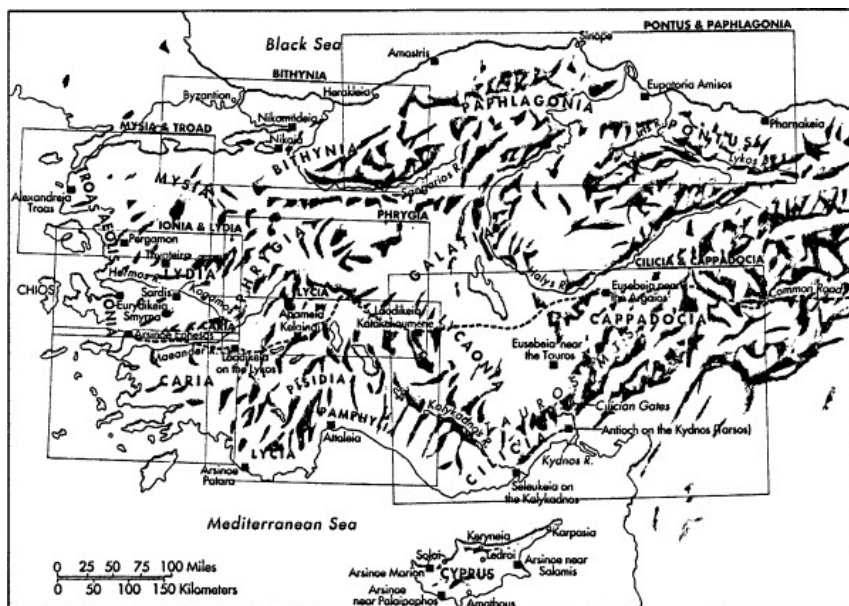
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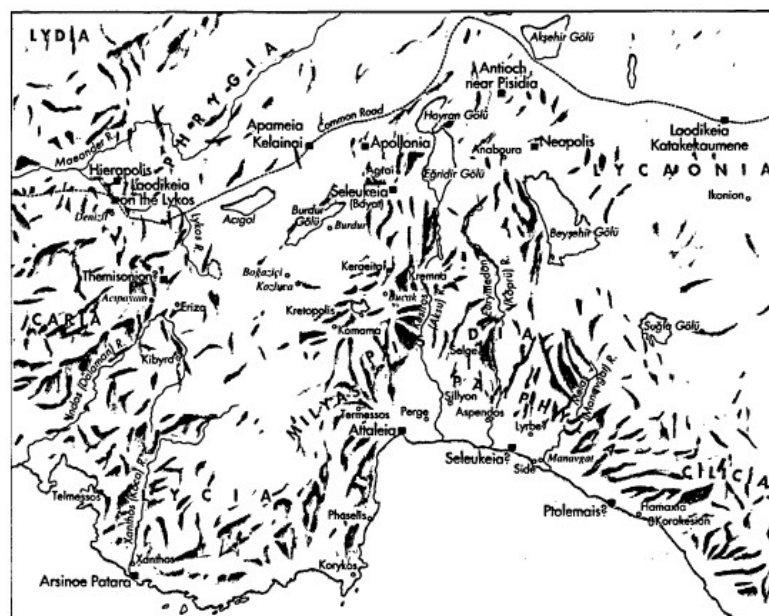
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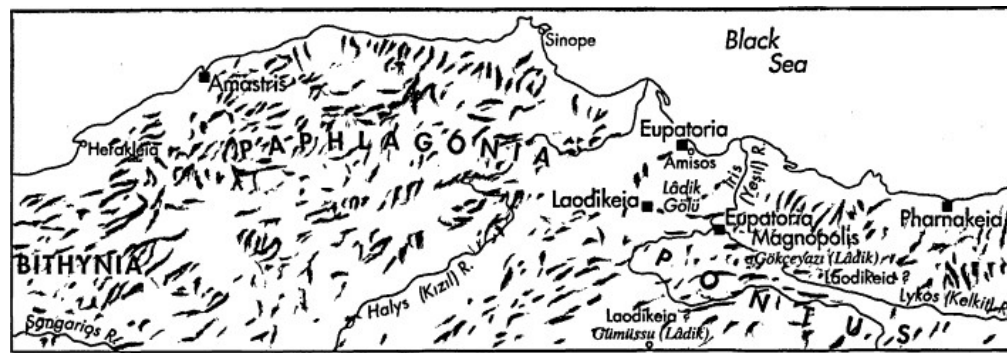
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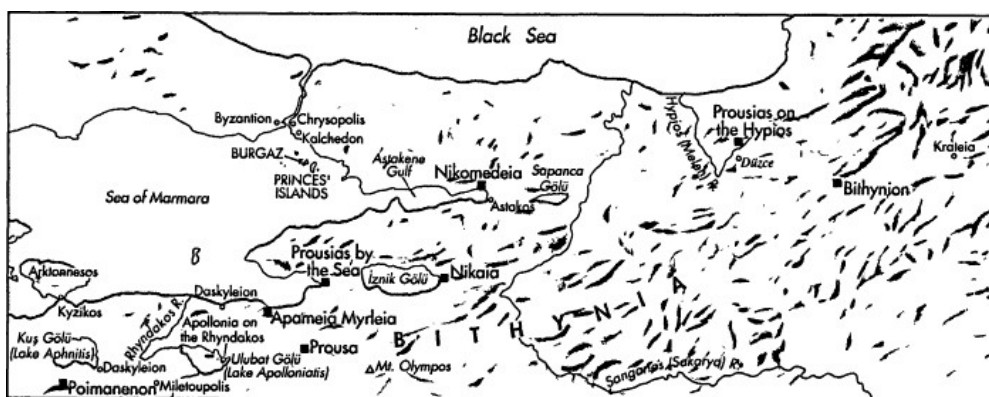
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